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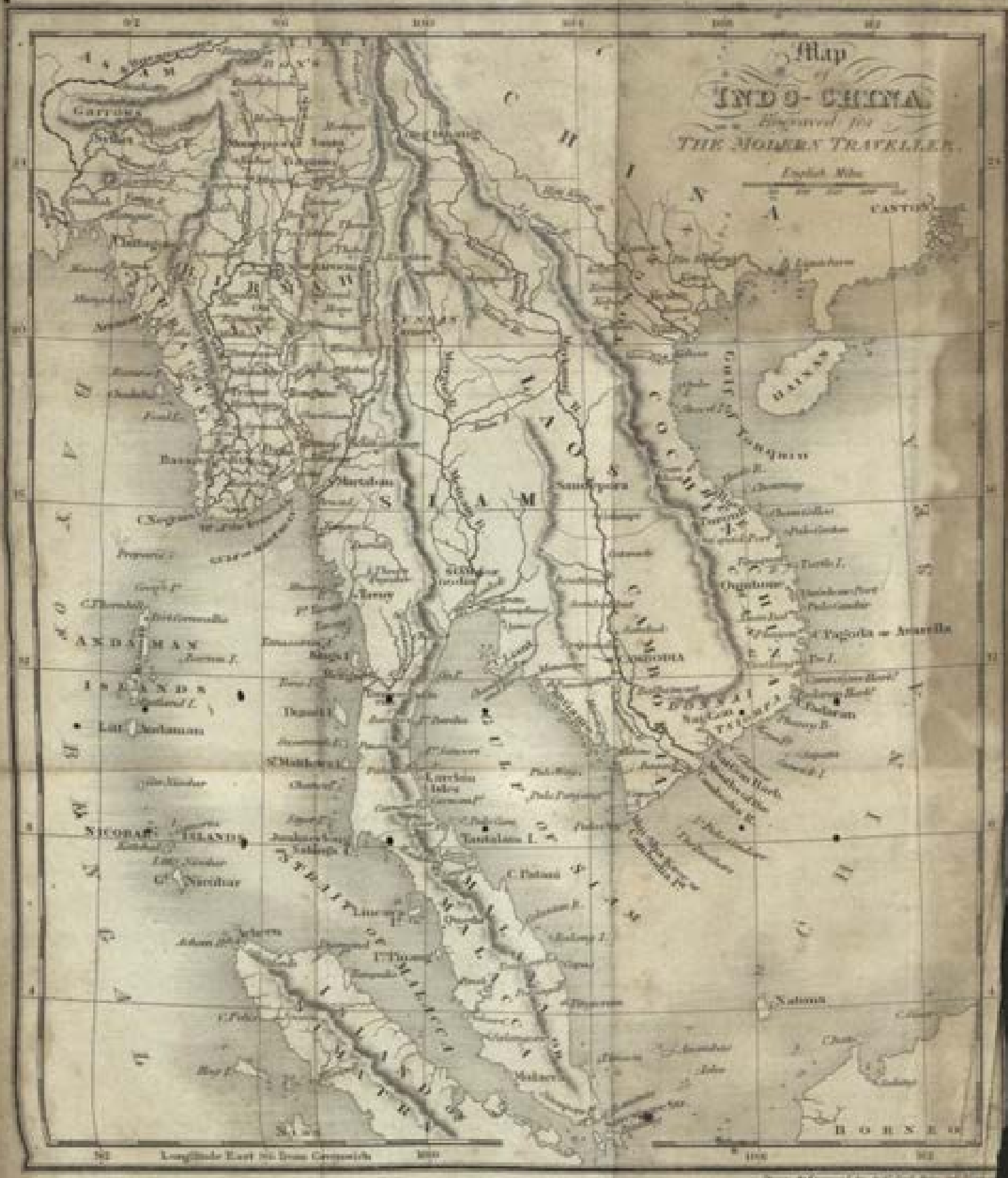

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

ETC. ETC.

BIRMAH.

An empire lying between the parallels of 8° and 27° N., and between long. 91° 30′ and 102° E.; bounded, on the N., by the Brahmapootra and Tibet; on the E. by China, Laos, Siam, and the Gulf of Siam; on the S. by the Gulf of Martaban and Malacca; on the W. by the Bay of Bengal and British India.*]

We have at present no geographical name, in general use, for the vast region of Asia which lies between British India and the Chinese territory, comprehending the Birman empire, the kingdoms of Siam and Anam (or Cochin China), and the peninsula of Malacca. The appellation of Ultra Gangetic India is far from being appropriate, since the Ganges forms no part of its western boundary. It has sometimes been denominated the Ultra Gangetic Peninsula, in contradistinction from what is improperly called the Peninsula of India; but, although it terminates in part of double peninsula, it will be seen, from a

* These were the boundaries of Birmah at the commencement of the present war; and we have therefore deemed it proper to adhere to them, although it appears probable that the empire will in future be circumscribed on every side within much narrower limits.

glance at the map, that the Malay country, the Golden Chersonesus of the ancients, is alone entitled to the appellation improperly extended to this immense portion of the Asiatic continent. An objection lies against all compound words; yet, as the adjective Indo-Chinese has already come into extensive use,* the most unexceptionable generic appellation would seem to be INDO-CHINA, understanding by that term the country lying between the Indian and the Chinese seas.† The whole of the western part, having recently been comprised in the Birman empire, may conveniently be designated by that of Birmah.

This vast region has till of late been scarcely known to Europeans, except along its shores; and the interior is still for the most part a *terra incognita*. The whole, however, appears to be formed by four or five ranges of mountains, proceeding from Tibet, which, running southward in parallel directions, divide it longitudinally into the magnificent valleys watered by four great rivers: the Irrawaddy, or river of Ava; the Thaluayn, or Martaban river; the Mei-nam, or river of Siam; and the Mei-kong, or Cambodia river. Besides these, there are several considerable streams of shorter course, and valleys of a subordinate rank,

* Dr. Leyden has sanctioned this word in his Dissertations on the Language and Literature of the Indo-Chinese nations; and a small periodical publication commenced at Malacca in 1817, bore the title of "The Indo-Chinese Gleaner."

† M. Malte Brun was disposed at one time to adopt this word; but in the edition of his Geography now in progress, he proposes to substitute for it the uncouth compound Chin-India; assigning as his reason, that the country is not an Indo China—a China resembling India, but rather a Chinese India—an India with Chinese features. This distinction is far from being accurate if applied to the eastern part of the country, which is altogether of a Chinese character; and we regret that he has not adhered to what we deem in every respect the preferable appellation.

which will claim description, but do not form distinguishing features of the country. Of the five chains which are believed to exist, that which separates the Birman empire from Bengal and the plains of Chittagong, becomes gradually lower in the kingdom of Arracan, and is lost in small hills before it reaches Cape Negrais. It is known to the Birmans under the name of *Anou-pec-tou-miou*, or the great western hilly country. Its distance from the coast varies from ten to a hundred miles. Of that which separates the valley of Ava from the basin of the Thaluayn, little is known. The principal range, surpassing all the others in height as well as length, appears to be that which separates Ava and Pegu from the great valley of the Mei-nam, and stretching along the whole peninsula of Malacca, terminates in Cape Romania, the southernmost point of Asia. The valley of Siam is separated from the river of Cambodia by a fourth range, which is said to unite with the mountains of China in lat. 22°, and almost reaches the sea near the river of Chantibond.* From Cape Liant, the coast takes a S.E. direction to Cambodia Point, which is formed of low land. The fifth and last chain, one of the most considerable in Asia, proceeds from Yun-nan in China, and taking a south-easterly direction, forms the western boundary of Tonking and Cochin China.

The first of these rivers, the Irrawaddy (Erawady, Era Wuddey, A-rah-wah-tee),† divides the territory

* "Chantibond is a mountainous country, forming the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Siam, dividing it from Cambodia, and situated at the head of the Gulf of Siam. The passage thence to Cambodia is of short distance, a ridge of mountains dividing the two countries."—FINLAYSON'S *Siam*, p. 255.

† Malte Brun supposes the Irrawaddy to be the Ken-poo of Thibet; the Tsan-poo, which D'Anville considered as identical with the river of Ava, being the Brahmapootra. It is believed to

of the Birmans into two unequal parts. To the eastward, they possess a tract of ten days' journey, about 150 miles, to the banks of the Thaluayn,* which forms the proper boundary towards Siam. Very little of the tract of country between these two mighty rivers is either cultivated or inhabited. A ridge of high mountains divides them, and the country is for the most part barren and jungly. The Irrawaddy is to Ava, what the Ganges is to Bengal, the high road of population and commerce; and both the ancient

be the Nan-kiang, or Great Fish river of the Chinese. The name of the river is Hindoo, being, in fact, that of Indra's elephant (written by Mr. Ward *oira-vitti*). M. Langles, in his erudite work, *Monumens des Indes*, speaking of Indra and his elephant, says, that *Irawatti* means aqueous. Whether the river be named from the elephant, or the elephant takes its name from the watery element, appears, therefore, doubtful. There is a Hindoo tradition respecting a fabled lake called Anaudat, on the eastern bank of which, it is said, is the image of a lion's head, on the southern that of an elephant's, on the western that of a horse's, and on the northern that of a cow's; and from these four heads are poured forth four rivers. The meaning of the fable is supposed to be, that the banks of these four rivers, the sources of which were unknown, abounded respectively with lions, elephants, horses, and cows.—See *Asiat. Res.*, vol. vi. p. 233. Every one knows, that the Ganges is represented as flowing from the cow's mouth, the name given to a large stone in the bed of the river at Gangoutri. It is possible, that a similar legend may connect the Irrawaddy with the mouth of the elephant. However this may be, the cow is not held more sacred in Hindostan, than the elephant is in Birmah.

* This river, of which scarcely any thing appears to be known, is supposed to be the Lu-kiang of Yun-nan. It is the Pegu river of Buchanan, the Caypumo of older travellers; it is sometimes distinguished as the Martaban river; but its true name appears to be Thaluayn or Ta-lain,—sometimes written Sanluayn, Sa-lwen, Thaulayn It has been confounded with the Sitang, Sittong, or Zeet-taung river, which is, we suspect, the one to which the name of Pegu (or Bagoo) was first applied by the Portuguese. By some geographers, the Thaluayn is represented as falling into the Sitang; and it is not improbable, that there may be at least some communication between them.

and the modern capitals are seated on its banks. It is navigable by the native boats as high as Quantong, on the frontiers of Yun-nan; and it presents one of the readiest means of opening a commercial intercourse with the south-west dominions of China. Westward of the Irrawaddy, and along the right bank of its western branch, the Kiayn-duem, as high as lat. 24°, the Birmans possessed, prior to the conquest of Arracan, a tract varying in breadth from ten to thirty miles, and confined by a ridge of mountains inhabited by a barbarous race called Kains, or Kiayns, who are for the most part independent of the Birmans. Further northward, the country is said to be mountainous or desert; so that, with the exception of the fertile plains of Manchewban, or Monchaboo, lying between the Kiayn-duem and the eastern or principal branch of the Irrawaddy, and extending from lat. 22° to 24°, (which district is said to be the granary of Ava,) there does not appear to be any part of their own extensive territory northward of Prome, from which the Birmans derive much advantage, except within an average distance of fifteen miles from either bank of the river. Below Prome, the frontier of Pegu, the country is in general more level and susceptible of cultivation, and, on the banks of the river, is as rich a soil as any in the world. That of the upper provinces is said to be a sandy loam on a bed of freestone or ferruginous rock: in the lower provinces, there is a larger proportion of argillaceous earth and vegetable matter.* To the south-east of Prome lies the ancient kingdom of Tonghoo, or Taungu, said to be fer-

* These particulars are derived chiefly from a tract drawn up by Col. Francklin.—See *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xx. p. 4.

tile, but thinly inhabited.* To the south and west of Tonghoo, the country in general to the sea, including the delta of the Irrawaddy and the low lands watered by the Martaban river,—in fact, the whole of what may be termed Pegu Proper, has received from the Birmans the name of Henzawuddy.†

The periodical inundation of the valleys and maritime plains by the rising of the rivers, is a circumstance common to all this region, although they observe different periods, which indicates that their sources must be at unequal distances. The Mei-nam, or Siam river, has the highest and most regular inundations, on which account, it has been supposed to have its sources in the most distant mountains of central Tibet.‡ The more probable explanation is, that it

* Beyond Tonghoo, Col. Francklin says, to the eastward and southward, is the ancient kingdom of Sittong, now dependent on Henzawuddy. This we apprehend to be the very nucleus of Pegu.

† Henza is the Birman name of a species of wild fowl called in India the Brahminy goose, which is said to be the standard of the Birmans, as the eagle was of the Romans.

‡ This river is supposed by Malte Brun (we incline to think, erroneously) to be the Nu-kiang. It is the Yuthia of our older maps. Yuthia or Yoodra is the name of the ancient Siamese capital,—more properly See-y-thaa. Vincent Leblanc, of Marseilles, who travelled in the seventeenth century, describes "the fair and large river Mecan," on which the town of Siam stands, as springing from a famous lake, 200 miles about, called the lake of Chiamay, whence, he says, "many great and famous rivers arise, as Ava, Caypumo, *Menan*, Cosmin, and others. They overflow like the Nilus. This lake is bounded eastward by vast forests and impassable marshes and fens." He has mistaken the name of the Siam river, the Mei-nam, and given it that of the Cambodia river, the Mei-kong. Although this Traveller has hitherto been regarded as a very doubtful authority, it is remarkable that several accounts agree in stating that these two rivers communicate by a navigable branch called the Anan-myeet; and it is by no means improbable, therefore, that in the rainy season, the intervening country should

receives a larger body of water from its numerous tributary streams. It is highly remarkable, that this inundation, like that occasioned by the expansion of the Paraguay, is greatest in the centre of the kingdom, and much less in the neighbourhood of the sea; a fact which strongly favours the idea of its communicating at the rainy season with other waters. The kingdom of Siam may be considered as a wide valley, the central basin of this vast region, terminating in a broad and deep gulf; and there are many reasons for thinking that the basin of the Mei-nam is, of all the valleys, the least elevated above the sea level. The whole southern part, called by the Birmans Dwarawuddy, appears to be intersected by streams, and the soil is adapted to the cultivation of rice. The northern part is little known. It has been supposed to be separated from Laos by mountains, but of this we have no clear evidence; and we are strongly inclined to believe, that that unknown country includes, together with immense forests, a low and swampy tract, extending from the Mei-nam to the Mei-kong, and partially inundated by the waters of both rivers. The vague and apparently jarring accounts of different travellers, may, on this hypothesis, be partly reconciled. One of these tells us,* that in Laos, there is

be inundated, and become an immense lake, like those of Xarays and Ybyra, formed by the expansion of the Parana, the Uruguay, and Paraguay. (See MOD. TRAV., *Brazil*, vol. i. p. 85.) From the lake of Ybyra three mighty rivers might be said to issue, although their sources are far distant; and it may, perhaps, be found, that that of Chiamay communicates, not only with the Mei-nam and the Mei-kong, but even with the Thaluayn, which is what is meant by the Caypumo river. In confirmation of this opinion, it may be added, that Kœmpfer represents the Mei-nam as sending branches through the kingdoms of Cambodia and Pegu.

* M. de la Bissachère.

no sort of river, yet, that rice is the only produce; and its rice is represented by other travellers* as the best of all these countries: leguminous crops are also cultivated in great quantities. And Lac-tho (or Lac-tchoo), which, according to M. la Bissachère, lies to the north of Laos, but which M. Malte Brun supposes to be the same country, is also described to be without rivers, yet having a moist soil, abounding in bamboos, and laid out in rice fields, but containing no towns. If it has no river, it must have lakes and canals; probably a series of lakes; and accordingly, a Portuguese traveller went from China to Laos by descending a river and crossing a lake.† Again, the received opinion is, that Laos is watered by the upper part of the river of Cambodia, which one old traveller represents as issuing from an immense lake, and another makes it to be a branch of the Mei-nam.‡ If these two rivers communicate any where by a navigable branch, as appears certain, it is not improbable that, higher up, they may unite their waters in some "periodical Caspian." The country to the north-east of Siam is stated to consist of vast forests and impassable marshes and fens. Here, probably, are the forests of Laos, which are said to abound with elephants in so great numbers, that the country derives its name from that circumstance. Many buffaloes are also reared there. The Siamese were once in the habit of repairing to Laos in caravans of waggons drawn by buffaloes, making a journey of two months.§ Such journeys could not have been made across high

* Marini and Wusthof, as cited by Malte Brun.

† Jarric. See Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 364, from whom we have gathered most of these facts, though we have not adopted his conclusions.

‡ See note at page 6.

§ Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 365.

mountains. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, we infer that, to the south of Yun-nan, there is an immense tract of low level country, abounding with lakes, swamps, and morasses,* like the Houquang, or lake-country of China, or that of the *Sete Lagoas* (Seven Lakes) of Paraguay; that here the waters of the Siam and Cambodia rivers, at certain seasons at least, unite, though one or both of these streams may have a more distant source; † while, to the east of the kingdom of Siam, a range of mountains, apparently bending to the S.W., intervenes between the vast plains of Dwarawaddy and the rocky channel of the Mei-kong. Further information, however, can alone verify these conjectures.‡

Indo-China, then, consists of three grand divisions, Birmah, Siam, and Annam, besides the peninsula of Malacca, and the various independent principalities of

* Districts lying near the base of great ranges of mountains, Mr. Marsden remarks, especially within the tropical latitudes, are always found to be unhealthy. The Yun-nan mountains are of great height, "while the great Nu-kiang, said to be navigable between that province and Ava, must flow chiefly through a plain and comparatively low country."—MARSDEN'S *Marco Polo*, note 858.

† Marini places the sources of the Mei-kong in the Chinese province of Yun-nan. The Dutch envoy, Wusthof, ascended it in a boat to the north of Cambodia, and met with great cataracts. This renders it probable that its banks are rocky, and that it descends from a higher level than the Mei-nam.

‡ The strange perplexity in which we have found ourselves involved in attempting to clear up this point, is in great measure occasioned by the almost *ad libitum* application of the word Laos to different regions. "Laou or Laos," Sir Stamford Raffles says, "is the country north of Siam Proper." (FINLAYSON'S *Siam*, p. 223, *note*. If so, it includes Siammay and Yunshan. Yet, Malte Brun (on the alleged authority of Wusthof) brings it down almost as far south as Tsiompa, between Cambodia and Cochin China!

the mountain frontiers. The Malays form a distinct race, who are supposed to have proceeded originally from the Indian archipelago, and their language is a mixture of Coptic, Sanscrit, and Arabic. All the other Indo-Chinese nations resemble more or less the Mongolian and Chinese races in their figure, square countenance, yellow complexion, strong hair, and oblique eyes; and are evidently of the same original stock. Their languages, too, exhibit the same characteristic simplicity, poverty, and deficiency with the monosyllabic languages of Tibet and China. The three-fold division of the country corresponds to the three distinct languages which are found prevailing: the Birman, which is spoken in Ava and Arracan; the Siamese, which extends over Laos; and the Annamese, which is used in Tonking, Cochin China, and Cambodia. Pegu, however, is said to have an original dialect called the Môn, of which too little is known to determine its relation to either of the three classes. These languages are more or less mixed with Chinese and Hindoostanee, according as the nations are situated near India or China. The sacred language of Birmah is the Pali, which is believed to be the same that is vernacular in Magadha or Southern Bahar. The Birman dialect has also borrowed the Sanscrit alphabet; the character in common use, however, is a round Nagari, consisting of curves following the analogies of the square Pali, and written from left to right like the languages of Europe. Their legal code is one of the commentaries on the Institutes of Menu.* In these and other respects,

* It is a singular fact, that the first version of Sir William Jones's translation of the Institutes of Hindoo law, was made into the

the Birmans discover their affinity to the Hindoo family, while the Siamese, the Annamese, and the Peguans bear a more strongly-marked resemblance to the Chinese.*

The political divisions of the Indo-Chinese countries have undergone the perpetual changes consequent on ill-defined boundaries, and the constant struggles of the various rival states to obtain the supremacy. The most powerful monarchy at one time, as it is probably the most ancient, was that of Siam, which extended from the Gulf of Martaban to Cambodia, and southward to Malacca.† Afterwards, Pegu appears to have been the most flourishing state. Its tyrant is stated to have demolished the capital of Siam, made himself master of the white elephant, and sacked the town of Martaban. Between Siam and Pegu, there seems to have been carried on a constant struggle for supremacy from time immemorial. At one time, Pegu is said to have been conquered by a king of Tonghoo; but the white elephant, the Buddhic Apis, was wrested from Pegu by a king of Arracan.‡ When the Portuguese, early in the six-

Birman language by an Armenian, for the use of the Birman emperor, in 1795.

* The Indo-Chinese languages are reckoned to be fourteen in number. Seven of these are polysyllabic, viz. 1. Malayu; 2. Jawa; 3. Bugis; 4. Bima; 5. Batta; 6. Ta-gola; 7. Pali, the learned language. The other seven are monosyllabic, viz. 1. Rak-heng (Arracanese); 2. Barma (Birman); 3. Mon (Peguan); 4. Thay (Siamese); 5. Khohmin (Cambodian); 6. Läw (Laos); 7. Anam.

† "The king of Siam," says Tavernier, "is one of the richest monarchs in the East, and styles himself king of heaven and earth, though he be tributary to the kings of China."—*Travels*, part ii. b. iii. c. 18. Tavernier travelled in 1660—70.

‡ The Lord of the White Elephant is the distinctive title of the rightful possessor of an incarnate symbol of Buddha, who is thereby exalted above his equals; it therefore is not an empty sound, but

teenth century, had succeeded in making themselves masters of Malacca, they found the regions between the Indian Sea and Anam divided among the four powerful states which have since been familiarly known under the names of Arracan, Ava, Pegu, and Siam.* Their historians tell us, that the Birmans, though previously subject to the king of Pegu, had recently become masters of Ava; and these Birmans the Portuguese assisted in their subsequent wars against the Peguans. Ava is, properly speaking, the name only of a town, and does not appear to have been ever recognised by the natives as the name of their country. Besides which, as the name is generally applied, it seems difficult to understand how

confers an actual supremacy. In like manner, the kings of Egypt looked upon Apis as a symbol of Osiris. This envied distinction has for ages been as much an object of ambition in the Buddhic states, as universal empire has been among the nations of Christendom. The sovereign of Tonghoo once possessed the title with all its prerogatives; it was wrested from him by the king of Siam; from whom, after torrents of blood had been shed, it passed to the Talien monarchy. "You hear for what reasons," says Leblanc, "the king of Pegu waged war with Siam, that bred so much ruin and desolation—for a white elephant only; a fatal and unhappy beast that hath cost the lives of five kings, as it happened to the last king of Pegu, who had it lately taken from him by the king of Arracan." This old Traveller was not aware, apparently, of the sacred and symbolic character of the fatal beast.—*Asiat. Journal*, vol. xix. p. 652. See also PICART'S *Histoire des Religions et Mœurs des Peuples.*

* Assam, however, was, at this time, a powerful and independent monarchy. "The chiefest of the idolatrous kings of Asia," says Tavernier, "are the king of Arracan, the king of Pegu, the king of Siam, the king of Cochin China, and the king of Tonquin."—p. 163. But he afterwards devotes a chapter to the kingdom of Asem, which he describes as one of the best countries of all Asia; and he describes the gold and silver money of the kings of Asem, Tipoura, Arakan, and Pegu. In one place, he seems to make Asem border on Pegu, and he clearly includes Ava in the latter kingdom.—pp. 187, 8.

the Portuguese could enter into alliance with the inhabitants of a country so far inland, to whom they could gain access only through Arracan or Pegu. But, in point of fact, the names of Ava and Pegu appear to have been originally applied by the Portuguese to two rivers;* one, the Irrawaddy, and the other we suspect to be the Sitang or Zeet-taung, the river of Tonghoo or Taung-oo, although the Bagoo Mioup or Pegu river is a name applied to a smaller stream, navigable only with the tide, and communicating with the Rangoon or Syriam branch of the Irrawaddy. The proper name of the Peguans, that by which they are known to the Birmans, is Taliens or Ta-lain, which seems to be the same appellation as we find given to the Caypumo or great Martaban river. Their original country would seem to be that which lies to the west of that river, and which is traversed by the Zeet-taung. Martaban appears to have been anciently a dependency of Pegu. It is not improbable, indeed, that the Talain might occupy both banks of the river, and extend themselves southward towards Malacca. The isthmus seems to have been a scene of perpetual contention between the Siamese, the Taliens, the Birmans, and the Arracanese. To whom it originally belonged, it would perhaps be impossible to ascertain; but those who commanded the mouths of the rivers which fall into the head of the Gulf of Martaban, would seem to have the best title to the proprietorship of the western coast.

* Tavernier says: "Siren is the name of the city where the king of Pegu resides, and *Ava* is the *port* of his kingdom. From Ava to Siren you go by water in great flat-bottomed barks, which is a voyage of sixty days." By Siren, Syriam is probably meant; and if so, the Traveller has simply mistaken the city for the port, and the port for the capital.

The native name of the country improperly called Ava, Dr. Buchanan says, is My-am-ma. The Chinese know it under the name of Mien-tien, or Zo-mien. The earliest notice we have of the country, occurs in the Travels of Marco Polo, who gives an account of a memorable battle that was fought in the year 1272, in the province of Vochang or Yunshang, between the great khan and the king of Mien and Bangala in India. "The losses in this battle, which lasted from the morning till noon, were severely felt on both sides; but the Tartars were finally victorious; a result that was materially attributed to the troops of the king of Mien and Bangala not wearing armour as the Tartars did, and to their elephants, especially those of the foremost line, being equally without that kind of defence, which, by enabling them to sustain the first discharges of the enemy's arrows, would have allowed them to break his ranks, and throw him into disorder. From this period, the great khan has always chosen to employ elephants in his armies, which before that time he had not done. The consequences of this victory were, that his majesty acquired possession of the whole of the territories of the king of Bangala and Mien, and annexed them to his dominions."* By some writers, this title has been understood to imply two confederate sovereigns; but the context shews that only one personage is intended, whom we may assume to be the sovereign of Ava and Arracan. This passage is im-

* Travels of Marco Polo, by Marsden, 4to. p. 444. D'Anville and others have supposed Mien to be Pegu, which mistake the learned Editor of Marco Polo supposes to have arisen from the Peguans having conquered Ava or the Birmah country, from which, however, they were subsequently driven. Since the year 1757, he adds, Pegu has been a province dependent on the kingdom of Ava. The fact is, that Pegu has been loosely applied to the whole country.

portant, as it proves a close connexion, either by origin or conquest, between the people of the two countries. The lord of Arracan long assumed the title of sovereign of Bengal; and it appears that whichever of the rival monarchs of the Buddhic world laid claim to the supremacy, assumed the prerogative of including among his titular dominions all the other states.*

The word Myamma is evidently the same as Mien, but conformed to the Birman pronunciation.† It is not so easy to decide on the etymology of the latter word.

* The following passage from Vincent Leblanc's Travels (1660) throws no small light on the facts referred to:—"Verma (Birmah) hath formerly belonged unto the kingdom of Bengale: the people are very civil and given to trade. Catigan (Chittagong) belongs to the kingdom of Bengale, which reaches over 400 leagues of land; and the lordship of Aracan, a kingdom between Bengale and Pegu, stronger by sea than by land, and wages often war with Pegu, and some years since, they say, hath swallowed up Pegu, but ruined by neighbours, and therefore the king is called king of Aracan, Tiparat (Tipperah) Chacomas (Cachar?) Bengale, and Pegu."—*Asiat. Journal*, vol. xix. p. 650.

† The pronunciation of the Birmans is to a stranger almost inarticulate: they hardly ever pronounce the letter r; and t, d, th, s, and z, are almost used indiscriminately. The same may be said of p and b. Thus, the word for water, which the Birmans universally pronounce *ywe*, is written *rae*. This indistinct pronunciation probably arises from the excessive quantity of betel which they chew. No man of rank ever speaks without his mouth being as full as possible of a mixture of betel-nut, tobacco, quick-lime, and spices. In this state, he is nearly deprived of the use of his tongue, and hence an indistinct articulation has become fashionable, even when the tongue is at liberty. A striking singularity in the language is, that every syllable is liquid in its termination, each letter having its peculiar vowel or nasal mark subjoined, and in no instance coalescing with a following letter. Were a native of Birmah or of Arracan, acquainted with the Roman letters, but not with the rules of English pronunciation, to read the words, book, boot, bull, he would, agreeably to the powers he is taught to affix to the characters of his own language, pronounce them respectively bū, or būcă, būtă, bŭlă; the organs of articulation being inadequate to give ut-

In Dalrymple's Oriental Repository, the Birmans are called *Boraghmans*. In the Birman alphabet, published at Rome in 1776, the name is written *Bomans*.* The first question to be determined is, whether the appellative is derived from the name of a country, or is merely an honourable designation denoting a warlike class. Some have supposed that Birmah or Birman is the same as Myamma or Biamma, the proper name of Ava. On the other hand, some old travellers mention a city and country to the east of Ava, under the name of Barma, Brema, or Brama, which they describe as a separate kingdom from Ava, and whose king sometimes carried on wars against the king of Ava.† While again, Leblanc dis-

terance to the final consonants according to the abrupt mode by which we are accustomed to terminate these words. "A native of Arracan," says Dr. Hamilton, "of natural strong parts and acute apprehension, with whom more than common pains have been taken for some months past, to correct this defect, can scarcely now, with the most determined caution, articulate a word or syllable in Hindustani that has a consonant for a final, which frequently occasions very unpleasant and some ridiculous equivocations; and such is the force of habit, even in making the most simple and easy things difficult, that, obvious as *the first elementary sound* appears to our comprehension, in an attempt that was made to teach him the Nagari character, of which it is the inherent vowel, a number of days elapsed before he could be brought to pronounce it, or even to form any idea of it, and then but a very imperfect one."—*Asiat. Res.* vol. v. p. 148. Nor is this peculiarity confined to the Birmans. The Chinese is formed on the same principle, as well as some of the African dialects, and, possibly, those of Tibet.

* Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 340.

† "Southward, Pegu confines upon Martaban and Siam; eastward, upon *Brama*, Camboya, and Cochin China; northward, upon Ava, Tazatay, and Arracan; westward, upon the gulf of Bengal....The kingdom of Pegu is cut through in many places by that great river, called by the High Indians Amoucherat, and by the natives, the river of Pegu, or Caypumo, or Martaban, that

tinctly mentions a kingdom of Verma or Berma, adjoining to Chittagong, and consequently to the west of Ava, and which, he says, formerly belonged to Bengal. Without laying too much stress on either the veracity or accuracy of this Traveller, it seems to us reasonable to believe that there was a country known under that name. His description of its position would lead us to conclude, that this could be no other than that part of Birmah westward of Chittagong and to the north of Arracan, which is watered by the Kiayn-duem and its confluents.* On the other hand, the national name of the Arracanese is said to be *Marumma*, supposed to be a corruption of *Maha-vurma*, (the great Vurma)†—Vurma being, we are told, an appellation peculiar to tribes of Khetri or

runs by several branches through the level, and fertilizes the soil. This river rises at the lake Chiamay, passes through *Brema* or *Brama*, washing in with her waves refined gold. It runs through the kingdom of Prom, where are the famous towns of Milintay, Calamba, and Amirandou; those territories join Ava; then to Boldia, called by the Higher Indians Siami; then to Berma or Verma, whereof the capital is Carpa, and butts upon Tazatay, and the kingdoms of Pandior (Pandua or Assam), and Muantay (Cassay or Meckley). The king of Pegu subjected the kingdom of Berma two years after he conquered Siam."—LEBLANC'S *Travels*, cited in *Asiat. Journal*, vol. xix. p. 652. In this account, the Irrawaddy and the Caypumo are confounded or mistaken for branches of the same river; but in other respects it is accurate, and the countries of Brema and Verma are clearly distinguished.

* "Bengal is bounded eastward by the province of Edaspa (Tiperah?) that joins to the kingdom of Aracan; one of its limits southward is Castigan or Catigan (Chatigam or Chittagong) at the third mouth of the Ganges, over against the kingdom of Verma or Berma, where are the mines of chrysolites, sardonyx, and topazes." —*Asiat. Journal*, vol. xix. p. 650. "There are mines of gold, silver, rubies, and sapphires now open in a mountain called Wooboolootan near the river Ken-duem." — SYMES, vol. iii. p. 374.

† Hamilton's Gazetteer, *art.* Arracan.

Cshatriya extraction, that is, of the warrior caste. In Bengal, the Arracanese are known under the name of Mughs or Maugas, that is, subjects of the Great Mogo, a title of high ecclesiastical dignity assumed by their rajahs. The Birmans, according to Colonel Francklin, derive their origin and name from Brumwha, who is evidently the same as Maha-vurma; and by other authorities it is stated, that they profess to have come originally from Arracan. If the Mogo and the Maha-vurma be not the same personage, we should still incline to believe that the Marumma, Vermas, or Birmans, and the natives of Arracan, belong to the same race. The proper country of the Mughs is the *Mogo Calinga*, extending along the coast from the eastern branch of the Ganges to Cape Negrais, whence they appear to have spread into Cassay, called in Sanscrit the country of the Muggaloo, which has been corrupted into Meckley, having for its capital the flourishing city of Munnipore.* Both the Arracanese

* Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 345. "The inhabitants call themselves Moytai." This is doubtless the Moantay of Vincent Leblanc, which he describes as a great kingdom, lying to the north of Canarene, in which we recognise the country of the Kains or Kiayns. Canarene is described as "a fair town, rich and flourishing as any in India, the capital of a kingdom of the same name, confining eastward on the country of Tazatay, south on Carpa (Verma), and northward on Moantay. The town is seated betwixt two great rivers, Jiame and Pegu; it is in circuit about four leagues, magnificently built. In customs and conditions, the people differ much from those of Pegu, for they never go barefoot. The king of Canarene is potent and wealthy in mines of gold and silver: he hath also one of emerald, and some mines of turkesses (turquoises)." The Kien-duem, or Kiayn-duem, the great western branch of the Irrawaddy, derives its name from the Kiayn tribe, the name signifying the Fountain of the Kiayns. It arrives in the Birman country from the N.W., and separates it from the conquered province of Cassay. The river Jiame is perhaps a mistake for Miamma. Cassay is now called by the Birmans Ka-thee. Meckley

and the Birmans are evidently of Hindoo extraction, and are only different tribes of the same stock,—a branch, it is supposed, of the Palli or Palays, whose overthrow and dispersion form one of the most remarkable events in the history of India. Their sacred language, the Pali, their religious faith, the title of Mogo, and every other circumstance, connect them with the country of Magadha or Southern Bahar. The Pali, which is in fact a dialect of the Sanscrit, is the vernacular dialect of Magadha or Southern Bahar. Magadha was the kingdom of the great Mogo Rajah. Now Gayah, the birth-place of Buddha, is in this province, fifty-five miles S. of Patna, and is still a place of pilgrimage for his votaries, though among the resident inhabitants remarkably few Buddhists are to be found, the Brahminical being the prevailing religion. That the history of the Birmans, mythological and civil, is the same as that of the Hindoos, Colonel Francklin says, he has abundant proof in various tracts which he has collected, particularly the *Maha Bogdha-whein*, or the great history of their duties, and the *Maha Raj-whien*, the great history of their kings. A remarkable passage is cited by Sir William Jones, from the Institutes of Menu, respecting the origin of the Chinese and other eastern nations. "Many families," it is said, "of the military class (*Cshatriya*), having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the Veda and the company of Brah-

forms the northern part.—See HAMILTON'S *Gazetteer*, art. Keenduem. The Chinese call Arracan, Yee-kien, or Yo-kien; and the Kains, Canaranes, and Rak-kaings (the same word as Ya-kaings), are evidently the same people. Klayn-duem, therefore, is literally the Arracan river, although it must not be confounded with the Mayoon or Myoo river, which flows through Arracan into the Bay of Bengal.

mans, lived in a state of degradation, as the *Pahlavas*, the *Chinas*," &c. These emigrant tribes are stated to have rambled in different bodies to the *north-east* of Bengal, and to have established separate principalities in those countries.* It is a striking coincidence, that, in the war of the Mahabharat, the tribe of warriors is represented as having been annihilated. Vishnu, under the form of Ramaswara, is fabled to have gained this triumph, on which occasion he founded a new order of Brahmans. From this sanguinary revolution dates the overthrow of Buddhism in India, Buddha being thenceforth reduced to a subordinate deity in the Hindoo pantheon. In the Mughs, the Birmans, and the Panduans of Assam, it seems in the highest degree probable, that we have the remains of the annihilated *Cshatriya* class, the widely-dispersed *Palli* of the fallen empires of Pandu and Magadha.

Thus much, then, appears tolerably certain; that the Birmans were originally, as their name indicates, a tribe of warriors† of the Pali nation; that they fixed themselves in the first instance on the banks of the Kien-duem, thence extending themselves eastward over the country of Mien to the confines of China, and descending the great Irrawaddy, possessed

* Sir W. Jones's Works, 4to. vol. i. p. 96, &c.

† In confirmation of this etymology, it may be mentioned, that the Birmans are a nation of soldiers, every man in the empire being liable to be called on for his military service. It is somewhat singular that the word German, which has in like manner become the geographical designation of a collection of separate states, has a similar meaning: in the Teutonic, according to D'Anville, it signifies a war-man or warrior. And the emperor of Germany was formerly, like the Lord of the White Elephant, the military head of a body of crowned feudatories. The Birmanic empire, too, is likely to undergo a dismemberment not very dissimilar to that which has transformed the circles of Germany into distinct kingdoms.

themselves of the eastern coast as far as Cape Negrais, while to the south-east they found powerful rivals in the Taliens, who possessed the line of the Irrawaddy, south of Prome. By this means they came in contact with the Portuguese settlements in Chittagong, and with their assistance carried on their wars against the Peguans. The main point of contention has always been, the sovereignty of this important river, the grand channel of commerce and enterprise; and to the foundation of Ragoon, and the total overthrow of the rival capital of Pegu, may be traced all the greatness of the Birman empire.* The romantic

* The statements of the Portuguese writers, that the Peguans were at one time subject to the Birmans, before Alom-praw raised the standard of independence, appear to us deficient in probability; and there is a passage in Leblanc's Travels, which goes some way towards both proving and explaining their mistakes. It would seem that, not the Birmans, but an individual of the name of Bramaa, was the conqueror of Pegu. "Some years before we arrived, there was in the country a king of the ancient royal race, who had many deputies in the country of Brema towards the lake Chiamay; among the rest, one in the kingdom of Tangu (Tonghoo), that rebelled against him, defeated and slew him, and made himself king of Pegu. They called him the *Brama of Tangu*, a great and potent tyrant, who, by force of arms, joined many kingdoms to his empire, as Prome, Melintay, Calcam, Bacam, Mirandu, Ava, Martaban, and others. He was afterwards put to death by a Peguan lord, called Xemin or Zatan," (probably the king of Sitang is meant,) "who made himself king, but was defeated and slain by another, called Xemindoo, who likewise being made king, was not long after defeated and put to death by Chaumigren, of near alliance to Bramaa, who became one of the most powerful kings that hath reigned in Pegu: he brought totally under the empire of Siam, with twelve other great kingdoms. The king that reigned in Pegu in our time, called Brama, was, as I think, the son of this Chaumigren, afterwards hard enough dealt with by the kings of Tangu, Aracan, and Syan." (*Asiat. Journal*, vol. xix. p. 653.) Here, it will be seen, the king of Birmah or Ava is not mentioned. The Brama of Tangu may have been a Birman, although he is represented as coming from Brama near Siam. But the word

story of the circumstances which led to these events, will form the proper

HISTORY OF BIRMAH.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, both the English and the Dutch had obtained settlements in various parts of the Birman dominions; but owing to the misconduct of the latter, all Europeans were subsequently banished from Ava. It was many years after this expulsion, that the English were reinstated in their factories at Ava and Syriam, and they also took possession of the Island of Negrais. The superiority of the Birmans over the Peguans was maintained until 1740, when a general revolt took place, and a civil war ensued, which was prosecuted with savage ferocity. In the course of this contest, the British factory at Syriam was destroyed, and all commerce was for several years suspended. At length the Peguans, having procured supplies of European fire-arms, with the assistance of some renegade Dutch and native Portuguese, gained several victories over the Birmans, during the years 1750 and 1751; and in the year 1752, the capital of Ava, after a short siege, surrendered. Dweepdee, the Birman king, was made prisoner, with all his family, except two sons, who found means to escape to Siam, where they met with a friendly reception. Beinga Della, king of Pegu, returned in triumph with his captives to his capital, leaving his brother Apporaza to govern the subjugated country, and to exact an oath of allegiance from all Birmans that should be

seems to be used as denoting a chief, or as a proper name. At all events, it was not the Birman king of Ava that acquired the supremacy over the Taliens of Pegu.

suffered to retain their former possessions. All wore the appearance of submission; the inhabitants and principal landholders took the prescribed oath, and Birmah seemed prostrate at the feet of her successful rival; when an obscure individual, indignant at the humiliation of his country, effected a complete revolution, and laid the foundation of the present extended empire. Alom-praw, or Luong-praw, a Birman of low extraction, known by the humble name of Aumdzea, or the huntsman, had been continued by the conqueror in the chiefship of Monchaboo, at that time an inconsiderable village about twelve miles from the river, west of Keoum-meoum. Endowed with a spirit of enterprise and talent equal to the greatest undertakings, he harboured a fervent desire to rescue his country from her humiliating yoke; and it was not long before the arrogance of the Peguan monarch afforded him a favourable moment for making the attempt. On his return to his capital, the conqueror, in terms of insolent triumph, announced, that Birmah, subdued by his prowess, was annexed as a conquered province to his dominions, and that the city of Pegu was in future to be the general metropolis. Alom-praw had, at this period, about a hundred devoted followers, on whose courage and fidelity he could rely, while there were not more than fifty Pegu soldiers in Monchaboo, who treated the natives with the most galling contempt. Availing himself of some particular act of indignity, Alom-praw so skilfully worked on the minds of his followers, that, attacking the Peguans with irresistible violence, they put them all to the sword. After this act of inexpiable rebellion, Alom-praw, still dissembling his intention, wrote in terms of contrition to Apporaza, representing the affair as an act of unpremeditated

violence, arising out of mutual irritation. The vice-roy, being called to the metropolis by urgent business, and underrating the character of his adversary, contented himself with ordering the reduction of Monchaboo, and the imprisonment of Alom-praw until his return. A small force was accordingly despatched to bring him in bonds to Ava; but, on approaching Monchaboo, to their astonishment they found it strongly stockaded, and were received with threats of defiance. Alom-praw was not a person to suffer them to recover from their surprise. At day-break, he sallied forth at the head of his little band, and so furiously assaulted the Peguans, who did not exceed a thousand, as utterly to rout them, and he pursued them for two miles. After this exploit, he invited all the neighbouring places to join his standard, and many obeyed the summons, while others thought the enterprise as yet too hazardous. When news of this disaster reached Ava, Dotachew, the nephew of Apporaza, who governed in his absence, timidly hesitated whether to march at the head of his troops, to await a reinforcement, or to retreat to Prome; and while he lingered, Alom-praw, who, through the affections of his countrymen, had faithful intelligence of all that passed, boldly resolved to advance, before he could strengthen himself by the numerous Pegu forces scattered throughout the country. The report of his approach was sufficient to embolden the Birmans to rise on their oppressors. Dotachew fled; all the Peguans who remained behind were slain; and Alom-praw, spared the necessity of advancing in person, sent his second son, Shembuan, to take possession of the capital.

At this time, both the English and the French had re-established their factories at Syriam, and had, of

course, their separate interests. The French favoured the Peguans; the English took the part of the Birmans; both parties, however, contented themselves with rendering the petty aid of clandestine supplies. Early in 1754, the Pegu monarch, now awakened to a sense of the danger, despatched Apporaza from Syriam, with a numerous fleet of war-boats up the Irrawaddy, to reconquer the revolted provinces. The season at which this expedition was undertaken, was unfavourable. In the dry months of January, February, March, and April, the river subsides so as to be scarcely navigable from shoals and sand-banks, and the northerly wind, which invariably prevails at this season, retards all boats of burthen. After sustaining a series of harassing attacks from the Birmans on the shores of the river, as they proceeded, Apporaza succeeded in advancing as high as the city of Ava; but Ava was of sufficient strength to stand a protracted siege, and Shembuan resolved to defend it to the last extremity. Alom-praw had, in the meanwhile, collected in the immediate vicinity, at Keoummeoum, a powerful fleet and an army of ten thousand men; and Apporaza, preferring the risk of a battle to the tedious and doubtful operations of a siege, left Ava in his rear, and advanced to attack the Birman forces. The contest was obstinate and bloody. At length, a report, skilfully spread, that Shembuan was advancing on their rear from the fort of Ava, threw the Peguan forces into total disorder and rout; numbers were slaughtered in the retreat, and Shembuan, issuing from the fort of Ava, completed their destruction. This signal victory secured the emancipation of Ava. Enraged at these repeated defeats and reverses, the Peguans had recourse to vindictive measures, which, in the end, proved fatal to themselves. Their

aged and unoffending prisoner, the dethroned king of the Birmans, was accused of conspiring against the Peguan government, and on this pretence was put to death. The principal Birmans in the districts yet in the hands of the Peguans, being supposed to be implicated, were every where indiscriminately slaughtered. These atrocious and bloody scenes effected no other purpose than to drive to desperation the numerous Birmans in the towns and districts of Prome, Keounzeik, Loonzay, and Denoobew. Furious at the murder of their monarch and the slaughter of their countrymen, they simultaneously rose upon their oppressors, and having exterminated the several garrisons, united themselves to the now distinguished leader of their countrymen.

At this period, the eldest son of the deposed and murdered monarch, hearing of the success of Alompraw, returned to Monchaboo, with a set of brave and faithful followers, from an eastern province of Siam; but, on his venturing imprudently to assume the distinctions of royalty, Alom-praw so clearly developed his views on the throne, that the prince thought it prudent to consult his safety by flight, and again sought an asylum among the Siamese. In the autumn of 1754, Beinga Della, king of Pegu, having made the greatest efforts to raise fresh levies, advanced and laid siege to Prome. This city was fortified by a wall and fosse as well as a strong stockade, and for forty days it was vigorously defended against every assault, until Alom-praw, having collected the choicest of his troops, proceeded down the river with a formidable fleet of war-boats. A fierce and bloody encounter took place between the two armies; but at length, the Birmans obtained a decisive victory, and the vanquished Peguans sought safety by flight. The mere terror spread by the

conqueror's approach, sufficed to clear the whole river to the sea, and to extend his authority over the delta formed by the mighty waters of the Irrawaddy. Here, before his return to Monchaboo, on the ruins of a large and populous town, called in the Pali, Singounterra, Alom-praw laid the foundation of the flourishing sea-port of Rangoon,* which has since become so well known, not only to our merchants but our troops. The revered temple of Shoe Dagon (the Golden Dagon), a noble edifice, stands three miles from the banks of the river.

The contests maintained by the expiring efforts of the Peguans, were continued for a considerable time on the Persaim (or Bassien), Syriam, and Martaban rivers and estuaries; but Alom-praw finally defeated all his opponents. Exasperated at the instances of duplicity and weakness displayed in turn by the principal persons of the English and French factories, who were desirous of assisting only the strongest, and thereby betrayed both parties, he took a sanguinary revenge by putting to death the principal Europeans on both sides, and destroying the factories. Pursuing his victorious career, he at length invested Pegu, the capital of the rival and constant enemy of Birmah. Having erected numerous stockades so as to form a circumvallation round the whole city, in January 1757, he sat down to wait the slow but certain effects of hunger and distress. A gallant struggle, the dying efforts of a once powerful nation, protracted the siege, and various fruitless efforts were made to escape the last point of humiliation. At length, the king of Pegu, whose imbecility seems to have equalled his ill fortune, surrendered himself

* Rangoon, or Dzangoon, Col. Symes says, signifies victory.

with his family to the discretion of the conqueror, and Pegu was given up to indiscriminate plunder.

Turning now again southward, Alom-praw proceeded to reduce the large district of Martaban, and the important line of sea-coast from that river downwards through the peninsula of Tenasserim to Mergui, together with the independent state of Tavoy. In a subsequent expedition, occasioned by the revolt of the southern provinces, he wrested Mergui and Tenasserim from the Siamese; and provoked at the assistance they had lent to the insurgents, he resolved to annex the kingdom of Siam to his dominions. He had proceeded, in May 1760, to lay siege to its capital, and so decided and energetic were his measures, that he would probably have succeeded in this bold enterprise, when death arrested his career, and thus saved the Siamese from total ruin. Foreseeing that his end was approaching, he raised the siege, hoping to reach once more his own dominions; but within two days' march of Martaban, he expired, in the fiftieth year of his age. The short space of seven years not only sufficed to achieve these splendid conquests, but Alom-praw proved the strength of his capacity not less by the extent, variety, and clearness of his civil and judicial enactments. He laid deep and strong the foundations of the Birman power; they have never hitherto been shaken, and his posterity still wield his sceptre. It is unfortunate that the impression of ill-faith on the part of the European factories long survived his reign, and has apparently sunk very deep in the minds of the Birman government. The incidents of the wars of Alom-praw are not, therefore, without their interest even at this distant period, as they tend to throw considerable light on the present obstinate contest.

The eldest son of Alom-praw succeeded to the vacant throne, but not without a recurrence of those scenes of sanguinary civil contest which are continually exhibited in countries scourged by eastern despotism. Namdojee-praw found a rival in his younger brother Shembuan, who, being with the army at the decease of his father, not only endeavoured to gain their support, but went so far as to issue a proclamation declaratory of his having been nominated heir to the crown by the deceased monarch. Finding himself, however, unable to maintain his claims, he sued for a reconciliation, which his brother had the magnanimity to grant. He had to encounter a more dangerous competitor in Meinla Rajah, a general high in favour with the late king, who not only seized Tonghoo, the strongest fortress in the Ava country, but succeeded in possessing himself of Old Ava, the ancient capital. His promptitude and rapidity had nearly gained the crown, and made him master of the person and fortunes of Namdojee-praw, who remained at Monchaboo, the favourite residence and capital of Alom-praw, engaged in raising fresh levies to oppose the rebels, but whose chief reliance rested upon the junction of his raw soldiers with the veteran army led by his father against Siam. The season befriended him, for the volume of waters poured down from the Tibetian mountains on the melting of the snows, so increases the rapidity and force of the stream, that, in the months of June, July, and August, the navigation of the Irrawaddy would be impracticable, were it not counteracted by the strength of the north-west monsoon. Assisted by this wind, and cautiously keeping within the eddies of the banks, the Birman boats use their sails, and make a more expeditious passage at this season than at any other time of the year. The distance of the present capital

of Birmah from Rangoon, by the river, is about 500 miles; but although so far from the sea, its noble breadth of stream, aided by the inundation, placed the royal forces far beyond the reach of any annoyance from the walls of Ava, which they passed to effect a junction with the king; and this union of strength finally enabled *him*, after an obstinate defence, the result of despair, to reduce the city, and exterminate the rebels.

Two other unsucessful revolts occupied the attention of Namdojee-praw during his short reign of three years; but the only event requiring notice was the tacit agreement of both parties to bury in oblivion the circumstances connected with the expulsion of the English from their factory at Negrais, and the grant of as much ground as they could occupy at Persaim. Namdojee-praw had the character of a severe and rigorous judge, punishing slight immoralities with the severities due only to atrocious crimes. A second conviction even of drunkenness, incurred the inevitable penalty of death; and any offences against the tenets of religion or its ministers, were inflexibly punished. He left one child, an infant; but the throne was immediately seized by Shembuan, his brother, whom he had formerly so generously pardoned. The reign of this monarch, which lasted for twelve years, was a scene of active and successful warfare, and proved him to be possessed of distinguished abilities. Pursuing the plans of his parent, Alom-praw, against the Siamese, Shembuan, in the beginning of the year 1766, advanced against the capital, which soon surrendered, and *the king* became his prisoner. Shembuan appointed a governor over the country, and exacted an oath of allegiance; but so inveterate is their national hatred of the Birmans,

that nothing short of extermination could long retain the kingdom in subjection to the foreign yoke. The hate of the Siamese soon found vent, and Pe-ya-tai, the son of a rich China man by a native woman, governor of the province of Muong-tai, led a revolt which, after a violent struggle, rescued Siam from its invaders. The capture and plunder of Yuthia, the ancient capital, by the Birmans, together with the disastrous events which followed, had induced many of the inhabitants to abandon the place. Pe-ya-tai, collecting the scattered remains of the dispirited population, was soon in a condition to found a new city. Bankok, also seated on the great river of Siam, the Meinam, was at this time a place of little importance, noted chiefly for the excellence of its fruits, which were sent in great abundance to Yuthia; but its site offered several advantages over that of Yuthia, and Bankok has ever since been the capital of the kingdom.

In the year 1744, Shembuan sent a formidable force against the Munnipoora Rajah and the Cassay Shaan, carrying his arms into the recesses of the distant hill districts of the Brahmapootra. The rajah of Cachar consented to yield as tribute to the Birman monarch, besides a sum of money, a virgin of the royal blood, and a tree with the roots bound in their native clay; thereby indicating that both person and property were at the disposal of his sovereign pleasure. In the south of his dominions, Shembuan repressed a most formidable and dangerous rebellion of the Peguans, of which he availed himself to bring to a mock trial and execute as a common criminal, Beinga Della, the aged monarch of Pegu, who had lingered for twenty years in captivity. It deserves notice, however, how precisely the fate of this unhappy sovereign corre-

sponded to the act of barbarity inflicted by Beinga Della himself on his vassal, the captive king of Birmah.

The most singular and important event of the reign of Shembuan, was a powerful invasion of the Birman dominions by a numerous army of Chinese. Scarcely was the Siamese war concluded, when the Chinese emperor, conceiving, probably, that the long and bloody wars between the Birmans and the Peguans must have enfeebled the neighbouring state, prepared an expedition which had for its object to annex the fine and fertile countries of the Irrawaddy to his immense dominions. It was in 1767, that the Birman monarch was informed that a Chinese army of 50,000 men, supported by a powerful body of Tâtar cavalry, had already advanced from the western frontiers of Yun-nan, and crossed the mountains that skirt the Chinese and Birman empires. Shembuan had prepared two armies: one, consisting of 10,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, under Amiou-mee, engaged the attention of the Chinese, and harassed their progress; while a much greater force, commanded by Tenjia-boo, a general of high rank, was directed to get in the rear of the enemy by a circuitous march over the mountains that lay further southwards. The Chinese approached by unremitting marches. Leaving the province of Bamoo to the west, they penetrated by Gouptong, between which and Quantong there is a *jee*, or mart, where the Birmans and Chinese meet to barter the commodities of their respective countries. The jee was taken by the Chinese and plundered; and near Peenjee, the advanced forces of Amiou-mee sustained an action, in which, from their inferiority of numbers, they were worsted and obliged to fall back. This inconsiderable success led to the total destruction of the Chinese

army, which became so elated as to conceive that no obstacle existed to impede their advance to the capital. Forsaking the high road, probably for the convenience of forage, they had advanced by Chenghio as far as the town of Chiboo, when the army of Tenjia-boo appeared in their rear, while the governor of Quantong, having joined Amiou-mee, took up a strong position in their front. Thus enclosed on all sides, the Chinese army was soon compelled to make a desperate effort at breaking through their straitened bounds. Supposing Amiou-mee to be the weaker party, they attacked his division with the fury of despair; but, after a very long and bloody conflict, the arrival of the fresh and numerous forces of Tenjia-boo decided their fate. Of 50,000 Chinese, not a man returned to their country. The Birmans have always practised an exterminating policy towards their enemies, and have followed up any revolts or resistance to their arms by such unrelenting cruelties as have tended to strike terror into every adjoining state. About 2,500 only were preserved from the sword, and conducted in fetters to the capital, where a quarter was assigned for their residence. These captives, in conformity to the custom of the empire, were encouraged to marry Birman wives, and to consider themselves as natives. This remarkable peculiarity in the Birman customs, which reminds us of the Lacedemonian liberality, or of the genius of Roman institutes, speaks highly for the followers of the Shaster, marking the superior character of their general polity, which grants to every sect the practice of its religious rites. Tolerant alike of Christian, Mussulman, or Jew, they admit to equal privileges the votaries of Confucius, or of the Arabian prophet; and their children, if born of a Birman woman, are entitled to the same protection from the

state, as if descended from a long line of Birman ancestry.

Shembuan, having now established his throne on the strong foundations of terror and respect, resolved upon an act of policy, under the disguise of a religious solemnity, adapted to confirm the impression of his power. The sacred temple of Dagon near Rangoon, where Guadma Buddha had been adored from time immemorial, had, in the year 1769, been greatly damaged by an earthquake, and the sacred *tee*, or umbrella of open iron work, which crowned the spire, had been thrown down and irreparably damaged. In Birmah, a pagoda is not deemed sanctified until it receives the tee, and its erection is an act of high solemnity. Shembuan, having caused a magnificent tee to be constructed at Ava, announced his intention of descending the Irrawaddy, and assisting in person at its erection. Attended by a numerous train of Birman nobles, and a body guard of 50,000 men, he left his capital, and arrived at Rangoon in October 1775. At the different stages of his progress, he inflicted the most relentless punishments upon the different Peguans of rank who had been concerned in the recent rebellion; and it was upon this occasion that, after a mock trial, he wantonly put to death the aged monarch whom he had led captive in his train. These cruelties and this act of devotion to Buddha were the last deeds of Shembuan. On his return to the capital, he was seized with a mortal illness, and expired in the spring of the year 1776.

Momein, the infant son of Namdojee-praw, was now growing towards manhood. He had been secluded in the *kioum* or monastery of Lo-ga-ther-poo, at a short distance from the fort of Ava, and he was yet destined to inhabit its privacy. Chenguza, the

son of Shembuan, ascended, as rightful heir, the throne which his father had wrested from the infancy of Momien. Arrived himself at maturity, the state of the Birman empire so flourishing, its foundations laid so firm, and potently supported by the faithful adherents and able counsellors of his father, every circumstance augured a prosperous and brilliant reign; but the short and ignominious career of Chenguza was marked by shameless debauchery, and by acts of the greatest cruelty and barbarity. Stimulated by jealousy, he caused his younger brother, Chilenza, to be put to death; his uncle Terroug-mee also fell a victim to his suspicions, and his other relatives were either detained in confinement or harassed by a vigilant surveillance. His first marriage being unfruitful, he espoused as his second wife, a daughter of one of the attawoons or chief counsellors of his court. His intemperance causing mutual alienation, he, in a groundless fit of jealousy, had the unfortunate victim dragged in open day from the palace, enclosed in a scarlet sack, and drowned in the Irrawaddy in the view of thousands of spectators, among whom were her agonised father and many of her relations. His insane caprice induced him to reverse most of the late king's plans, by recalling his armies, and disgracing Maha-see-soo-ra, the general in highest reputation; and not content with having repealed the edicts against drunkenness, he constantly exhibited himself in a state of inebriety. By his contemptuous treatment of the sacerdotal class, with which the sovereign of these regions is closely and intimately associated, he drew on himself the hatred of that powerful order, and thereby enabled his subjects to overthrow his throne, and free themselves from his yoke. Despotic as are the monarchs of

Birmah, they are nevertheless circumscribed in their apparently unlimited despotism, by the *rhahaäns* or priests. This was made apparent by the part they were prevailed upon to take at the present emergency. Protected by the sanctity of the chosen retreat and the sacred functions for which he was professedly destined, Momien had been screened by the rhahaans from the fears and jealousy of Shembuan and his yet more dangerous son and successor Chenguza; and they now silently prepared to avail themselves of their ascendancy over their pupil, whose slender capacity made him a willing instrument. Minderajee-praw, the younger brother of Shembuan, a man of eminent parts and equal ambition, soon laid the plans which effected their purpose. One proof of the capricious, unsettled mind of Chenguza, was his irregularity in issuing from and returning to his royal fort and palace; a station in all Asiatic kingdoms, even in Turkey and Persia, of the highest importance, as usually containing the treasures and exhibiting the state of the sovereign, and almost conferring the possession of the royal power on its occupier. Chenguza had gone to Keoptaloun, about thirty miles below Ava, to celebrate a high festival, when Momien, attired in the ensigns of royalty, and supplied with a royal retinue by the address of his advisers and followers, presented himself as Chenguza, at midnight, at the golden gate, and demanded admission. It was opened, but, suspicions being excited, an effort was made to close it, which would have been fatal to the whole enterprise; the conspirators, however, rushed in, and after a smart conflict, gained possession of the palace. Early next day, Momien was proclaimed sovereign of Birmah, and Chenguza was declared an outlaw. Forces were despatched by sea and land to Keoptaloun, to seize his person; but Chen-

guza, informed of his danger, had shut himself up in the strong fortress of Chagaing. There he was invested by the forces of the new king, and soon finding that the weakest of all beings is a despised and dethroned tyrant, he determined on fleeing to the Cassay country, and soliciting protection from the Munnipoora Rajah. During the six years of his reign, he had observed the most pacific conduct towards his vassals and neighbours; he might, therefore, have received the shelter which he courted. From this resolve he was, however, dissuaded by the voice of his mother, the widow of Shembuan-praw, who urged him to prefer death in his own golden courts, rather than to depend on the precarious bounty of a vassal. Chenguza, although so long immersed in vice and profligacy, yielded to this counsel, and thus gave in his last act one proof of a lofty and magnanimous spirit. Having privately prepared a small boat, in disguise, and with only two adherents, he crossed the Irrawaddy to the principal ghaut, or landing-place, at the foot of the walls of the palace, where he was speedily challenged by the sentinels. No longer seeking to conceal himself, he called out in a loud voice, that he was *Chenguza-nandoh-yeng-praw* — Chenguza, lawful lord of the palace. A conduct so unexpected and lofty surprised the guards who, overawed and restrained by the Birman law, which expressly forbids the shedding of the blood of one of the royal family, suffered *him* to proceed, and the crowd that had quickly collected, respectfully opened for his passage. He had penetrated to the gate of the outer court of the palace; and so rapid are the changes in human affairs, especially in eastern climes, that he might again have reached the summit of power, when he was confronted by the

attawoon whose daughter he had so inhumanly drowned in the Irrawaddy. Chenguza, on perceiving him, exclaimed: "Traitor, I am come to take possession of my right, and to wreak vengeance on my enemies!" Scarcely had he uttered the words, ere his exasperated foe, seizing a sabre from one of the attendants, laid him breathless at his feet. For shedding royal blood, however, the ill-fated attawoon was basely delivered over to the executioner. Momien, a mere tool in the hands of those who had made use of him to achieve the tyrant's downfall, was, within the space of six days, himself precipitated from the throne by his ambitious uncle Minderajee-praw; and the new king, to prevent any future danger from his pretensions, caused him to perish in the waters of the Irrawaddy.

In 1782, Minderajee-praw commenced his reign; and although he was indebted for his elevation to deeds of blood, he governed with clemency and justice, recalling and replacing Maha-see-soo-ra, and the officers and counsellors of his brother and father. Secured against foreign enemies, and exempt throughout his reign from family disturbances, he was nearly deprived of his throne and life by a conspiracy, over the object and motives of which there hangs a considerable degree of obscurity. The leader in this treasonable attempt was Magoung, a low-born man; and it is said to have been concerted without the privacy of any person of consequence. Magoung is represented as having been "remarkable only for the regularity of his actions and a gloomy cast of thought;" yet, he must have possessed a certain consideration, as he had influence enough to form a confederacy of a hundred persons as visionary and desperate as himself. These

persons bound themselves, under an oath of secrecy and fidelity to each other, to take away the life of the king. Whether Minderajee-praw had infringed on any privileges, or excited hatred by the outrage against Momien's sacred person,—whatever were their motives, their attempt to effect their purpose was so energetic and powerful, that, breaking through the customary guard of seven hundred men, they were on the point of succeeding: nothing preserved the king but the casualty of his having retired to the range of apartments allotted to the women. Disappointed of their prey, and surrounded by the guards, the conspirators were all put to death.

Although, as votaries of Buddha in his character of Guadma, the Birmans are exempted from the yoke of Hindoo castes, and pay no regard to the innumerable deities of the Hindoo mythology, yet, there is a close connexion between the two forms of superstition. Brahmins admit Buddha into their pantheon as an incarnation of Vishnu the preserver; while the Birmans, although esteeming the Brahmins inferior in sanctity to their own *rhahaäns*, yet hold them in high respect, and these personages have for ages been accustomed to migrate from Cassay and Arracan to Ava. The habits of the Brahmins, and their intercourse with society, must raise them in general knowledge far above the Birman priesthood, who are an order of monks residing in convents, and holding it to be an abuse to perform any of the common functions of life. The Brahmins, skilfully availing themselves of the early predilection of Minderajee-praw for the science of judicial astrology, and flattering him with favourable prognostics, soon introduced themselves into high influence at court, obtained the grant of a college

and lands for their support, and engrossed the whole regulation of the national calendar, assuming the prerogative of pronouncing upon the propitious or adverse moment of any undertaking from unerring prognostics. The Brahmins have thus obtained a permanent footing in Birmah. A certain number of them form a train of fatidical augurs, who, like the Magi of Iran, or the Druids of Britain, compose a sacred band, the guardians of the throne.* Prompted by these new counsellors, Minderajee-praw removed his seat of government from Awa Kaung, or Old Ava, and founded a new metropolis. His choice was judicious. About four miles from Ava, towards the north-east, is a deep and extensive lake called Tounzemaun, formed by the influx of the river during the monsoon, through a narrow channel, which afterwards expands, and forms a sheet of water seven or eight miles in length, and about a mile and a half broad. On a peninsula formed by this lake on the one side, and the river Irrawaddy on the other, stands Amara-pura (Ummerapoora), or the immortal city, the flourishing metropolis of the empire. The situation is dry and salubrious, and Amara-pura soon became one of the best built and most flourishing cities of the East.

The chief event of the reign of Minderajee-praw was the successful invasion of Arracan, a state of the greatest natural strength, which appears to have been judiciously planned and executed. Ar-

* Colonel Symes calls them the king's "private chaplains." On the day of audience, "four Brahmins, dressed in white caps and gowns, chanted the usual prayer at the foot of the throne; a rahhaan then advanced into the vacant space before the king, and recited in musical cadence the name of each person who was to be introduced, and of whose present he entreated his majesty's acceptance."—SYMES, vol. iii. p. 169.

racan, or Yee-kien, stretches from the river Naff (or Naaf), which separates it from the district of Chittagong, as far southward as Cape Negrais. The great range of western mountains, called Anoupectou-miou, nearly encircles it. From Bassïen or Cape Negrais, its southern frontier can be invaded only by water. On the north, it is accessible from the Chittagong frontier only by the sea-beach, which is continually intersected by channels from the sea; and the mountainous passes of the Anou-pectou-miou Ghauts are so difficult, that an enterprising people might, with a small force, defend them against any numbers. Although the great river on which the city of Arracan stands, expands into a noble sheet of water, yet, its entrance is well protected by sands and numerous islands. A strong fleet of boats, however, descending the Irrawaddy, entered the waters of Arracan by the creeks and channels of the Bassien river, and a naval action took place about two miles from the fort, which terminated in favour of the Birmans. The approach of a powerful detachment under the Prince of Prome, who had penetrated the mountain defiles, completed the victory. Maha Sumda, the Rajah of Arracan, terrified at the bold and warlike character of his foes, sought safety in flight, but was overtaken, and conveyed with all his family to Amara-pura, where he died in the first year of his captivity. The town and fort of Arracan fell after a faint resistance. This was followed by the surrender of the islands of Cheduba, Ramree, and the Broken isles. Many of the Mughs,* or natives of Arracan, preferring flight to servitude,

* A corruption of *Mogo*, a term of high sanctity, properly belonging only to the sacerdotal order and the rajah.

took refuge in the Dumbuck hills on the borders of the Chittagong district, and amid the forlorn wastes and jungles skirting the frontiers; where, having formed themselves into independent tribes of robbers, they have carried on unceasing hostilities against the Birmans. Some settled in the districts of Dacca and Chittagong, under the protection of the British flag; while others, rather than abandon their country, submitted to the conqueror.

The total reduction of Arracan occupied but a few months. The booty is said to have been considerable; but on nothing was so high a value placed as on the original sitting statue of Guadma Buddha, made of brass highly burnished.* This, together with five other gigantic images, of the same metal, representing *racshyas*, or Hindoo demons, the guardians of the sanctuary, and an enormous brass cannon, thirty feet in length, was conveyed by water to the capital with much pomp and superstitious parade. It was upon this occasion, we are told, that the Birman monarch, having gained possession of so important a trophy, and succeeded to the prerogatives of the great Mogo, assumed the imperial title of *Boa*, and the still prouder designation of Lord of the White Elephant, the highest distinction in the Buddhic world. This important acquisition did not, however, satisfy the conqueror's ambition. The rival state of Siam was

* "The figure is about ten feet high, in the customary sitting posture, with the legs crossed and inverted, the left hand resting on the lap, and the right pendant. This image is believed to be the original resemblance of the *reshee* (saint), taken from life, and is so highly venerated, that pilgrims have for centuries been accustomed to come from the remotest countries where the supremacy of Guadma is acknowledged, to pay their devotions at the feet of his brazen representative."—SYMES, vol. i. p. 253.

recovering its former vigour after enjoying a long respite from hostilities; but the Birman emperor now resolved to push his conquests further southward along the western coast of the peninsula. After an unsuccessful effort made by an expedition from Rangoon to gain possession of the island of Junkseylon, Minderajee left his capital at the head of 30,000 men, and a train of twenty field-pieces, and taking the route of Tonghoo, reached Martaban in the spring of 1786. Scarcely had he entered the Siamese territory, when he was met by the king of Siam with a powerful army. A furious engagement ensued, in which the Birmans were completely routed, their useless cannon were taken, and the emperor himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner. Hostilities were carried on between the two nations without any decisive result for several ensuing years, till at length, in the year 1793, overtures for peace were made by the Siamese, and a treaty was entered into, by which they consented to cede to the Birmans the western maritime towns as far south as Mergui, including the important province of Tenasserim and the port of Tavoy; acquisitions of great importance, considered either in a political or a commercial light. The province of Bamoo and the fort of Quantong had also been wrested from the Chinese, and the boundary extended to the thickly-wooded heights which separate the Chinese province of Yun-nan from Ava; and the Birman emperor thus found himself invested with the undisputed sovereignty of a territory equal in geographical extent to the whole of France.

Such was the state of things when, in 1794, an event occurred, which had nearly embroiled the Birmans in fresh hostilities with a more powerful foe than they had yet encountered. The trade of Arracan had

long suffered from the attacks of piratical banditti, and even fleets laden with the royal customs had been attacked by these bold freebooters, chiefly refugees from Arracan, who scrupled not to make predatory incursions by land also. Having accomplished their object, they, as the Birmans alleged, transported their spoil across the river Naaf, the boundary of the Chittagong district, and under the protection of the British flag, lived in safety and at ease, until impelled by want to renew their depredations. His Birman majesty, on becoming acquainted with these facts, disdaining to institute any inquiry or to prefer any complaints, ordered a body of 5,000 troops to march into the district, with positive commands to apprehend and bring back the culprits. The British Government, surprised at this aggression, despatched a strong detachment with artillery forthwith to Chittagong, to expel the invaders. Seeree Nunda Kiozo, the Birman general, appears to have conducted himself with singular moderation and discretion. After his army had crossed the river and encamped on the western bank, he dictated a letter to the British magistrate of Chittagong, stating that the only object of this inroad was the caption of the delinquents, and disclaiming any design of hostilities against the British: at the same time, he declared his resolution not to quit the Company's territory till they were given up; and having fortified his camp with a stockade, he seemed determined to abide by this resolution. On the approach, however, of Major-general Erskine, Seeree Nunda Kiozo sent a flag of truce, proposing terms of accommodation on the same basis; and he afterwards, with a manly confidence in the British character, personally waited on General Erskine, who appears to have acted with equal firmness and prudence. It being represented

to them, that no proposals could be listened to while they remained on English ground, the Birmans were induced to recross the river, having received a promise that the matter of complaint should instantly be investigated. The refugees were already in custody; and the result was, that the three principal delinquents were surrendered to the Birman chief, who, having attained the object of his expedition, retired with his captives from the British frontier.

The governor-general (Sir John Shore) now deemed it expedient to endeavour to cultivate a better understanding and a closer connexion with this bold and formidable neighbour. With this view, an embassy to the Birman court was determined upon; and in 1795, Colonel Symes was despatched from Calcutta in the character of agent plenipotentiary, with a suite of more than seventy persons. To this gentleman's account of his successful mission, and the historical memoir prefixed to it, we are indebted for the materials of the preceding sketch, and for the greater part of the information which we possess respecting the geography, manners, and political condition of the country. The trade between Rangoon and both Calcutta and Madras had, for some time, been on the increase, more particularly on account of teak timber, the produce of Ava and Pegu,* which is invaluable for the purpose of ship-building. But from this period, it has been more especially an object with the

* In proof of the importance of the Pegu trade, Colonel Symes states, that "a durable vessel of burthen cannot be built in the river of Bengal, except by the aid of teak plank, which is only to be procured from Pegu. Madras is supplied from Rangoon with timber for all the common purposes of domestic use; and even Bombay, although the coast of Malabar is its principal storehouse, finds it worth while annually to import a large quantity of planks from Pegu."—Symes, vol. iii. pp. 266, 70.

Indian government to secure an amicable intercourse, for the purposes of commerce, with the Birman power.

In the year 1799 and 1800, fresh hostilities broke out between the Birmans and the Siamese, in which the latter were the aggressors; and they obtained at first considerable advantages, routing the Birmese forces opposed to them. But so great were the exertions and resources of Minderajee-praw, that the Siamese were soon compelled to fall back; and the result appears to have been, a recognition of the old boundary, and a truce of longer duration than usual. The feudal system of conscription which prevails in the Birman empire, enables the sovereign readily to bring into the field a force of powerful and menacing amount. The court of Amarapura can, without much difficulty, command, by means of its great feudatories, the viceroys of Pagahm, Prome, Tonghoo, and other chiefs, a body of from 60 to 80,000 men on any one point, and by means of its noble rivers can direct this vast force with sufficient precision to the prescribed spot. So well arranged and combined are their military movements, that, in the invasion of Arracan by the late monarch in 1783, a simultaneous operation by three divisions of troops, and a flotilla of war-boats, took place so accurately, that they all appeared at nearly the same moment before Arracan; and that country has ever since furnished its contingent levy of troops for the armies of Birmah. But during the Siamese war of 1799 and 1800, a large mass of Arracanese, disgusted or terrified by the new regulations of conscription, emigrated in a body into the British province of Chittagong; and after various disputes and altercations with the Birmans, they at length were allowed peaceably to settle on districts apportioned out for them in the British

territories. The truce with Siam lasted until 1810, when another furious contest took place, which, after much bloodshed, terminated as usual to the advantage of the Birmans, by extending and consolidating all their conquests on the western coast from Mergui to the island of Junkseylon.

No interruption of commercial intercourse between British India and the Birmans took place during the remainder of this reign; but a deep-rooted jealousy of the British appears to have taken possession of the mind of the emperor. In 1818, the Marquess of Hastings had certain information of his having joined the formidable Mahratta confederacy, which had for its object to subvert our Indian empire. By the well-conceived device of transmitting the intercepted documents to the Birman emperor as forgeries, accompanied with an account of the triumphant ascendancy of our arms in all quarters, the governor-general succeeded in warding off at that time a tremendous inroad on our eastern frontier. The Birman emperor wisely availed himself of the hint, and the intercourse between the two countries went on as before. In June 1819, Minderajee-praw terminated his long and prosperous career, after a reign of thirty-seven years. The state paper issued on the occasion announced, according to the Chinese formula, that the immortal king had gone up to amuse himself in the celestial regions. He was succeeded without opposition by his grandson, the *Engy Tekien*, or prince royal. The new emperor was proclaimed in June 1819; and on the 2d of November following, being his birth-day, he was solemnly crowned at Ava. He must immediately after his accession have entered on the reduction of the province of Cassay, as in January 1820, he celebrated his victory in presence of the American Baptist mission-

aries. By this conquest, the frontiers of Birmah were pushed forward, on the north and west, to the eastern boundary of Bengal, to Dinapore and its districts, the Garrows, the Sylhet Hills, and the mountain ridges of Cachar. Nor was it long before this close contact with our Indian empire became the occasion of fresh disagreements. In 1822, a large body of the persecuted Assamese migrated into the British territory, and, as before, the fugitives were followed thither by a considerable Birman force sent to reclaim them. The assurance that these refugees were strictly precluded from exercising any act of hostility against their conquerors, seems, however, to have satisfied the Birman commander, and no act of hostility followed. Indeed, the attention of the sovereign of Birmah appears at this time to have been wholly occupied with the reduction of Siam, the favourite object of his predecessors in the empire. In order to accomplish the final overthrow of this kingdom, an effort was made to obtain the concurrence of the king of Cochin China. Whatever may have been the plans of attack, the relative frontiers remained unaltered in 1824, when the eventful war broke out between the British government and the Birman empire. Many petty acts of ill will had betokened the jealousy and alienation of the Birmans, when, in September 1823, a body of their troops, amounting to 500, took forcible possession of the island of Shapuree, in pursuance of an order from the capital, read publicly at Arracan. They were instantly expelled by force, and an explanation demanded. The next act of open hostility, was the advance of 2000 Birman troops, with a view to restore the rightful rajah of Cachar, who had been deposed and had sought refuge in the Birman dominions. Ghumbur Sing, the usurper, was supported

by the British; and by this revolution, that state had been for some months under the British protection. These acts, therefore, of hostility against Cachar, together with the attempted occupation of Shapuree, were the ostensible grounds of the war.

It has been usual, in former wars with the Asiatic states, to experience a violence of onset, impetuous in the extreme, but which has soon exhausted itself, so that it has required only the perseverance and combination requisite to surmount the first attack, and the storm has subsided of itself. Not so in the recent contest with the Birmans. On the northern or Sylhet frontier, in the district of Chittagong, in the southern maritime districts of Rangoon, Dalla, and Mergui, every where large bodies of troops met the British detachments, fought with a bravery the most determined, and evidenced a decided superiority over most of the native armies. The island of Shapuree, in the river Naaf, the boundary of Chittagong, was soon retaken, and was never again made the scene of action. In Cachar, the ground was contested with vigour and skill, large bodies of Birmans and Assamese presenting themselves at every point. The latter forces, dragged into the war to support the power of their oppressor, usually fled at the first encounter; but the former, entrenching themselves in their peculiarly effective stockades, maintained a persevering resistance.*

After many severe conflicts, they were expelled from Cachar; but invading the Chittagong province,

* Col. Bowen, giving an account of an attack made upon the stockade of Doodpattee, in Feb. 1824, says: "They fought with a bravery and obstinacy which I had never experienced in any troops." The Birmans amounted to 2000. After a most severe action, which lasted from ten in the morning till the evening, the British were obliged to retire to Juttrapore with a heavy loss.

they advanced as far as Ramoo, and surrounding a detachment consisting of five companies of the 23d native infantry, three companies of the 20th, some provincials, the Mugh levy and artillery, they completely overwhelmed and routed the whole force. The highest alarm was excited in Calcutta by this victory, in consequence of the unprotected state of this important frontier; but the enemy, as if undecided in their object of warfare, remained stationary at Ramoo. The brunt of the contest, however, was destined to fall upon the southern maritime provinces, and a large armament from the Bengal and Madras presidencies anchored off Rangoon, on May 16, 1824. This flourishing place, which had grown to consequence and prosperity by the extent and importance of its commercial relations, was abandoned and partially destroyed on the approach of the British, and was completely desolated by the series of obstinate conflicts carried on in its neighbourhood. In the month of May, the island of Cheduba and the point of Negrais were taken possession of by the British troops, but in neither case without a severe contest. Stockades of great strength were established by the Burmans along the river; and although repeatedly driven from their stations, they immediately occupied some post in the rear, retreating with equal order and judgement, until the gradual rising of the Irrawaddy, laying the whole country under water, suspended active proceedings from June to October. The district of Dalla, eventually subjected by the British, was also spiritedly contested. The pagoda at Keykloo, fourteen miles above Rangoon on the Irrawaddy, when attacked by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, on the 5th of October, was so judiciously and skilfully defended, that our troops were repulsed with

considerable loss, and were obliged to retreat, as the despatch expresses it, dispirited and ungovernable. On returning to the attack, on the 9th of October, with a reinforcement of European troops, the town was found evacuated and in flames. After a series of actions, more or less obstinate, Martaban, Tavoy, and Tenasserim were at length reduced by the British arms, and the whole Birman possessions eastward of Pegu fell before the superiority of European tactics. In Mergui, there were found 143 pieces of ordnance; in Martaban, 116 pieces. Not in one point only, but throughout the border of this extensive dominion, the Birmans had provided formidable means of defence. But it was in the central provinces, and on Ava's mighty river, the Irrawaddy, that the most effective preparations were made for the important struggle.

In the beginning of December, the Maha Bundoola descended the river, from Prome, with an army of 60,000 men. A series of attacks and combats now commenced, which manifested a spirit and courage the most determined on the part of the Birmans, and a knowledge and skill in the Maha Bundoola, which extorted the praise of Sir A. Campbell. Their attacks upon the British line continued for six days. The left wing of their army, when defeated with great loss, merely retreated on their right, and the struggle was renewed, till this division also was routed, with the loss of 5000 men, and their ordnance and *chattahs* (honorary standards). Still undismayed, they rallied the remnant of this great army, and entrenched themselves within five miles of their original position, at the village of Corkain, to the number of about 20 or 25,000 men,— "with a judgement," says the despatch of the brigadier-general, "which would do credit to the best-instructed engineers of the most

civilised and warlike nations." In the mean time, our shipping was attacked by a large naval armament of war-boats, and was in no small danger from the fire-rafts of the enemy. Accident, however, had fortunately attached to the British fleet a steam-vessel, equipped in India by a private individual, which rendered the most efficient assistance, rushing amid the Birman war-boats with an impetus which nothing could withstand. Astonished and alarmed at the wheels, the noise, and the column of smoke which issued from this mysterious assailant, these brave but inexperienced foes suffered a total defeat, the larger portion of their boats being overset and run down. Driven from the water, and combated both by flood and by land with arms hitherto unknown in this part of the East, the remains of the grand army under their brave leader, retreated towards the shores of Pegu, there to prepare for future conflicts.

In January 1825, the Birman generalissimo was found to have stationed himself at Denoobew, a large town on the great river, about fifty miles above Rangoon; so small a space in the heart of the country had the British acquired by the series of brilliant but dearly-bought victories they had gained. Here, the Birman general prepared to sustain an attack, having combined the remaining resources of the Pegu vice-royalty.

About the middle of February, General Cotton captured the stockade of Panlung, principally by means of the rockets and mortars; but at Denoobew, he sustained a serious repulse, and was obliged to retire with the loss of many of his officers and men. In April, General Campbell, who had ascended the Irrawaddy towards Prome without encountering any resistance, was recalled to the attack on Denoobew,

which was regularly assaulted with the mortars and rockets. Here, the brave Maha Bundoola ended his military career, being killed by a rocket while going his rounds, and his dismayed followers retired from the place without much further resistance. The quantity of ordnance and stores captured was very considerable. On the 24th of this month, the flotilla and army advanced to Prome, which city was evacuated by the enemy, after an attempt had been made to destroy it by conflagration. One quarter was laid in ashes, and much grain consumed. Above 100 pieces of ordnance were captured here. The despatch states, that the surrounding hills were for the most part fortified to their very summits, presenting a position of a very formidable appearance, and, in reality, so strong, that 10,000 regular troops could have defended it against any attack from ten times that force. While these important movements were taking place, a series of brilliant and sharply-contested actions put the British forces in possession of the kingdom of Arracan. From Cachar and Assam, also, the Birmans were completely expelled.

Thus terminated, in the beginning of May 1825, the second campaign of this bloody and devastating war. Prome, the ancient frontier town of Pegu, is 120 miles from Rangoon, but the distance still from Amara-pura, the capital, is about 250 miles. Taught by lamentable experience the great inferiority of their weapons and tactics to European practice, the Birman government seems now to have resorted to the frightful expedient of firing every town and village, and laying waste the lands in the track of their retreat. The present aspect of Birmah, in fact, is that of a proud and threatening ruin. Her resources exhausted beyond what half a century will be sufficient to restore;

her population diminished to a frightful extent; stripped of Arracan, of the great delta of the Irrawaddy, of the maritime peninsular provinces; on the north and west, driven from Assam, from Cachar, and Cassay; a formidable enemy advanced a third of the way to her capital, and possessed of the strong places of her conquered and discontented province, the once flourishing kingdom of Pegu; still, this powerful state maintains a posture of defiance, assembles fresh levies, and seems resolved on trying the fate of arms in another campaign. Whether we reflect upon the pertinacity and bravery of the constant attacks made on our positions in the vicinity of Rangoon, for at least the space of twelve months; the repetition of the contest after every repulse; the simultaneous struggle in the maritime peninsula, the province of Arracan, and the mountains of Cachar and Assam; the various repulses which at times they inflicted on our troops; and the combined arrangements requisite to sustain so great a chain of warfare upon the scale that every where was exhibited, we must admit the energy and power of the Birman empire to have surpassed that of any Asiatic state of modern times.

"Lord Amherst and his advisers certainly," remarks a writer in the Quarterly Review, "made a false estimate of the power and resources of the Birmans, when they so hastily determined on the invasion of their country. They believed, perhaps, that the military establishment was the same now as thirty years ago; they could not have anticipated that one city alone, that of Prome, would be found to contain more than one hundred pieces of ordnance, and to have been capable, had not the Birmese leader been killed or deserted by his men, of resisting ten times the force that was brought against it. But whatever was the belief as

to the actual state of their fortified towns, and the extent of their regular forces, Lord Amherst might fairly consider that neither the one nor the other could long resist his well-disciplined sepoys, led on by the gallantry of British officers. This, however, is not a war against the regular army of Birmah; it appears pretty certain, that the Bengal government either did not know, or left out of their calculation, that the whole Birman population, capable of bearing arms, would at once be brought against the invading army; that all the lands in the empire are held on a tenure resembling that of the feud; that a levy of 100,000 men could, at the shortest notice, be brought down to any specified point on the frontier, by means of the numerous navigable rivers which intersect the country; and that, in addition to these levies, might be brought into operation, along the whole course of the Irrawaddy, from 500 to 1000 war-boats, carrying each from forty to eighty rowers, with a piece of ordnance, a nine or ten-pounder, in the prow, and having on board, besides the rowers, twenty or thirty men armed with muskets and pikes; the towns on the banks of the rivers being compelled to furnish men for these boats. We had very soon proofs of the efficacy of these war-boats, when we had taken Rangoon. Several hundred of them were brought down to arrest our advance up the river, which, with the aid of immense fire-rafts, completely succeeded, for the first year of the campaign, in stopping our progress.... One thing seems also to have escaped the governor-general, that, though sure to conquer the enemy, the British troops were by no means so sure of conquering the elements; that the Birmans had only to retreat to their strong holds in, the mountains, and lay waste their towns and villages, which they could rebuild in

a month, drive the cattle from the plains, and leave disease and famine to do the rest, which, with the assistance of swamps, jungles, forests, and the rainy season, they would speedily and surely accomplish. The Birmans did not, however, act thus; they met their foes bravely and resolutely, disputed every foot of territory, and checked effectually the progress of the invading army, which in twelve months was unable to push forward twelve miles. It is greatly to be lamented, that, previously to the present hostilities, the commander of the British forces had not been instructed to try what negotiation might effect, instead of rushing into a war, which, splendid as may be the achievements, and to whatever results they may lead, can confer no advantage on either party, and has inflicted a deplorable loss on both."

POPULATION, &c.

THE population of the Birman empire, it will be seen from the preceding historical sketch, consists of various distinct nations or tribes, differing widely in dialect, physiognomy, and customs. Among these may be enumerated, 1. The proper Birmans of the Irrawaddy or Myamma; 2. The Talain, or Peguans; 3. The Siamese of the conquered provinces; 4. The Kiayn of the western mountains; 5. The Arracanese of the coast; 6. The Karayn, a tribe of cultivators; 7. The Cassayers, or Kathee people. Besides these, there are several tribes inhabiting the mountains or frontiers, of whom little is known, foreigners of various nations, and mixed castes. * Undefined and

* In the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches, a list is given of one hundred and one nations with which the Birmans are ac-

changing as are the boundaries of the empire, it seems impossible to ascertain, with any tolerable

quainted, obtained from an intelligent native. Many of these names, however, refer only to cities or towns, others to classes of persons, as *Sŏ-ge*, hermits; and a great number are of unknown reference. Those which can be made out are as follow:—

1. Myamma. The Birmans.
2. Ta-lain. The Peguans.
3. Yun. The inhabitants of Sayammay or Chiamay (Upper Siam); the province is called Yun-shan.
4. Yoo-da-ya. The Siamese of the Mei-nam, corrupted into Yoodras, from Yu-thai, the capital.
5. Sham or Shan. The Siamese subject to Birmah.
6. Layn-sayn. The inhabitants of Lower Laos.
7. 8. Gium and Khiun. Rude tribes in the Sham country.
9. Dhanu. A rude tribe inhabiting the banks of the Martaban river.
10. Karayn. An agricultural class, Peguans, who, as cultivators of the soil, are exempted from the Birman conscription laws. No. 7, 8, and 9, are also supposed to be Karayn.
11. La-wa. A numerous tribe, inhabiting the forests east of the Martaban river.
12. Ku-lă. Europeans, or Occidentals.
13. Pădeik-kărā. A western nation.
14. Dă-way. Inhabitants of Tavoy.
15. Ta-nayn-tha-re. Tenasserim.
16. Ka-du. A tribe between Martaban and Siam.
17. Kiayn. Inhabiting the mountains separating Ava from Arracan.
18. Ain-jiay. Said to live between Cassay and the Kiayn-duayn.
19. Ka-thee. Cassay, or Meckley.
20. Myvan. Inhabiting the hills between Arracan and Chittagong, called by the Bengalees, Mowong.
21. Thœk. Inhabiting the east bank of the Naaf river and the upper part of the Kurnafoolee or Chatu river, which rises in Cachar, and falls into the Chittagong river.
22. Kien-zout. Said to live near Cassay.
23. Tă-rout. The Chinese.
24. Tă-rœk. The Tartars governing China.
25. Layn-thœk. An independent people bordering on China—probably Lac-tho.
26, 27. Pă-lĕ and Pă-laung. Inhabitants of the mountains north-east of Ava, who pickle the tea-leaves.

precision, either the extent of surface or the amount of the population. Malte Brun estimates the empire at about 1,050 geographical miles in length and 600 in breadth, and it may probably contain, he thinks, 194,000 square miles. Colonel Symes rated the population, in 1795, at seventeen millions, while Captain Cox sets it down at no more than eight, and Colonel Francklin doubts whether it exceeds four. That of the capital is estimated at 25,000 houses, or 175,000 souls. In the valuable Essay on the Birman Empire, by the last-mentioned writer, are given some important data, which throw considerable light on the present question.

28. Kă-kiayn. A wild people on the Chinese frontier.
29. Poun-na. The Brahmins.
30. Pat-ta. The Malays of Acheen.
31. The-ho. Ceylon.
32. La-waik. The capital of Cambodia.
33. Zanda. The capital of Laos is said to be Zandapure.
34. A-myayn. A Birman city, remarkable for the resemblance of its name to that of the country, Mien.

Dr. Buchanan says, that he always heard Great Britain mentioned at Amarapura under the name of Pyee-gye, the great kingdom. The following Birman words are given as often occurring in composition:—

Bura, Praw, Bhra. } Lord. Applied also to Temples. It seems to answer to Baal.
Do. A forest.
Kiaung, Kioup. } A small river.
Kioum. A monastery.
Mayn. A prince.
Mioup. A river.
Myeet. A great river.
Myoo. A city or township.
O-wa. A port.
Pyee. A kingdom.
Rua, Vooa. } A village.
Taung. A hill.

Minderajee-praw, desirous of information on the subject, is said to have ordered that every city, town, and village in his dominions, including the conquered countries, should send one soldier to the Birman army. When they were mustered at Amarapura, there appeared to be 8000 men. Now, their towns and villages, in general, are little more than a straggling line of bamboo huts along the banks of the Irrawaddy, or a double row lining a road of communication, and the whole of these 8000 towns do not average more than 150 or 200 houses each. Taking the largest statement, or 200, it will make the number of houses in the Birman dominions amount to 1,600,000, and reckoning seven persons to a house, will give a population of 11,200,000 souls;—a very scanty population for so extended a territory, and not above one half are in a state of firm allegiance. It is stated, moreover, that the proportion of women to men is as ten to six, and in some cases, four to one. This enormous disproportion is accounted for by their incessant wars; for, on the strictest inquiry, Colonel Francklin says, he pretty well ascertained that the births of females do not exceed those of males. Reckoning 6,000,000, then, for the effective population, this will give only 1,500,000 males; and making from these the usual deductions for all persons under fifteen and above fifty years of age, it may be assumed that there are not more than 375,000 men capable of bearing arms, were even the country to rise *en masse*. His Birman majesty has no standing land force, except a few undisciplined native Christians and renegadoes of all descriptions, who act as artillery, a small body of Cassay cavalry, not exceeding a hundred, and perhaps about two thousand ill-armed infantry. His armies are composed of levies,

raised, on the spur of the occasion, by the *tee-kiens* (princes), *chobwas* (tributary chiefs), and great lords, who hold their lands by military tenure, and are liable to be assessed according to the emergency of their sovereign. In Birmah, every man is liable to be called upon for his military services, and war is deemed the most honourable profession. When an army is to be raised, a mandate issues from the golden palace to all *maywoons* (viceroys) and *mioun-jees* (heads of districts), requiring a certain number of men to be at a general rendezvous on a particular day. As soon as the imperial mandate is issued, Colonel Francklin says, "the *jugghiredaur* (or governor) intrigues and employs all his art and interest to get the number reduced; hence, various delays and obstructions to the public service. When his quota is finally fixed, he proceeds to his *jugghire*, and gives the like orders to the *mewdhagees* (zemindars), but exceeding the proportion established by the court, that he may pocket the commutation for the difference. The *mewdhagees* strive to abate their respective proportions, and impose on the inhabitants from the same corrupt motives; and the inhabitants, in like manner, strive to avoid part of the imposed burthen; so that the whole country is thrown into commotion, business is neglected, and many of the poorer class flee to the jungles, or totally abandon their country, in order to avoid these impositions, of which there is no end..... They travel by land in squads to the place of general rendezvous, at their own expense, or are transported in boats, put in requisition by his majesty's officers. Every thing wanted for his majesty's service is impressed or put in a state of requisition, without the smallest indemnification. Captain Cox saw strings of these miserable recruits, boys under age and decrepit

old men, marching from Arracan to Amarapoorah, in particular at Peguan, as he was coming down the river: they had been six weeks marching so far. Another oppressive part of the Birman policy is, that men for the defence of the eastern frontier, are drafted from the west, those for the defence of the southern, from the north, and *vice versâ*, in order to secure their fidelity." *

The levy is calculated according to the population of the province or district, estimated from the number of registered houses that it contains. Should the number of any allotted district fall short, they must be commuted for by fines. Commonly, every two, three, or four houses are to furnish among them one recruit, or to pay 300 *tecals* in money (about 40*l.* or 45*l.*) The recruit is obliged to furnish himself with a short spear, sword, and target: he is supplied by Government with a musket, for which, however, he pays ten tecals, and is accountable for it at the end of the war. He has an allowance of grain, but no pay, and subsists chiefly by marauding. The families of these conscripts are carefully retained in the district, as hostages for the good conduct of their relations; and any misconduct on his part, or desertion, invariably proves the destruction of all his family, who are put into a straw hut and burnt alive: many dreadful examples of this kind have recently occurred. This national regulation binds all classes to their standards under every emergency, and serves in some degree to account for the obstinacy of their resistance. The cavalry, who compose the king's guards, are provided with a spear about seven or eight feet long, which they manage with great dexterity. All the

* Asiat. Journal, vol. xix. p. 8.

troopers are Cassayers, who are much better horsemen than the Birmans. Although the Birmans are very fond of their muskets, the fire-arms are almost useless, and certainly, in their present imperfect state, are much less formidable than their national weapons, the sabre and spear. But the most respectable part of the Birman force is their war-boats (*tee-lees*). Every town is obliged to furnish a certain proportion of men and one or more boats, according to its population, and 500 of these vessels can in a short time be equipped. They are constructed of the trunk of the teak-tree. The largest are from 80 to 100 feet long, but the breadth seldom exceeds eight feet. They carry from fifty to sixty rowers, who use short oars that work on a spindle. The prow is solid, and has a flat surface, on which is mounted a piece of ordnance, a six, nine, or even twelve-pounder, secured by strong lashings on each side. Each rower has a sword and lance; and besides the boatmen, there are usually thirty soldiers on board, armed with muskets. Thus prepared, they sail in fleets, and draw up in line, presenting their prows to the enemy. Their attack is extremely impetuous; they advance with great rapidity, singing a war song, and generally endeavour to grapple when the contest becomes very severe. The rowers are practised to impel the vessel with the stern foremost, by which means the artillery still bears on their enemies. The largest of the war-boats do not draw more than three feet of water. When any person of rank is on board, there is a moving canopy, but gilded boats are allowed only to maywoons, whoongees (ministers of state), or the princes. These war-boats, Colonel Francklin says, are the most respectable part of the Birman force in a military point of view; but they live chiefly by rapine, and are in a

constant state of hostility against the rest of the people, which makes them audacious and prompt to execute any orders, however cruel or violent. It is supposed that the emperor can muster from two to three hundred of those boats.

"A Birman," adds Colonel Francklin, "is seldom any thing else than a government servant, a soldier, boatman, husbandman, or labourer. All their best artificers are foreigners." His account of their character is very unfavourable. "The Birman court appears to me," he says, "an assembly of clowns, who have neither improved their manners nor their sincerity by their transposition: they have retained their native chicane and vicious propensities, and have not acquired the blandishments of polish to veil the deformities of vice, or expansion of mind to check its domination. To their superiors, the Birmans are abjectly submissive; towards strangers, audacious and ungrateful; in power, rapacious and cruel; in war, treacherous and ferocious; in their dealings, litigious and faithless; in appetite, insatiable and avaricious; in habit, lazy; in their ideas, persons, houses, and food, obscenely filthy below any thing I had ever seen that has claims to humanity.* It must not be denied that they have brutal courage, but it tends to debase, rather than to exalt them; it is irregular, uncertain, and not to be depended upon. They are strict observers of the ceremonial parts of their religion, charitable to their priests and the poor; in the country,

* In their food, the Birmans are very uncleanly. Being fond of animal food, but restricted by their religion from killing, (venison is the only meat permitted to be sold in the markets of the empire, a privilege allowed to hunters,) they will partake of any putrid or diseased carcase. All game is eagerly sought for. Reptiles, lizards, guanas, and snakes are devoured by the lower classes.

I am told, hospitable and not vindictive; superstitious, addicted to magic (and alchemy); cheerful, patient under sufferings, hardy, frugal to penuriousness in their diet, and affectionate parents. They would make good soldiers in the hands of a skilful general, and perhaps good subjects under a virtuous magistrate; but, unhappily, their present government seems adapted only to exalt their vices and depress their virtues."

Cunning is, among all the worshippers of Buddha, esteemed a virtue; and in their sacred books, the most abominable exemplifications of this attribute in Guadma are cited as laudable actions. The deeply-rooted opinion, that address in stealing ranks as an accomplishment next to valour, prevails all over the East,—not only in the Buddhic states, but in Hindostan and Egypt; and the Spartan legislator only borrowed his laws from institutes still existing among the mountain tribes of Asia. Thus, among the wild mountaineers to the north-east of Chittagong, whatever property a thief can convey undiscovered to his own house, cannot afterwards be claimed: if detected, he is no otherwise punished than by being exposed to the ridicule of the village, and being obliged to restore what he has taken. The idea seems to be, that the address and dexterity shewn by the successful thief, would equally qualify the warrior. So thought Lycurgus.

Mrs. Judson gives a somewhat more pleasing character of the Birmans. She describes them as "a lively, industrious, and energetic race, further advanced in civilisation than most of the Eastern nations. They are frank and candid, and destitute of that pusillanimity which distinguishes the Hindoos, and of that revengeful malignity which is a leading trait in the Malay character. Some of their men are powerful

logicians, and take delight in investigating new subjects. Their books are numerous, some of them written in the most flowing, beautiful style; and much ingenuity is manifested in the construction of their stories."* Dr. Buchanan asserts that they possess numerous historical works relating to the different dynasties of their princes, the most celebrated of which is the Maha-rajah-waynjee already referred to. They have also translated histories of the Chinese and Siamese, and of the kingdoms of Kathee, Koshan-pyee, Pegu, Sammay, and Layn-zayn. On medicine, the Birmans have several books: they divide diseases into ninety-six genera. Mummy is a favourite article in their pharmacopœia. They are acquainted with the use of mercury, but their remedies are mostly from the vegetable kingdom, and chiefly of the aromatic kind. Their practice is almost entirely empirical, and in spite of every mode of indirect influence and pretension, the medical class is in low estimation.†

The Birman language appears originally to have been purely monosyllabic, but it has borrowed largely from the Pali, and has formed many polysyllables from its monosyllabic roots, according to the analogies of that

* Judson's Account of the American Baptist Mission to the Birman Empire, p. 4.

† One curious custom of the Birman physicians may be mentioned here. If a young woman is dangerously ill, the doctor and her parents frequently enter into an agreement, the doctor undertaking to cure her. If she lives, the doctor takes her as his property; but if she dies, he pays her value to the parents: for, in the Birman dominions, no parent parts with his daughter, whether to be a wife or a concubine, without a valuable consideration. "I do not know," adds Dr. Buchanan, "if the doctor may sell the girl again, or must retain her in his family; but the number of fine young women which I saw in the house of a doctor at Meaday, makes me think the practice to be very common."—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. vi. p. 304.

language. It has no inflexions, and depends almost entirely on juxta-position for the relative value of its words. Its pronouns and particles are peculiar, its idioms few and simple, its metaphors of the most obvious kind, but it is copious in terms expressive of rank and dignity; and the rank of the speaker is indicated by the peculiar phraseology which he employs. Repetitions of the same turn and expression are affected, rather than shunned; and a sententious brevity and naked simplicity of phrase are the greatest beauties of which the language admits. Too little is known of the Indo-Chinese languages to enable us to determine what resemblances may exist between them, but hitherto it has been considered as having no decided affinity to any except the Arracanese.* From the large portion of Pali which has become incorporated with it, so as to affect even its structure, it may be considered as the link between the polysyllabic and the monosyllabic languages of India and China.†

* Among the various dialects of the Birman empire, Dr. Buchanan mentions one that is spoken by a small tribe called Yo, (and by the Arracanese Ro,) who inhabit the eastern side of the Arracan mountains, governed by chiefs of their own, but tributary to the Birmans. There are four governments of this nation. This dialect is, in fact, only a slight variation of the Ruk-hing, which it approaches much nearer than the Birman. The people of Tenasserim and Tavoy also speak a peculiar dialect; but, as the majority of the words in common use among them are to be found in the Birman writings, they are reckoned to use an obsolete dialect, rather than a peculiar language.—See *Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. p. 224; vol. x. p. 236.

† "The greater part of my time, for the last six months," says Mr. Judson, "has been occupied in studying and transcribing, in alphabetical arrangement, the *Pali Abigdan*, or dictionary of the Pali language, affixing to the Pali words the interpretation in Birman, and again transferring the Birman words to a dictionary Birman and English. With the close of the year I have brought this tedious work to a close; and I find that the number of Pali

The Birmans write from left to right, like the Europeans. Their common books are leaves of the Palmyra palm, strung together, on which they engrave their writing with an iron style. Others are formed of thin pieces of bamboo delicately plaited and varnished, the surface being gilded, on which the characters are marked in black and shining Japan ink. The margins are often very prettily illuminated in red and green colours. In their more elegant books, they sometimes use sheets of ivory stained black, on which the characters are enamelled or gilded, the margins being also ornamented with gilding; or at other times, very fine white Palmyra leaves, on which the characters are in general of black enamel, and the ends of the leaves and margins are ornamented with flowers painted in various bright colours. As there are but few of the Birmans who do not both read and write, almost every man, Dr. Buchanan says, carries with him a *paruœk*, in which he keeps his accounts, copies songs, and transcribes any thing he deems curious. "It is in these *paruœks* that the *xares*, or

words collected amounts to about 4000. The constant occurrence of Pali terms in every Birman book has made it absolutely necessary." A considerable number of words in common use, and a very great proportion of theological terms, are of Pali origin, although the two languages are entirely distinct. Some knowledge of the learned language is therefore indispensable to the acquisition of a perfect knowledge of the Birman.—See JUDSON'S *Account*, pp. 159, 61. One great impediment to attaining a critical knowledge of the idiom of both the Birman and the Rukhing, is, that there is no regular standard of orthography, or the smallest trace of attention to grammatical inquiry among these nations. Every writing that has hitherto come under observation, not excepting even official documents, has been found full of the grossest inaccuracies. The priests are the only persons conversant with the Pali, and few even among them are celebrated for either the extent or accuracy of their knowledge.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. p. 236.

writers, in all courts and public offices, take down the proceedings and orders, from thence copying such parts as are necessary into more durable books. The *paruæk* is made of one sheet of thick and strong paper, blackened, about 8 feet long and 18 inches wide; it is folded up somewhat like a fan, each fold or page being about six inches wide, and its length the whole breadth of the sheet: hence, wherever the book is opened, whichever side is uppermost, no part of it can be rubbed but the two outer pages; and it only occupies a table one foot in width by 18 inches long. The Birmans write on the *paruæk* with a pencil of steatites. When in haste, the *sares* use many contractions, and write with wonderful quickness. I have seen them keep up with an officer dictating and not speaking very slow. But when they take pains, the characters written in the *paruæk* are remarkably neat. Indeed, this nation, like the Chinese, pique themselves very much on writing an elegant and distinct character. When that which has been written on a *paruæk* becomes no longer useful, the pages are rubbed over with charcoal, and the leaves of a species of dolichos; they are then as clean as if new, and equally fit for the pencil." *

All the boys in the empire are taught by the priests, who are dependent for their support on the contributions of the people; but no attention is given to female education, excepting in a few instances among the higher classes.† The boys are taught to read and write by means of boards blackened with charcoal and the juice of a leaf, which answers the same purpose as our slates, and the letters are formed by a species of white stone, a little similar to our slate-pencils. A lesson is

* Asiat. Res., vol. vi. p. 307. † Judson, p. 5.

written out on this board by the instructor: when the scholar is perfect master of it, it is erased, and a new one written.

The Birmans are extremely fond both of poetry and of music. They call the former *yeddoo*. When repeated by a scholar, it flows soft and measured to the ear; it is sometimes in successive, and often in alternate rhymes. A line is called *tagioung*, a stanza *tubbouk*. They have epic as well as religious poems of high celebrity, and they are fond of reciting in heroic verse the exploits of their kings and generals.* Music is a science held in high estimation. Although termed, in India as in Greece, the language of the gods, it is cultivated more generally in Birmah. The royal library of Amarapura is said to contain several treatises on the art. Some of the musicians display considerable skill and execution, and the softer airs are said to be very pleasing.† Among the principal instruments is a

* "It has been said, that his present majesty has a person of poetic talents, on whom he bestows his royal patronage, and who, in return, delights the 'precious ear' with the measured lines of his own composition.... Prose works are commonly read, as well as poetry, and are some of them works of fiction, and others religious. Of the latter kind, the *Dzat* and *Woottoo*, or those books which illustrate the influence of merit and demerit, are most extensively read. Historical works are scarce, and therefore but little read. Few individuals have the means or the opportunity of collecting private libraries."—HOUGH *on the Manners of the Burmese. Friend of India*, No. xii. p. 12.

† "In the music of the Burmese," the Rev. Mr. Hough says, "there is far more noise than harmony. They make use of wind and stringed instruments, brass plates of different tones, and drums of various sizes. For the sake of noise, they will accompany the instrumental music by striking together two pieces of split bamboo on the palms of their hands. They are evidently unacquainted with the nature of tones and harmony, all their airs being wild, irregular, and discordant."—*Friend of India*, No. xii. p. 11. In founding these brass musical plates, they must be allowed to shew considerable art. Their tones are exceedingly fine, sur-

soum or harp, made of light wood, hollowed and varnished, in shape somewhat like a canoe with a deck: at the extremity, a piece of hard wood is neatly fastened, which tapers to the end, and rising, curves over the body of the harp; from this curvature, the strings, usually made of wire, are extended to a bridge on the belly of the instrument. There are two sounding-holes, one on each side of the bridge. It varies from two to five feet in length. The *turr* resembles our violin, but has only three strings; it is played on with a bow. The *pullaway* is a common flageolet. The *kye-zoup* is a collection of cymbals suspended in a bamboo frame, producing modulated gradations of sounds: they vary in size and number. The *patola*, or guitar, is a curious instrument, exactly resembling a crocodile in miniature: the body is hollow, with sounding-holes on the back; three strings of wire extend from the shoulder to the tail, and are supported on bridges at each extremity. The strings are tuned by means of pegs in the tail, to which they are fastened; it is played on by the finger, and accompanies the voice. The *boundaw* is a collection of drums, oblong in form and varying in size, which are suspended perpendicularly, in a wooden frame, by leathern thongs. The whole machine is about five feet in diameter and four feet high. They accompany full bands, and are used in processions, being carried by two men, while the performer shuffles along between them, playing as he goes. The *heem* is the pipe of Pan, of reeds neatly joined together, with a mouth-piece: it produces a very plaintive melody.*

passing the finest bells in power and sweetness, and the vibration is prolonged to an astonishing degree. Plates of this description are worn by the priests, suspended to the neck, and are used as bells.

* Dr. Buchanan purchased a whole set of these musical instruments for 54 *tecals* (between five and six guineas).

The Birmans are cheerful and fond of music: not a boatman of the crew, Col. Symes observes, but had some instrument to beguile the hours; and he who could procure no better, had what we call a Jew's harp. They greatly excel in the art of gently striking masses of metal so as to elicit the most melodious and ringing sounds.

The ancient game of chess, called *chit-tha-reen*, is in high estimation among the higher classes. Their board is exactly the same as ours, containing sixty-four squares, and the pieces are the same in number, sixteen on each side, but vary very considerably from ours in power. They have the king and his minister on two elephants, (a piece with the power of the queen is unknown among them,) two *rut-ha* or war-chariots, two *chein* or elephants, two *mhee* or cavalry, and eight *yein* or foot troops. Each party is arranged on three lines, so that eight squares are left unoccupied; and the whole scheme is rendered more complex than ours. The game is of very high antiquity among them, and is even authorised by their sacred writings, although every play of chance is prohibited.

The Birmans, like the Chinese, have no coin, silver in bullion and lead being the current monies of the country. Weight and purity are of course the standard of value: in the ascertainment of both, the natives are exceedingly scrupulous and expert. The *tecal* or *kiat* is the most general piece of silver in circulation: it weighs 10 pennyweights, 10 grains, and $\frac{3}{4}$. Its subdivisions are, the *tubbee*, two of which make one *moo*, two *moo* one *math*, four *math* one *tecal*, and 100 *tecal* one *viss*. Weights are all made at the capital, where they are stamped, and then circulated through

the country: all others are forbidden. Rice is sold by a measure called *tayndaung*, or basket: the weight is 16 *viss* (about 56 lbs).

The Birmah measures of length are, a *paul-ghaut*, or inch, 18 of which compose the *taim* or cubit; the *saundaung*, or royal cubit, of 20 inches; and the *dha*, or bamboo, which consists of seven royal cubits = 11 feet 8 inches: 1000 *dha* make one Birman league, or *dain*, nearly equal to two miles two furlongs, British. The league is also subdivided into tenths. The Birmans, like the Chinese, keep their accounts in decimals.

In their physiognomy, the Birmans bear a nearer resemblance to the Chinese, than to the natives of Hindostan. The women are fairer than the Hindoo females, but not so delicately formed; they are, however, well made, and in general inclined to corpulence; their hair is black, coarse, and long. The men are not tall, but active and athletic, and have a very youthful appearance, from the custom of plucking their beards. In their temperament, which is lively, choleric, and restless, they present a striking contrast to the languid inactivity of the Hindoos. Dr. Buchanan describes them as of a short, squat, robust, fleshy make, with a face somewhat in shape of a lozenge, the forehead and chin being sharpened, while at the cheek-bones it is very broad. The eye-brows or superciliary ridges project very little; the eyes are very narrow, and placed rather obliquely, the external angles being the highest; the nose is small, but has not the flattened appearance of that feature in the negro; the nostrils, circular and divergent; the mouth in general well shaped; the hair harsh, lank, and black. Those who reside in the warmest climate do not acquire the deep hue of the negro or Hindoo; nor do

such as live in the coldest countries ever acquire the clear bloom of the European.* In common with all the Indo-Chinese races, in their shape and stature, square features, elongated eyes, yellow complexion, and lank locks, they bear a strong resemblance to the Mongol tribes. The Birmans have a tradition, that a colony of Mongols once arrived in their country, amounting in number to 700,000 men capable of bearing arms.† Such traditions, however, serve only to prove, that the original stock of these nations must have occupied these regions from time immemorial.

In Indo-China, as in Hindostan and in Egypt, remains of an indigenous race, of widely different character, are found occupying the recesses of the mountain ridges which stretch throughout the whole empire. Among these, one of the most remarkable are the Kiayns or Kayns, who extend over the mountainous and woody tract lying between Bengal, Arracan, Ava, and Cassay. They call themselves *Koloun*. Many of them, since the conquest of Arracan by the Birmans, have been induced to quit the mountains, and settle in the plains. "They speak a dialect peculiar to themselves, and appear distinct from all the surrounding tribes. They are remarkable for simple, honest industry and inoffensive manners, accompanied by the rudest notions respecting religion. They have no idea of a place of future reward and punishment, and deny the existence of sin in their country. They burn their dead, and collect the ashes,‡ which, after certain ceremonies, are carried to a place

* Asiat. Res., vol. v. p. 220.

† Probably this refers to the conquest of Mien by the great khan, mentioned by Marco Polo.

‡ This is a Tatar custom, and still prevails among the people of Tibet and in Yun-nan. P. Gerbillon says, that even the Chinese sometimes adopt it.—See MARSDEN'S *Marco Polo, note* 328.

of interment, and on the sod which covers them is laid a wooden image of the deceased. They believe that their deity resides on the great mountain Gnowa, which the Birmans have never yet invaded. When a Kayn dies within the jurisdiction of the Birmans, the relations of the deceased always convey the urn and image of the departed person to this mountain, there to be deposited in the sacred earth. These people have no letters, nor any law except custom, to which the Birmans leave them, never interfering in their municipal or social economy. The females of this tribe have their faces tattoed all over in lines, mostly describing segments of circles, which give them a most extraordinary and hideous appearance."*

The Carayns, Karaian, or Carianers, are another singular people. They are supposed to be originally from the province of Yun-nan, but are now widely scattered over the empire. Col. Symes, on the authority of a respectable Italian missionary, represents them as "a simple, innocent race, speaking a language distinct from that of the Birmans, and entertaining rude notions of religion. They lead quite a pastoral life, and are the most industrious subjects of the state. Agriculture, the care of cattle, and rearing poultry, are almost their only occupations. A great part of the provisions used in the country is raised by the Carianers; and they particularly excel in gardening." Dr. Buchanan adds, that they have sufficient knowledge of the useful arts to manufacture comfortable, and even handsome clothing.† They are a peaceable people, disinclined to war, and it is universally agreed, that

* Symes, Buchanan, &c. in Hamilton's Gazetteer.

† Col. Francklin, speaking of the Birmans generally, says, "To their women alone must be ascribed the merit of weaving and dyeing." Col. Symes, on visiting the queen mother, saw the females in the palace busily engaged at the loom.

their morals are good; but, like the Kiayns, if, indeed, they are not the same people, they have no laws, are wholly illiterate, and, though they believe in a future state, have no notion of its being a state of retribution.* Whether these Tibetian tribes are aboriginal inhabitants, older than the Birmans, or remains of Chinese colonists, their affinity to the Tartar tribes is obvious and decided. Many of their customs attach equally, however, to the Birmans, as will be seen from the following valuable account of the manners and customs of the Birmans, by the Rev. G. H. Hough, some time resident in that empire, for which we are indebted to a recent number of "The Friend of India," published at Serampore in Bengal.

"There is perhaps no country in the world, in which the sway of despotism has been less controlled by any correct feeling or sentiment, or which exhibits a stronger specimen of its injurious effects upon the physical and moral powers of mankind, than the Birman dominions.....The obstacles to mental and moral improvement there, however, are neither so numerous nor so formidable as those which have presented themselves in India.

"Caste, which has separated the Indian community into so many diversified sects, and the motto of which is, 'taste not, handle not,' has no existence in the Birman empire. There, society is founded on a basis that would admit the existence of the most liberal

* Asiat. Res., vol. vi. p. 300. In Marsden's Marco Polo, (*note* 826.) the learned editor cites P. Gaubil and De Guignes as authorities for the opinion, that Karaian is the north-western part of the province of Yun-nan, which is bounded in great measure by the Kiu-sha-kiang. Its capital is said to have been Yachi (Ye-chu or Yao-cheu), afterwards changed to Tali-fu, on the western bank of the lake Siul. Katazan or Kalashan is either the same province or another district of Yun-nan, further westward.

institutions. There, no individual, through fear of personal defilement, is deterred from acting in every case according to those rules which secure entire freedom of intercourse between man and man. While, in many other countries, official rank, wealth, and respectability of character, create the only lines of distinction, the path to honour and influence is here equally open to all without the least distinction.

"The priests have their religious peculiarities; but even these have no relation to caste. These peculiarities are seen in their monastic habits, their yellow apparel, their shaven heads, their unshod feet, their sober, meditative demeanour, and in their morning perambulations to receive the voluntary contributions of the people. Their monasteries may be considered as the literary as well as the religious institutions of the country. Into these, without restricting themselves to any limited term, young men in their noviciate enter, considering it as a merit which will hereafter meet its sure reward, to deny themselves indulgences enjoyed by other men, to assume the yellow cloth, to deprive the head of that ornament which nature has bestowed, to taste the fancied sweets of abstraction, and employ their minds in committing to memory extracts from the books they esteem sacred. The age or previous character of candidates for the priesthood, forms no objection to their admittance. Present intention is the only subject of investigation, and this is done by an established catechetical form. Persons of all ages, from the mere youth to the hoary head, assume the sacred habiliments and character: even conjugal and paternal affection are not unfrequently smothered by the superstitious wish of self-consecration to this sacred order. To reject a wife and family, to abandon them to distress and suffering, are esteemed

acts of religion in any individual who wishes to enter it; and his thus doing is deemed an eminent attainment in piety, and a meritorious result of self-denial. It is related that Gautama, the last Boudh, in one of his incarnations, while heir-apparent to the throne, not only suffered banishment to a remote and solitary place for giving away a white elephant, but, during the term of his expiation, attained to such an eminent degree of self-denial, as to yield up first his son and daughter to slavery, and then his wife to the importunities of another.

"The priests perform no labour, except what is considered as particularly meritorious, and this consists in eradicating the grass and shrubs which sprout up around their monasteries and pagodas. They never ride on horseback, nor eat after the sun has passed the meridian. Such is their reverence for the yellow cloth which covers their bodies, that they view it as disgraceful to pass underneath any building, or convey themselves through any aperture, while to do so even by bending the head, would save them the trouble of avoiding any obstruction in their path. They restrain their minds from all attachment to the fair sex; and no female ventures to approach a priest, unless to perform some religious duty, or to present some pious offering. Their public duties consist of recitations from the *Dzats*, said to be revelations of Gautama relating to his own history throughout his previous transmigrations, in which the consequences of works of merit and demerit are illustrated by his own personal example; and in repeating extracts from other writings esteemed sacred, which tend to enforce the duties of morality as taught in their system of religion. On days of public worship, they edify their congregations, which assemble in *zayats* (or sheds) contiguous

to some pagoda of importance, by repeating their liturgy or form of religious service, when the auditory evince their devotion by their humble posture, by elevating their hands with the palms united, and by regular responses. The priests affect the most entire disinterestedness in the discharge of their sacred functions; but their worldly wants are always amply supplied, and they uniformly receive the tribute of a reverential public. Even their monasteries are not approached or passed with the feet covered. Many of them are learned in the Pali or Magudha, but the great majority exhibit evident marks of mental sloth and inanity.

"The sacred writings of the Brimans are reported to have been transcribed in the most miraculous manner, in one day, from the original copies first put into a legible form by *yahans* (*rahaans*), or priests, on the island of Thee-ho (Ceylon), nearly 400 years after the supposed annihilation of Guatama, and about a century previous to the Christian era.* These writings, embracing every science, natural and religious, within the scope of their author's reputed universal and infallible knowledge, amount to some thousands. Few of them are read by the priests, and fewer still by the reading part of the public. The middling and lower classes of society are content with knowing little more of the principles of their religion than what is ascertained from the public ritual. This announces the three grand objects of religious homage;

* "There is a tradition among the Cingalese, that one of the kings of Hindostan, immediately after Boodhu's death, collected together 500 learned ascetics, and persuaded them to write down on palmyra leaves, from the mouth of one of Boudhu's principal disciples, all the doctrines taught by Boodhu in his life-time."—WARD'S *View of the Hindoos*, vol. ii. p. 211.

God (or his substitute, a pagoda or image); Fate, or the immutable law or course of things; and the Priesthood. The fundamental moral precepts are five, and are merely prohibitory: they forbid the destruction of animal life, theft, lying, adultery, and drinking ardent spirits. The doctrine of transmigration is most firmly believed, and also the final annihilation of animal life, and the destruction of material substances. Every thing is mutable but fate, which is eternal; and while that ordains the final destruction of present things, it has provided that another material universe shall of itself necessarily arise, and thus successively, *ad infinitum*. Even their God is the subject of merit or demerit; he has undergone incarnations as beast, as man, and as a celestial being; he has been repeatedly punished millions of years in hell, has enjoyed ages of sensual happiness in the *Nat* country, and is now in *Niekbaan*, or annihilation.

"The Birmans, considering the moral features of their religious system, and their being surrounded with objects of misery, both among beasts and their own species, which they are taught to contemplate as the effects of retributive justice awarded by irresistible and unmerciful fate, ought to be a pious and orderly race of men. In this respect, however, little can be said in their favour. Of their religious character it may be observed, that while it exhibits little of personal concern and anxiety, and appears to be unmixed with enthusiasm, it manifests on all occasions a sufficiently conspicuous faith in the religion of their country. The religion, being national, is therefore popular, and every appearance of dissent is deemed to present just cause for criminal prosecution. The Birmans do not appear to be so deeply impressed with cordial regard for their religion, as with the duty of

conformity. They exhibit, in matters of religion, just that state of mind and that exterior deportment which might be expected from a people, among whom secular authority claims dominion over the free exercise of conscience. The despot of the realm by one word could annihilate Boodhism, with all its monumental memorials and imagery, and with the same ease could ordain the observance of a new religion.

"The days of public worship are pointed out by the change, the first quarter, the full, and the last quarter of the moon.* Those of the full and new moon are observed with more general attention. The grand annual festival happens at the beginning of their year, — about March. During three days, religious prostrations, music and dancing, masquerades, pugilism, throwing water upon one another, puppet-shows, and comic scenes, make up the festive jumble. Religious duties consist in building pagodas and ornamenting them with gold leaf; in forming large and small images of Gautama; in erecting monasteries, zayats, and bridges; in digging tanks; in supporting the priesthood by donations of food, cloth, &c.; in prostrations before pagodas and images, and in presenting before them lighted candles, clusters of flowers, umbrellas of various descriptions, rice, and fruits; in erecting high poles, and suspending long flags on their tops; in casting bells, and hanging them near their pagodas; or contributing to any of these objects; in attention to the recitations of the priests, and whenever an offering is made, expressing a wish that the merits of it may be enjoyed. The use of the bells is, to proclaim to the celestial regions the fact of present-

* The four quarters of the moon are, in like manner, festival days among the Cingalese.

ing an offering; and the person who thus announces the fact, is both worshipper and bellman.

"Nearly allied to the religion of the Birmans are their superstitious ideas. They have their fortunate and unfortunate days, and no affair of importance is undertaken without consulting astrologers. The particular day and hour, with the position of the planets, are carefully observed on the birth of a child. A man's fortune may be read on the lines of the palm of his hand. They believe in the existence of evil spirits, ghosts, and witches, in demoniacal possessions, and the use of charms. According to their ideas, the cholera morbus has been several times expelled from Rangoon by the noise produced by the simultaneous discharge of cannons and muskets, and beating the houses with bamboos. In the year 1823, when the cholera was extensively fatal, the supreme court at Ava issued an order that the inhabitants should wear the title of the heir-apparent, written on a small slip of paper, in the hole of the lobe of their ears, as an infallible specific against the effects of that destructive demon.* If a vulture perch upon a house, some awful calamity threatens its inhabitants, and they immediately abandon it. The doctrine of transmigration leads them into the absurdity of propitiating their future destiny by offerings of food to animals: a deceased friend may

* Capt. Cox relates a disgusting instance of this medical superstition. A criminal's body was exposed above ground, pinned to the earth, and left to rot. "The king's doctor cut off the tip of his nose, ears, lips, tongue, and fingers, which, with some of his blood, is to form a compound in some medicine of wonderful efficacy in insuring longevity and prosperity to those who are so happy as to obtain a portion of it from his majesty's bounty. This is one of the palace nostrums, of which there are many others equally mystic in the preparation, and wonderful in the operation. These his majesty occasionally dispenses to the credulous multitude.'—Cox's *Journal*, p. 342.

thus be nourished in the form of a four-footed or feathered animal, and, in some future period of existence, the good deed be repaid with ample interest. Carved images of the most ridiculous shapes are to be seen in many places, the supposed representatives of different *nats* or demons. Astrologers are numerous, and obtain the means of subsistence by the practice of their profession. A great proportion of them are Brahmuns, or professors of Hindooism, here called *Pounas*, who have been born in the country, or have emigrated from Assam or Hindostan. Birmans also embrace the profession. The order is highly respected, but not esteemed so sacred as that of the priesthood. The medical department is peculiarly subject to the control of superstition. Its influence is often seen in the collection of medicinal roots, the method of compounding medicines, and the time and manner of administering them. Of books which treat of the nature of diseases, the virtues of medicinal roots and plants, the art of compounding them, and their specific qualities, they have a considerable number. Shops of drugs and medicines are in full proportion to the wants of the public. With surgery they are wholly unacquainted.

"Their funeral solemnities are conducted with decency. The manner of disposing of the dead is either by incineration or burial: the former is esteemed the most honourable. The corpse is enclosed in a coffin, ornamented with gold leaf or otherwise, according to the means of the friends of the deceased, and, followed by the mourners dressed in white, is borne to the public place of interment, (which is without the city or town,) the procession being usually preceded by the music of wind-instruments and drums, and the presents intended for the priests

who may be invited on the occasion. These presents usually consist of pieces of cotton cloth, sugar-cane, and fruits of various kinds. On their arrival at the place of incineration, fuel is placed under the coffin, the moveable ornaments being first taken away; and the corpse is consumed, after which the bones are interred. Infants and criminals are buried, as also the poorest part of the community. All funeral processions must pass out of the city by a particular gate, called the Funeral Gate; and no corpse must be carried towards a city or town where the governors usually reside. The banks of the Irrawaddy are not selected for the performance of funeral obsequies, like the banks of the Ganges: neither are its waters regarded as possessing any sacred qualities, nor are they in the least degree the object of superstitious reverence. The business of the priests at funerals is, to recite some portion of their sacred books, and to receive presents; but it is not customary for them to take any other part in funeral ceremonies, unless at the incineration of their own order, in which they render personal assistance. As food is generally given them, and they do not eat in the afternoon, funerals are usually attended in the morning. It is customary to preserve the corpses of priests a long time previously to incineration. This is done by embalming the body, after removing those parts and fluids most liable to become offensive, and then covering it with gold leaf.*

* "When a priest dies, he has peculiar honours paid him. Several months since, a neighbouring priest died, or *returned*, for the Burmans think it undignified to say that *a priest dies*. His body was immediately wrapped up in tar and wax; holes were perforated through the feet and some distance up the legs, into which one end of a hollow bamboo was inserted, and the other fixed in the ground. The body was then pressed and squeezed, so that its fluids were forced down through the legs, and conveyed off by

"In the construction of their dwelling-houses, bamboo, of which there are several species, and in great abundance, is the principal, and in many instances the only material used. Holes, two or three feet deep in the earth, receive the posts, which are more or fewer according to the size of the houses. Mats, made of split bamboos, form the outside covering, inside partitions, and sometimes the floor. But

means of the bamboos. In this state of preservation the body has been kept. For some days past, preparations have been making to burn this *sacred relic*, and to-day it has passed away in fumigation. On four wheels was erected a kind of stage or tower, about twelve or fifteen feet high, ornamented with paintings of different colours, and figures, and small mirrors. On the top of this was constructed a kind of balcony, in which was placed the coffin, decorated with small pieces of glass of different hues; and the corpse, half of which was visible above the edge of the coffin, was covered with gold leaf. Around the tower and balcony were fixed several bamboo poles, covered with red cloth, displaying red flags at their ends, and small umbrellas glittering with spangles; among which was one longer than the others, covered with gold leaf, shading the corpse from the sun. Around the upper part of the balcony was suspended a curtain of white gauze, about a cubit in width, the lower edge of which was hung round with small pieces of isinglass. Above the whole was raised a lofty quadrangular pyramid, graduating into a spire, constructed in a light manner of split bamboo, covered with small figures cut out of white cloth, and waving to and fro for some distance in the air. The whole, from the ground to the top of the spire, might measure fifty feet. This curious structure, with some *living* priests upon it, was drawn half a mile by *women* and *boys*, delighted with the sport, and in the midst of a large concourse of shouting and joyous spectators. On their arrival at the place of burning, ropes were attached to the hinder end of the car, and a whimsical sham contest, by adverse pulling, was for some time maintained, one party seeming to indicate a reluctance to have the precious corpse burned. At length, the foremost party prevailed, and the body must be reduced to ashes. Amidst this, there were loud shoutings, clapping of hands, the sound of drums, of tinkling and wind instruments, and a most disgusting exhibition of female dancing, but no weeping or wailing. The vehicle was then taken to pieces, the most valuable parts of which were preserved, and the body was consumed."—JUDSON'S *Account*, pp. 82, 3.

commonly the latter is made by splitting the material into quarters, laying them down in a series, and tying them to the transverse poles with split rattans. Leaves of the Nipah tree, called here *dance*, compose the roof; and a house not positively uncomfortable, and sufficiently capacious for a small family, is constructed at the moderate expense of thirty or forty rupees. Men of high rank and ample means build their houses in the same form with posts of teak; the sides, partitions, and floor are boards of the same wood, and the roof is made either of leaves or of flat tiles. These tiles are burnt like bricks, each about eight inches long, five broad, and nearly one thick, jutting over at the head about an inch, by which they retain their positions upon the rafters. They are laid double, the lower edges of one series projecting over and lying upon the heads of the next lower series; thus forming a defence from wind and rain, and presenting a good degree of security from exterior fires. The monasteries are built in the same manner, having two or three roofs elevated one above another, and in many instances, their cornices, angles, and eaves ornamented with carved work of flowers, figures of elephants, of priests, and of other forms which have no existence but in the superstition of the people. The posts of the houses and monasteries, being inserted from two to four or five feet in the ground, are subject to the depredations of white ants, and to rapid decay. The old palace at Amarapoora is built of teak: the roofs piled upon each other to a great height, and diminishing in size as they ascend, present the appearance of a lofty spire. The exterior and interior parts are covered with gold leaf, and the whole exhibits a resplendent object to the beholder. His present majesty, who ascended the throne of his

grandfather about June 1819, has since built a new palace at Ava, a few miles below the former capital, of which he took possession about March 1824. The pagodas are solid masses of masonry, varying in height, of a conical form, covered with plaster, composed of sand and lime, and many of them with gold leaf. The large pagoda situated about a mile and a half to the N.W. of Rangoon, and called *Shwa-dagon Porah*, is a splendid and magnificent monument of heathen superstition and idolatry. According to its history, the foundation was laid soon after the supposed annihilation of Gautama. If this be true, it must have existed for a period of about 2,300 years. Since its erection, its size has been increased by successive additions.

"From the above description of their dwelling-houses, the transition is easy to a correct inference relative to the furniture which they contain. A few mats answer the purpose of beds, couches, chairs, and tables; and two or three wooden plates of Birman manufacture, or of coarse earthen-ware imported, form the breakfast and dinner service. A small box or two, or as many baskets, contain the wardrobe of the family. Those, however, who have the means, indulge themselves in the use of a bedstead. Although, in their houses and persons, the appearance of cleanliness is not very striking, yet, in this respect, they are on a par with their western neighbours. But this is not saying much in their favour. They certainly do not exhibit, particularly in their houses, any special regard to neatness; nor, on the other hand, can they be considered as inattentive to personal appearance. Both sexes enjoy the comfort of frequent bathing. They are much addicted to the practice of chewing betel; and in the disposition of the saliva, they are

not particularly nice. The more respectable class accommodate themselves with *pig-dannies* and betel-boxes, the bearers of which are in constant attendance. These materials are of gold, silver, or less valuable metal, according to the rank or circumstances of those who use them. They universally anoint the head with oil; and as the hair is permitted to grow to its natural length and density without the frequent application of a comb, a convenient situation is afforded for the accommodation of vermin; and as the Birman religion prohibits the destruction of life, their propagation is seldom interrupted, except by casualties.

"On public days, days of worship, and when visiting, it is an object with them to put on the appearance of neatness in their persons and apparel. The women are usually dressed in long, loose, white cotton gowns, with petticoats of cotton, cotton and silk, or silk, of vari-coloured stripes. The men wear gowns a little similar to those of the women, with cotton or silk plaid cloth decently wrapped around their loins, and hanging in front below the knees. The women wear their hair collected into a knot on the back part of the head, while the men twist theirs into a spiral form upon the top, encircling the head either with a checquered or a white muslin kerchief folded to a narrow width. The men commonly tattoo themselves with various figures upon the thighs, the abdomen, and the loins. The shoes of both sexes protect only the sole of the foot, having two loops, into which the great toe and the other four are inserted: they are manufactured of wood, or of hides. The women, to render themselves more attractive, rub their faces with a fine powder, made of the bark of a species of sandal highly odoriferous, and sometimes colour with a beautiful red, the nails of their fingers and toes.

"In the management of internal household affairs, the wife takes the principal share. She goes herself to the market, or directs purchases to be made, and superintends the cooking, or does it with her own hands. As opportunity presents, she brings in her contribution to the domestic establishment, by spinning, weaving, trafficking in bazar articles, or by keeping a shop and vending merchandise. In conducting the general family concerns, she is by no means excluded: her judgement is consulted, given with perfect freedom, and seldom entirely disregarded. The female branches of the family are not recluses here, neither are they reserved or shy in their manners; they form a constituent part of domestic and public society. They esteem it happy to become mothers, but consider the birth of a son as a more fortunate event than that of a daughter. They in general nurse their children till they arrive at the age of three or four. As they are seldom blessed with a numerous progeny, the increase of population is slow.... The wife of a judge or governor is often seen at his side, assisting in the decision of causes; and the wives of viceroys and other high officers are often permitted to hold their own courts, and decide independently on petitions presented to them. Women of all ranks enjoy a high degree of freedom, appear abroad unveiled whenever they choose, ornamented according to the taste and fashion of the country, and add zest to public scenes of amusement by their presence and gayety.

"In the formation of their matrimonial connexions, there is generally an appropriate preface of personal acquaintance and plighted love. In the ceremony of marriage, little expense is incurred either of time or of money. A feast of good things, according to the

ability of the bridegroom, is prepared, in which the assembled family connexions participate. The married pair taste a mixture of the tea-leaf steeped in *oil*, (which is the form of sealing all contracts,) eat together from the same plate, and, exchanging their reciprocal promises, they twain are made one flesh. Unfortunately, however, for the perpetuity of conjugal felicity, in no country, perhaps, is the marriage-contract regarded with so little respect, or maintained with so little propriety as in Birmah. No disgrace is attached to a divorced husband or wife. Slight occasions originate verbal abuse, and these quarrels are often protracted till both parties seek that remedy which is to be found, in their country, in any common court of justice.' Polygamy is not only allowed, but abounds in this country. Money is not offered to obtain a female as a wife, but for the purchase of bond-maids as concubines. If a concubine of this sort wishes to be released, the terms of her departure are made easy. A high sense of female chastity not being prevalent, the consequences are obvious. The male sex conceive themselves by nature, both physically and mentally, the superior; hence are seen lordship in the one sex, and subjection in the other. A brother exercises over a sister, and a husband over a wife, control at pleasure, and applies, if need require, the shoe, the rod, the foot, the palm of the hand, or even the point of the elbow, to correct the frowardness or obstinacy of the weaker vessel. Among the higher and more polite circles, however, this right is not so much exercised as acknowledged.

" Generosity and hospitality are not among the practical virtues of the Birmans; on the contrary, they are cold-hearted, unfeeling, and suspicious, contemplating misery and suffering, in whatever form, with

apathy. No public institutions of benevolence appear to proclaim a general interest in the comfort or convenience of the less happy. Avarice and selfishness, the two ruling passions of the Birmans, preclude the exercise of right feeling towards others. To the existence of such a state of feeling, it is probable the nature of the government contributes. The petty acts of tyranny practised by the subordinate civil officers, are a terror to the public, and create between man and man that jealousy and suspicion which destroy confidence, and annihilate the best feelings of humanity. The writer of this article beheld, in the eastern road leading from the town of Rangoon to the great pagoda, a Birman lying on the ground under the suspension of his faculties by a fit. He fell while walking with a companion, which was no sooner discovered by the latter, than he departed with all possible speed. No individual approached the miserable sufferer. The writer, not aware of any evil consequence, went towards him, when several voices from individuals at a distance urged him to retire. On inquiring their reasons, they replied: "You will meet with difficulty from Government; the man may report that he has been deprived of something, and you may be called upon to answer as a thief.' This was an effectual check to any offer of assistance. In such a state of things there can be found little benevolence, kindness, or hospitality in exercise, particularly towards strangers.

"Travelling by boats, which affords the greatest personal comfort, presents the danger of bands of robbers, who often attack with knives and muskets, and make a 'clear sweep' of whatever portable effects can be seized, to the jeopardy, and frequently to the destruction of the lives of their possessors. It is but

just to add, however, that the view which these remarks would otherwise present, should in some respects be qualified. There are recognised among the Birmans, friendly relations and ties of consanguinity, which, in private life, are seen so to operate as to soften in some degree the sterner features of their public character. Among relatives and friends between whom there is a mutual and thorough acquaintance, feelings which originate generous actions, the duties of hospitality, kind deportment and sympathy, prevail over those views of mere personal consideration, which govern the general course of their lives in their civil connexion with one another. They are certainly not incapable of strong attachments; and could their public character be formed in a different mould from that in which their system of government has already cast it, they would be by no means destitute of those elementary principles which combine to form the happiness of civilised society."*

Little will remain to be added to these details, as regards the manners and customs of the Birmans; but, in order that the reader may have a just idea of their religion, it will be necessary to lay before him a brief view of the history of the Buddhic faith.

HISTORY OF BUDDHISM.

THE origin of Buddhism, which, under some modification or other, is the religion of the Birman empire, Siam, Ceylon, Japan, Anam, and the greater part of China, is involved in considerable obscurity. There is strong reason, however, to believe, that it is of the

* Friend of India, No. xii. 1824.

highest antiquity; that it was substantially the ancient faith of India, the Brahminical superstition being the invention of later times; for it is certain, Mr. Ward says, "that, among the six schools of philosophy formerly famous among the Hindoos, two of them inculcated doctrines respecting the first cause of things that were decidedly atheistical, or such as the followers of Boodhŭ maintain at this day; and it is indisputable, according to the Hindoo writings, that these two sects were numerous before the appearance of Boodhŭ." The word Boodhŭ or Buddha, which signifies the wise or the sage, admits of a various application, that has served not a little to perplex the subject. It is the title of the Hindoo Mercury,* the Woden of the northern nations, traces of whose worship are to be found in almost every primitive language; but the historical Budha is quite a different personage; or rather, there can be no doubt that, as in the case of Zoroaster, under that name several distinct personages have been confounded. The distinguishing tenet of the religion, or, as it has been correctly termed, the *atheology* of these nations, is the substitution of an incarnation of the divine energy, in some deified hero or sage, for the Creator of all things, who is reduced to a mere abstraction, unintelligent, and differing little from the Eternal Matter of the western atheists. They believe, in common with the Hindoos, that there is one God, but so completely

* "This god has four arms; in one hand he holds the discus, in another a club, in another a scimitar, and with the fourth is bestowing a blessing. He rides on a lion, is of a placid countenance, and wears yellow garments." He was the eldest son of Somu or Chundru, the moon, whence he is called Soumyŭ, and from his mother, Rouhineyu. Wednesday (*Boodhŭ-varŭ*) is sacred to him: in Siamese, it is called *Van-Phoodh*, the day of Phoodh, Boodh, or Fo.—See WARD'S *View of the Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 92.

abstract in his essence, that he is not the object either of worship, of hope, or of fear; that he is even destitute of intelligence, and remains in a state of profound repose, except at times, when, united to energy, he becomes possessed of qualities, and creates worlds. This energy, it is said, exists separate from Bramha in his abstract state, as smothered embers, and is, like himself, eternal. Among the regular Hindoos, the beings supposed to possess most of this energy are the gods, the giants, the bramhuns, and devout ascetics: among the heterodox sects of Buddhists, Jains, and some others, ascetics are almost exclusively considered as the favoured depositaries of the Divine energy. This "indwelling scheme," as it has been termed, is the prominent feature of all the systems of paganism throughout the East. The doctrine of incarnations, that of transmigration, the adoration of the deified elements or of deified heroes, of Vishnoo, of Budha, of the Lama, of Fo, of the cow, of the elephant, all rest upon the same basis. The divine energy, wherever it is supposed to reside, or *the abstract idea of power in alliance with some material form*, is, under some modification or other, the universal object of worship. "Exactly conformable to the Hindoo idea," remarks Mr. Ward, "was the declaration respecting Simon Magus: 'This man is *the great power of God.*' And in union with this notion, all these people embrace the doctrine of transmigration, and the efficacy of religious austerities to restore these emanations of the deity, dwelling in matter, to the Great Spirit from which they issued." *

* See Ward's View of the Hindoos, vol. i. pp. i.—ix; xvii.; vol. ii. pp. 206, 306, &c. These notions of the Hindoo philosophers are essentially the same as the system of Emanation, received not only by the Ionic philosophers, Thales and Anaximander, but by the

The Grand Lama is an hereditary living deity, before whom millions prostrate themselves. He dies only to re-appear in another form. Captain Turner, speaking of the religion of Tibet, says: "It seems to be the schismatical offspring of the religion of the Hindoos, deriving its origin from one of the followers of that faith, a disciple of Bouddhu, who first broached the doctrine which now prevails over the wide extent of Tartary. It is reported to have received its earliest admission in that part of Tibet bordering upon India, which hence became the seat of the sovereign Lamas, to have traversed Mantchieux Tartary, and to have been ultimately disseminated over China and Japan. Though it differs from the Hindoo in many of its outward forms, yet, it still bears a very close affinity with the religion of Brumha in many important particulars. The principal idol in the temples of Tibet is Mŭha-Moonee (the Great Philosopher), the Booddhŭ of Bengal, who is worshipped under these and various other epithets throughout the great extent of Tartary and among all nations to the eastward of the Brŭmhŭpootrŭ. He is styled Godŭmŭ or Goutŭmŭ in Assam

Pythagoreans, the followers of Heraclitus, and others. They held God to have been eternally united to matter in one whole, which they called Chaos, whence it was sent forth, and at a certain time brought into form by the energy of the divine inhabitant. This deity, far from being a simple spiritual essence, is a compound being, "the soul of the world inclosed in matter, the primeval energy, the prolific and vivifying principle dwelling in all animated existences." In fact, this atheistic system is that of the materialist, applied to the Divine Being, whose intelligence is made absolutely dependent on some mode of organisation. A learned bramhun, on having the well-known lines of Pope read to him, beginning,

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul,"—

started from his seat, and declared that the author must have been a Hindoo.

and Ava; Shŭmŭnŭ, in Siam;* Amida Buth,† in Japan; Fohe, in China; Boodhŭ and Shakhŭ Moonee in Bengal and Hindoostan; and Dhŭrmŭ Rajŭ and Mŭha Moonee, in Bootan and Tibet."

The name under which the idol of Binnah is worshipped, is, as we have seen, Godama (Guadma, Guatama), the same as the Siamese Kodom, or Kodama; a word which is said to signify cow-herd, and, metaphorically, king; though Dr. Buchanan was assured by a Hindoo pundit, that it implies the eminently sage, which is the meaning of Boodha. There can be no doubt, that under this name a real personage is intended, although it perhaps admits of question, whether the Divine Philosopher to whom all these titles refer, be the same. The Birmans, in common with the other *Buddhic* nations, reckon three predecessors of Guadma Budha.‡ The *Zarado*, or arch-

* Or Sommono-kodam: *i. e.* Kodam (Godama) the saint. He is also known there under other titles, as *Prā-phut*, the high lord, Y-thee-pee-so, Pa-ka-wa, Ora-hang, &c. By the Cingalese, he is known under the name of Saka, or Sakya-muni, the astute sage. This is sometimes written Xaca, and again Shaknun and Shakmuny, and with the adjunct, *burchan* (the Tartar for deity), is corrupted by Marco Polo into Sogomon-barchan.—MARSDEN'S *Marco Polo*, note 1354. FINLAYSON'S *Siam*, p. 253.

† Boodh, Buth, Phoodh, Fohi, are evidently the same word under different forms. The Tamul, adding the termination en, makes it Pooden; whence Wod-en. *Amita*, in Chinese O-mee-to, the epithet applied to Buddha in China and Japan, is the Sancrit *Amita*, immeasurable, whence the Greek ἄμετρον.

‡ "The religion of the Birmans," Colonel Francklin says, "is that of the younger Buddha or Bhaddoo of the Hindoos, the ninth incarnation of Vishnoo; but the Birmans insist, that in his character of Weethandra, a prince of Godomha-it, he is a tenth incarnation of the divinity. The elder Buddha, or Rama the conqueror of Ceylon, which, in the ancient Pali, is called Dewi Lanca, they do not acknowledge as their legislator; his history is merely read as an amusing fable by their bards or musicians. I have a copy of his history: it agrees with the Indian legend, but

abbot of Birmah, at the solicitation of a Roman Catholic bishop, drew up an account of their tenets, in which the gods who have appeared in the present world, and who have obtained the perfect state of *nigban*, are said to be four; viz. Chau-cha-sam (or Kau-ka-than), Gonagom (Gau-na-gon), Gaspa (Katha-pa), and Godama.* The Sakya-muni of Ceylon (the Sogomon-burchan of Marco Polo, and the Shakhu-moonee of Bengal), has generally been

they call him Yama.* We are not aware on what authority Rama is called the elder Budha. Ramŭ, or Rama, is the seventh incarnation of Vishnoo, Bulurama the eighth, Boodhŭ the ninth; but the origin of Buddhism is not to be found in these legends, which are of a more modern date. There are acknowledged to be *four* Buddhas; but there seems no connexion between this succession of sages and the nine incarnations of Vishnoo.

* This document then proceeds by question and answer. "*Q.* Of which of these gods ought the law at present to be followed? *A.* Of the god Godama.—*Q.* Where is the god Godama? *A.* Godama, at the age of thirty-five, having attained his divinity, preached his law for forty-five years, and brought salvation to all living beings. At eighty years of age he obtained nigban, and this happened 2362 years ago [from 1795]. Then Godama said: after I shall have departed from this earth, I will preserve my law and disciples for 5000 years; and he commanded that his images and relics should be worshipped, which has accordingly been ever since done.—*Q.* What is meant by obtaining *nigban*? *A.* When a person is no longer subject to any of the following evils, weight, old age, disease, and death, then he is said to have obtained *nigban*. Nothing, no place can give us an adequate idea of *nigban*: we can only say, that to be free from the four above-mentioned miseries, and to obtain salvation, is *nigban*. In the same manner as when any person labouring under a severe disease, recovers by the assistance of medicine, we say he has obtained health; but if any person wishes to know the manner or the cause of his thus obtaining health, it can only be answered, that to be restored to health signifies no more than to be recovered from disease: in the same manner only can we speak of *nigban*. And after this manner Godama taught." Reckoning the 2362 Birman years as equal to 2341 Julian years, this would place the death of Godama about 546 years B.C. Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 265. See also Ward's View, &c., vol. ii. p. 212.

considered as the founder of the sect. M. la Loubére supposes the Siamese Somonocodom to be unquestionably the same person; and according to the sacred books, his father was Bali, king of Teve Lanca, or Ceylon. La Croze states, that the name of Fo before his apotheosis, was Xaca (Saka), and that, according to the best-established opinion, he was born in the isle of Ceylon.* The name of Sommonokodam (Godama) before he was deified, Mr. Finlayson was told, was Prā-si-Thāāt; his father's name was Soori-soo-thoght, and his mother, Pra-soori-maha-maya.† The general persuasion of the priests, we are told, is, that their religion had its origin in Lanca, or Ceylon, and many circumstances establish the close connexion between the Cingalese and the Siamese; but this is sufficiently to be accounted for, without supposing that Buddhism had its origin in that island.‡ If any stress can be

* Marsden's Marco Polo, note 1355. Bali is evidently only the word Pali, the name of the sacred language, and of the nation to whom the Buddhists belong; a proof that the Cingalese filiation of Godama is apocryphal.

† *Pra* is a mere affix, signifying lord: the other names are possibly mythological. One of the Siamese titles assigned by this Traveller to Buddha, that of *Ora-hang*, is the Siamese name of Adam's Peak, in Ceylon.

‡ Not only the religion and sacred language of Ceylon are the same as those of Birmah and Siam, but there are many proofs of an intimate connexion and commercial intercourse between that island and the Indo-Chinese states; as well as the clearest evidence that Ceylon derived alike its mythology, language, and priesthood from Magadha, or Bahar. The name of the island (Singhala) is clearly derived from *singh*, a lion; a distinctive appellation of the khetries, or military class. We have evidently the same word in Sincapoor (Singa-pura), as well as in Singhea in Bahar, Singepoorum and Singhboom in Orissa, &c. Sincapoor is said to have been founded by emigrants from Sumatra. In that island we find the Rakhan river, evidently the same as Arracan, and a town of Acheen,—the same name as the chief place on the Kank-kao river, which falls into the gulf of Siam. Salanga (Junkseylon) is apparently the same word as Lanca, the Siamese name of Ceylon.

laid on the *Jatŭs*, or histories of the ten incarnations, Buddha, prior to his *first* incarnation as Temee, had, at a remote period, reigned in Varanusee (Benares) twenty years, and after an interval of 80,000 years, had been born and lived in Tavŭtingsa (Ceylon ?). This Maha-Sătwă (great saint), or Boodhŭ Sŭtwŭ, as he is called, would seem, indeed, at all events, not to be the first Buddha; but his earliest appearance is placed in Bahar. It is more to the purpose to remark, that the Cingalese admit that they received their religion from the hands of a stranger; and Mr. Ward thinks, that it was probably propagated in the Birman empire soon after its reception in Ceylon, that is, about four hundred and fifty years after Buddha's death. "The Birmans believe, that six hundred and fifty years after that event (about A.D. 107), in the reign of Maha-moonee, a bramhun, named Buddha-Ghosha, was sent to Ceylon, to copy the *Vishooddhimargŭ*, which includes all the Jatŭs, or histories of the incarnations of Buddha. Since then, many Birmans have translated and commented on these writings. In a work entitled 'The great History of the Birman and Pegu Kings,' it is recorded, that, during the *T'hioorŭ-kshutriyu* dynasty, no fewer than fifty-five translations were made, and as many comments written on these books. But the Birmans are believed to possess works of higher antiquity than the Jatŭs." *

There can be, we think, no doubt, that India, and that part of India which formed the kingdom of Magadha, or Benares, has the best claim to the honour of having given birth to Buddha Guadama. In fact, both Booddhu and Goutŭmŭ would seem, from the following account, given by Mr. Ward from Sanscrit documents,

* Ward, vol. ii. p. 211.

to have been either family names or honorary titles of the Magadha dynasty.*

"About 700 years before the commencement of the Christian era, Vĕĕrŭ-Vahoo, of the race of Goutŭmŭ, a person attached to one of these sects, destroyed his sovereign Bodhŭmŭllŭ, and immediately seized the throne of Delhi. This king, and his three immediate successors, reigned one hundred and eight years. Mŭhēē-pŭtee, or the lord of the earth, was the name

* The Scanda and Buddha puranas, the two sacred poems which describe the actions of Godama, among a multitude of matter extravagant beyond the stretch of imagination to portray, and defying all rational analysis, contain these few intelligible historic details. It seems that Sataketu, of the race of the gods, had resolved to descend to earth and to become incarnate, in order to instruct mankind. The house of Sacya Singu was in possession of the sixty-four indispensable virtues, and therefore the god assumed the human form in the family of Sudd-hodana, at Capiluvasu, in the kingdom of Magadha (South Bahar). His mother was Maha-divi. His wisdom puzzled his instructors in infancy. Repairing to Cushi, he took up his abode under a tree, and began a series of seven penances. He subsequently exemplified the duties of social life, and married Gopa, daughter of Sácshya; but finally renewed his penances, and became a complete Sanyasi. One thousand votaries were added to Buddha's disciples before he reached Gaya, the holy shrine near which he fixed his retreat. His mother, Maha-divi, afflicted at his tremendous penances, came down to remonstrate, but, instead of obeying, he fell down and worshipped her; for which act of extraordinary piety, together with his completion of the unutterable Yoga, the samyacsam-bodhi, the astonished gods fell down in adoration, and thus completed the earthly consecration of this incarnate deity. The Birmans adopt this purana, but add other particulars; among which, the artificer, Viswakarma, is introduced, presenting a large forest, created for the scene of Buddha's austerities. The king his father, and the neighbouring princes, who had attempted to seize his kingdom during his absence, turn anchorets, in imitation of the *rishi*, or saint; and even the horses and elephants in his father's train are so spiritualised, that, after having run wild on earth, they are born again in the six abodes of the gods. This legend, however, bears internal evidence of its relating to a personage far less important than the original Buddha.

of the third of these monarchs; and as most of the writers on this subject agree in placing the era of Booddhŭ in the sixth century B.C., it seems reasonable to suppose, that Booddhŭ was the son or near relation of Mŭhēē-pŭtee. If not connected with this family, why should the family name of this race, Goutŭmŭ, be one of the most common names of Booddhŭ?* As the capital of the most powerful of the Hindoo monarchs of this period was in South Bahar, if Booddhŭ was not the son of one of the Mŭgŭdhŭ kings, it is possible he belonged to some branch of the family reigning at Benares, which was probably then a separate kingdom. In the Témee Jétŭ, a history of one of the incarnations of Booddhŭ, he is said to have been the son of a king of Benares, and to have persevered in choosing the life of an ascetic, against every possible artifice and persuasion of his royal parents. If then it be admitted that Booddhŭ was a person of royal descent, that he chose an ascetic life, and embraced a system of philosophy already prevalent in India, the other scenes of the drama require no assistance from conjecture: he became the patron and idol of the sect which from this time was distinguished by his name; he also received the support of the reigning monarchs, who were attached to him not only by holding the same philosophical opinions, but by the ties of blood.

"This sect being thus established by Mŭhēē-pŭtee, the eleven Booddhŭ monarchs who succeeded him, and who reigned 291 years, may reasonably be supposed to have done what the bramhŭns charged them with, to have obliterated the religion of their opponents.

"It is certain, however, that the learned adherents

* Titles of deity have sometimes been assumed as family names. Thus, among the kings of Sirinagur, several bore the name of *Deo*, others that of *Paal*, &c. See Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 338.

of the brambinical religion did not remain silent spectators of what they deemed the triumph of atheism. They contended with their equally learned opponents; and this dispute, as is manifest by the character of many of the works still read by the Hindoos, called forth all the talents of both sides: challenges to conduct the controversy in the presence of kings and learned assemblies were given and accepted. But here, as in innumerable other instances, the arm of power prevailed; and as long as the reighing monarchs were Bouddhŭs, the bramhŭns were obliged to confine themselves to verbal contentions.

"At length, Dhoorŭndhŭrŭ, of the race of Mŭyŏŏrŭ, destroyed Adityŭ, the last Bouddhŭ king, and assumed the sovereignty; and it is probable that from this time (about 300 years B.C.) we are to date the commencement of the persecutions of the Bouddhŭs.

"One or two facts tend to prove, that the bramhŭns were not much more mild and tolerant than other persecutors. Though a number of *Joinŭs* are scattered up and down in various parts of Hindoost'hanŭ, scarcely a vestige of the Bouddhŭ superstition is to be found, and all its adherents are seen in the adjoining countries. The fact respecting these persecutions is, however, placed beyond all doubt by the Prayŭshchittŭ-vivékŭ, a Hindoo work on atonements; from which we learn, that Oodŭyŭnacharjyŭ, a learned bramhŭn, and a fierce combatant against the Bouddhŭs, actually burnt himself to death on a chaff-fire (kooshŭanŭlŭ), as an atonement for the sin of having excited the Hindoo kings to put to death many Bouddhŭ bramhŭns. To avoid the malice of their enemies, therefore, the Bouddhŭs emigrated to the neighbouring countries, and gave to the uncivilised inhabitants those doctrines for which they had been

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unsuccessfully contending on the plains of Hindoost'hanŭ.

"We have no authentic documents to prove how long this persecution lasted; but it is a pretty current opinion among the most learned Bŭrmans, that the religion of Booddhŭ was introduced into that country about 450 years after his death. According to this statement, (admitting that the persecution began with Dhoorŭndhŭrŭ,) it will appear to have continued 183 years." *

According to this view of the subject, Godama, the fourth and last deity, and the founder of the present system of atheology which goes under the name of Buddhism, was an ascetic of royal birth, who lived about 2,370 years ago.† Having, like Zoroaster, Manes, Mahommed, and Abdul Wehhab, professed himself a religious reformer, he travelled over India, Ceylon, and other countries to propagate his doctrines.‡ His image uniformly represents him with

* Ward, vol. ii. pp. 207—10. See also Asiat. Res. vol. ix.

† A native of Ceylon assured Mr. Ward, that the Cingalese considered it to be about 2,500 years since the death of Gautama. Mr. Felix Carey, on the authority of the Birman history, made it, in 1813, 2,357 years since the birth of the god. According to other authorities, cited by Dr. Buchanan, both the Siamese and the Cingalese make Budha's death to have happened either 542 or 546 years B.C. The Chinese authorities state that Shaka lived 1028 years B.C. (see note at p. 106.) If any reliance could be placed on this opinion, it would go far to prove that Sakya-muni preceded Gautama by nearly 500 years.

‡ "When the Budhuist superstition was first introduced to the island of Ceylon, has never been satisfactorily determined; but the circumstances attendant on its introduction are set forth by the Singhalese historians in all the extravagant hyperbole of Eastern fable. According to their writings, Budhu visited Ceylon for the purpose of rescuing the natives from the tyranny of the demons, who covered the whole island, and exercised the most cruel tyranny over the inhabitants. So numerous were these malignant spirits, that, on the arrival of Budhu, they covered the whole ground, and

curling hair, like that of an African; his ears long, as if distended by heavy ear-rings, and in a sitting posture, with his legs folded. This physiognomy is remarkable, and may be admitted, perhaps, as an indication of the Ethiopic extraction of the Magadha dynasty, since Godama was clearly not a foreigner. In his lifetime, there is no reason to suppose that he set up for a god; and it would seem that, like all other pseudo reformers, he acknowledged certain predecessors in his office, Boudhas or wise men who had appeared before him. Who Kaukka-than, Gaunagon, and Kathapa were, can be but matter of conjecture; but it may be allowed us to suggest, that the original Boodha was probably the Eastern Hermes, the Mercury of the Hindoo pantheon, and the Boodha of the calendar. Of the five deities assigned to the present *kulpu*, or mundane period, four have already ap-

there was not sufficient space left for him to set his foot; and had a pin fallen, it could not have found its passage to the ground. Budhu, confident of the efficacy of his doctrines, directed his discourse to a part of the vast mass before him, which immediately yielded to its force, and became panic-struck by the superior power which was opposed to them. Availing himself of the confusion into which the demons were thrown, and perceiving a vacant space, Budhu descended, and occupied the spot. As he continued to preach, directing his sermons to every part of the vast circle which was formed around him, the demons gradually retired further from his presence, until they were all at length driven into the sea. Budhu then issued the following proclamation: 'Behold, I have conquered the malignant spirits who had so long and with such irresistible sway tyrannised over you. Fear demons no more! worship them no more!' This tradition, divested of the absurdities in which it is clothed, represents Budhu as a religious reformer, who finding the Singhalese devoted to the Kappooa system of demon-worship, endeavoured, by preaching some portion of truth, though mixed up with much error, to raise their minds from the degraded and enslaved state in which they had been held for ages. Success followed the persevering promulgation of the system, until it gained the ascendancy, and became the established religion of the island."—HARVARD'S *Mission to Ceylon*, p. liv.

peared, including Godama, whose exaltation is to continue till the expiration of 5000 years, 2,368 of which have now expired. Another saint will then obtain the ascendancy and be deified.

The introduction of Buddhism into Indo-China appears to have been through different channels,—from Bengal and Assam, from Ceylon, and from China. It is evident that it must have had a footing in Birmah, before Budha-Gosha was deputed to visit the sacred isle to copy the *Jatŭs*. In fact, it must have been brought into the country with the first Pali emigration consequent on the overthrow of the Boudhic dynasty in Magadha, supposed to be 300 years B.C., even if it had not previously extended over these countries. It is highly remarkable, however, that the Birman era carries us up no higher than A.D. 638. This era is said to be that used by the astronomers of Siam, from whom, first the Taliens of Pegu, and then the Birmans are supposed, with great probability, to have adopted it.* The Siamese, there is reason to think, derived their religious lore and language from Laos on the borders of Yun-nan: in other words, they derived it from China.† But the worship of Fohi or

* "Whence the Birmans date their era, I could not learn from them. The akunwoon of the province of Pegu, the most intelligent man with whom we conversed, did not seem to know. He said, that whenever the king thought the years of the era too many, he changed it. The fact, I believe, is, that the era commencing in our year 638, is that used by the astronomers of Siam, and from them, as a more polished nation, it has passed to the Birmans, whose pride hindered them from acknowledging the truth."—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. vi. p. 171.

† "It is from this nation" (the Laws or Laos,) "that both the Birmans and Siamese allege they derive their laws, religion, and institutions. It is in the country of the Laos that all the celebrated founders of the religion of Buddhy are represented to have left their most remarkable vestiges. Ceylon boasts the sacred traces

Buddha was not introduced into China till the first century of the Christian era; and the idol is said to have been imported from an island towards the west, which was probably Ceylon, about A.D. 66.* At that time, China was itself divided into petty kingdoms: these were subsequently reduced to two, the northern and the southern, and at length, under the usurper Yang-kien, were united into one empire, A.D. 585. His successor, the first monarch of the Tang dynasty, which lasted for nearly 300 years, began to reign in the year 626; a period so nearly answering to the Birman era, (especially when we allow for the difference between the Birman and the

of the left foot of Buddha on the top of the mountain Amali-sri-pali, or Adam's Peak. Siam exhibits the traces of the right foot on the top of the golden mountain Swa-na-bapato. Other traces of the sacred step are sparingly scattered over Pegu, Ava, and Arracan. But it is among the Laos that all the vestiges of the founder of this religion seem to be concentered, and thither devotees resort to worship at the sacred steps of Pra Ku-ku-son, Pra Kon-na-kon, Pra Putha-kat-sop, and Pra Samutta Kodom; Siamese names of the four Buddhas, corresponding to the Birman Kaukason, Gonasom, Kasyapa, and Gautama; and to the Ceylonese Kakusanda, Konagom, Kasyapa, and Gautama." The Laos language, which, there is reason to think, varies but very slightly from the Siamese, is said to abound in books, especially in translations from the Pali.—HAMILTON'S *Gazetteer*, art. *Laos*.

* Some authorities make it later. "In no age," remarks the learned Missionary Milne, "has China been free from idolatry; but it greatly increased after the time of Laou-tsze, A.C. 500, the restorer of the religion of Taou, and especially after the introduction of the superstition of Fuh, A.D. 81. This last dragged in with it from the west, a sacred language—the doctrine of a non-entity—the transmigration of souls—the final absorption of good men into deity—also, a degrading idolatry and superstitions without number. We recognise in this sect, Indian deities, Indian doctrines, an Indian language, and Indian canonicals. It has carried the Chinese nation further off from the fountain of life than it was before."—*First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China*, by WILLIAM MILNE. (Malacca, 1820). P. 28.

Julian years,) that we are tempted to consider it as the real epoch adopted by the Siamese astronomers. On the other hand, M. Remusat, in his learned "Dissertations on the Religion and Antiquities of the Hindoo and Tatar Nations," has given a list of twenty-eight Buddhas, or Buddhic patriarchs, contained in a Japanese manuscript, which terminates with one who is said to have been the last who fixed his abode in Hindostan, and who, retiring to China, died there A.D. 495.* It would seem that the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Chinese sovereign, as lord of the Buddhic world, may be dated from that period. This last Budha, who is said to have assumed the

* This list is given in a paper explanatory of a Hindu map of sixty kingdoms. The name and birth-place of each illustrious *rishi* (saint) is carefully specified, together with the period of his death, in Chinese characters and Japanese letters, precisely answering to the Sanscrit or Pali word. The birth of Sakya-muni is fixed on the eighth day of the fourth moon of the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Tchao-wang, of the dynasty of Tcheou; that is, according to De Guignes, 1029 B.C. He is stated to have lived 79 years, which, added to the 1445 years assigned to his successors, twenty-eight in number, down to Bodhidana, bring us to A.D. 495. "The twenty-seventh patriarch burned himself A.D. 457, and left the secret doctrine to that Bodhidana, of the caste of Kettris, and son of the king of Mawar, in Western India, who changed his name to Bodhi-dharma, and was the twenty-eighth patriarch, and the last who fixed his residence in Hindostan. In fact, he embarked on the sea of the south, went to China, and fixed himself near the celebrated mountain of Soung, in the vicinity of Honan, where he died the fifth of the tenth moon, the nineteenth year *tai-ho* (A.D. 495). I came into this country, he said in dying, to teach the law, and to deliver men from their passions. Every flower produces five petals, which set themselves in fruit. Thus I have fulfilled my destiny. He bequeathed the secret doctrine to a Chinese, who took the mystic name of Tsoui-kho."—REMUSAT, *Melanges Asiatiques*, p. 125. Kœmpfer, in his History of Japan, declares that Buddhism began generally to spread throughout that country, A.D. 518. It had been introduced, however, about A.D. 63.

name of Bodhi-dharma, is expressly stated to have been of the Khetri or Cshatriya caste, and son of the king of Mawar or Bahar. He took up his residence near the celebrated mountain of Soung, in the vicinity of the city of Ho-nan, and at his death bequeathed his office to a Chinese, who assumed the name of Tsoui-kho (skilful penetration). The first four successors of Bodhi-dharma were honoured with the title of *muni* or *moonee* (philosopher). But in the year 713, having acquired a greater degree of political influence, the Buddhic patriarch was dignified with the titles of great master and spiritual prince of the law. The Mongol princes, following up the system, attached to their throne this representative of Buddha, under the high titles of director of the conscience, chief of spiritual affairs, master of the kingdom (*koue-sse*), master of the emperor (*ti-sse*), and, at length, as the sovereign, immaculate, immortal, divine non-entity, the Grand Lama.*

The removal of the visible head of the Buddhic faith from the banks of the Ganges to China, and the establishment of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Chinese monarch, are certainly circumstances of sufficient importance to present a probable explanation of a new era. Bodhi-dharma died, however, we have seen, about 140 years before the Birman or Siamese era.

* "It is a general belief in Tibet, that the arts and sciences had their origin in the holy city of Benares, which the inhabitants have been taught to esteem as the source both of learning and religion. Their alphabet and character they acknowledge to be derived from the Sanscrit. According to tradition, the ancient teachers of the faith professed by the inhabitants of Tibet, proceeded from Benares. There are two sects of priests, distinguished by their dress; the red or the yellow cap. The latter is reckoned the most orthodox, and has, among his votaries, the emperor of China."—HAMILTON'S *Gaz.*, art. *Tibet*.

That era, therefore, if connected with these events, must have been determined by some subsequent political or ecclesiastical change in one of the two countries. However this may have been, the supremacy of the Chinese Boa (Ou-dee-Boa) or emperor, over the Indo-Chinese kingdoms, territories too distant to have been retained by the mere tie of conquest, appears to have been universally acknowledged, till Minderajee-praw, after the conquest of Arracan, first ventured to assert his equal dignity and independence by assuming the title of Boa of Birmah.

Thus, then, we seem to have a variety of concurring evidence to prove that Buddhism had its origin in India, where it was identified with a dynasty of monarchs, and with a race whose vernacular dialect has become the sacred language as well of Ceylon as of all the other Indo-Chinese nations. The origin of the Birmans and Arracanese, as well perhaps of the Singhalese, as a people, seems clearly referrible to emigrations of the Khetri caste from Magadha. The aboriginal population of Birmah was doubtless Tâtar, and consisted of rude tribes similar to the Karayns. The Birmans themselves had probably well nigh lost all remembrance of their sacred institutes, having become a mixed people, when a learned brahman was sent to Ceylon to copy the sacred writings. In that island, the Buddhic religion appears to have been preserved in its greatest purity, probably as having been the asylum of the fugitive priesthood; and from thence it was communicated to Japan and China. In the mean time, it appears to have spread northward over Bootan and Tibet, and the shadowy representative of the Buddhic sovereigns found refuge in China, whose monarch claims to be considered as the khalif of Buddhism. The emigrations of Chinese fugitives, conse-

quent on the Tatar conquests, may account for the superior information and polish ascribed to the people of Laos. Nor is there any violence in supposing that Buddhism, which had travelled from Magadha to Ceylon, and from Ceylon to China, found its way through Laos, by means of Chinese fugitives or colonists, to Siam and Pegu, and thus met, as it were, with the Buddhism already imported into Birmah, both from Ceylon and from Bengal.*

There are several highly-interesting inquiries connected with the history of Buddhism and its introduction into these regions, to which we have not ventured to advert. Whether the religious creed which it displaced was of a purer kind, as in China, or only a grosser idolatry,—and whether Buddhism itself be not a corruption of a purer faith,—are questions not of very easy solution. How far any of the tenets or institutions of the Indo-Chinese nations may be thought to exhibit traces of a Christian origin, is also a curious inquiry. When it is recollected, that a Nestorian mission was introduced into Ceylon in the fifth or sixth century, it is certainly possible that the striking coincidences observable in many parts of the

* "The Birmans of Ava acknowledge the superior antiquity of the Cingalese, and the reception of their laws and religion from that quarter. The king of Ava has, *within the last thirty years*, at separate times, sent two messengers, persons of learning and respectability, to Ceylon, to procure the original books on which their tenets are founded. In one instance, the Birman minister made official application to the governor-general of India, to protect and assist the person charged with the commission."—HAMILTON'S *Gazetteer*, art. Ceylon. On the other hand, we are told, that "the Birmans entertain the highest reverence for Magadha. A deputation from his majesty of Ava visited the sacred places in that vicinity a few years ago."—FINLAYSON'S *Siam*, p. 252, *note* (by Sir S. Raffles).

Buddhic system are not purely accidental.* The zarado who furnished the account, already referred to, of the religion of Birmah, mentions six impostors, teachers of false doctrine, who had appeared prior to the coming of Guadma. "The second of these pretenders taught," he says, "that after death, men are by no means changed into animals, and that animals, on being slain, are not changed into men; but that after death, men are always born men, and animals born animals." "This," remarks Dr. Buchanan, "was probably the doctrine adopted by the Birmans before they embraced the religion of Buddha, for it is yet retained by the Pegu and Birman Carayns."† According to Mr. Judson, it is not more than about eight hundred years ago, that the religion of Boodha was first publicly recognised as the religion of this country.‡

The resemblances between some of the rites and regulations of the Romish Church and the monastic institutions of the Birman religion, are so striking as to suggest the idea that one must have been copied from the other, or both from a common model. Indeed, Father Boori, a Portuguese missionary who visited Cochin China in the sixteenth century, pro-

* The Cingalese annals record that, in the fourth century, the throne of that island was usurped by two Malabar missionaries, who administered the government for upwards of twenty years, and were at length slain by a member of the royal family.—HARVARD, p. lxii.

† Asiat. Research. vol. vi. p. 267.

‡ "Here, about eight hundred years ago, Ah-rah-han, the first Boodhist apostle of Birmah, under the patronage of king Anan-ratha-men-zan, disseminated the doctrines of atheism, and taught his disciples to pant after annihilation as the supreme good."—JUDSON, p. 224.

tests in despair, in his narrative, " that there is not a dress, office, or ceremony in the Church of Rome, to which the devil has not here provided some counterpart. Even when he began inveighing against the idols, he was answered, that these were the images of departed great men, whom they worshipped exactly on the same principle and in the same manner as the Catholics did the images of the apostles and martyrs."*

The following additional particulars respecting the ecclesiastical system of the Birmans, are taken chiefly from Dr. Buchanan's valuable papers in the Asiatic Researches.

The priests of Guadma, or rahaans, are all regulars, members of some *kioum* (monastery), and under the direction of a superior, in a manner strikingly resembling the monastic orders of the Romish Church. They are under vows of celibacy, and live together in their convents or colleges, which are by much the best habitations in the country. Every kioum has a head called *zara*, which may be interpreted " reader," but it may also be translated abbot. In a particular manner is respected the *zarado* (or seredaw), or royal abbot, who may be likened to the king's confessor. His apartments are very superb, and his attendants very numerous. Next to the emperor, he is the person to whom the greatest external homage is paid, and he is permitted to sleep under a *piasath*, a dignity not enjoyed even by the king's eldest son, who already possesses one half of the imperial power. But although these zaras possess grades of rank conformable to the opulence of their kioums, and the power of their patrons, every zara manages his own establish-

* Murray's Hist. of Discoveries in Asia, vol. iii. p. 249.

ment, without any appeal to a superior, or even to the head zarado.

The respect shewn to the rhahaans by the lay inhabitants is very great. The road on all occasions is yielded to them; they are always addressed as phongi (or *pun-jee*, eminence) and bura (*praw*, lord). They are permitted to use painting and gilding, and even white, the royal colour, common only to their divinity and the monarch. Although thus honoured, they retain the greatest simplicity in their manners, the dress of the high zarado not differing from the multitude prostrate before him. When at Rangoon, he used, like other rhahaans, to perform his rounds bare-footed, and to receive from house to house the rice that was offered as alms. In this, perhaps, there was somewhat more than humility, as the streets were covered with cloth, and the men prostrated themselves at his feet, begging his blessing, while the women were kept out of his way, as unworthy to be in the presence of a man so weaned from the pleasures of sense.

The necessaries for a rhahaan are, a *sabeit* (pitcher), a proper yellow garment, a large fan, serving for an umbrella, a mat and pillow for a bed, a bucket to draw water, a bottle to keep it in, and a drinking cup. The rhahaans are allowed to eat every thing they receive as a present, provided it be ready dressed, for they never kindle a fire, for fear of destroying some insect. On professing, the *phonghi*, or novice, is told, that his first duty consists "in eating that food only which is procured by the labour and motion of the muscles of the feet." What is meant is this: "Every morning, as soon as they can distinguish the veins on their hands, the rhahaans issue from their

convents, and spread themselves all over the neighbouring streets and villages: as they pass along, they stop at the different doors, but without saying a word. If the people of the house are disposed to be charitable, or have not already given away all that has been prepared for the purpose, a person, generally the mistress of the house, comes out, puts the ready-dressed provisions into the sabeit, and the rhahaan goes on in silence, without returning thanks. Nor does he ever solicit for any thing, should it not be convenient or agreeable for the family to bestow alms, but, after standing for a few minutes, proceeds on his rounds. So nice are they in this particular, that it is deemed sinful for a rhahaan on such occasions to cough, or make any signal, by which he might be supposed to put the laity in mind of their duty. As they literally take no care for the morrow, the superfluity they daily give away to animals, to the poor, and to needy strangers and travellers. In order that they may be able to supply these demands, as well as to comply with the letter of this law, even when they are in no want of provisions, the rhahaans make their daily rounds. From this regulation it results, that where there are not a sufficiency of inhabitants to support a convent, there are no rhahaans; and thus the finest kioums in old Ava are deserted, and their gilded halls have become the habitations of outlaws and unclean animals."

Among the instructions delivered to the rhahaan on his ordination are the following: "Whoever is admitted into the priesthood, can by no means be permitted to extol himself as a saint, or as a person endowed with any preternatural gifts; such as the gifts called *meipo* or *zian;* nor is it lawful for him to declare himself a hermit, or a person that loves soli-

tude. The priest who, prompted by ambition, falsely and impudently pretends to have obtained the extraordinary gifts of *zian* or of *meipo*, or to have arrived at *niebán*, is no longer a priest of the divine order. To what can he be compared? In the same manner as a palm-tree cut through the middle can never be rejoined so as to live; in such manner shall this ambitious priest be unworthy of being esteemed as belonging to the sacred order." *

The priests have no regular service like the mass. "As far as I could learn," Dr. Buchanan says, "they do not officiate at all in the temples. Very few of them were present at any religious ceremonies or processions; nor do any of them appear to take charge of the temples or images. Their time seems to be employed in instructing the youth, in reading, and soliciting alms." † This statement is hardly consistent with the account which represents them as passing a great part of their time reposing in sequestered and umbrageous spots, as if absorbed in contemplation. The Birmans are very fond of processions: scarcely a week passes, Colonel Symes says, in which there is not a religious spectacle of some kind at Rangoon; either a pompous funeral, or rather incineration, or some festival or ceremony. They observe a species of Lent, which is followed by a month of public festivity. In their prayers, they use rosaries; these are made sometimes of amber beads, sometimes of seeds, especially those of the *Canna Indica*, a plant peculiarly sacred to Buddha, and supposed to have sprung from his blood, when, once upon a time, he cut his foot with a stone. They are in pos-

* Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 289. Zian and meipo are different degrees of abstraction or absorption.

† Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 279.

session of one very singular privilege. It is a law, that no criminal can be executed within the walls of a city, nor can be put to death should a rhahaan touch him when being led to execution. "This privilege," Dr. Buchanan says, "they often exert; and although they are, no doubt, sometimes bribed thus to save a bad man, yet, I believe, they much oftener interfere to prevent injustice." * Col. Symes was told, that there were formerly nunneries of virgin priestesses, who, like the rhahaans, wore yellow garments, cut off their hair, and devoted themselves to religious duties; but these societies were suppressed many years ago, as being unfavourable to the increase of the population. "At present," adds this gentleman, "there are a few old women, who shave their heads, wear a white dress, follow funerals, and carry water to the convents; and these venerable dames have some portion of respect shewn to them." Whether these Buddhic vestals have the same privileges as the rhahaans, we are not told; but the classic reader will probably be not a little startled at finding these traces of customs so nearly allied to the institutions of Greece and Rome, among the semi-barbarous tribes of eastern Asia. We should err, however, were we to consider all the rites and usages which are now incorporated with the Birman religion, as original or essential and characteristic parts of Buddhism. Like every other form of superstition, it has undergone the modifications introduced by time, and has taken its complexion from national character, blending itself, in different countries, more or less, with creeds and customs ancient and modern, Christian and heathen, — Indian, Tatarian, and Chinese. What its peculiar doctrines may

* Asiat. Res. vol. vi. pp. 276, 297.

be, is an inquiry more curious than important, except as it relates to the obstacles they may create in the way of the communication and spread of a purer faith. In this point of view, its negative character, as contrasted with the Brahminical superstition, is the most pleasing feature of the system. But whatever be its dogmas, the system, as Mr. Judson remarks, "has no power over the heart, lays no restraint upon the passions. Though it forbids theft and falsehood, and inculcates benevolence, forgiveness of injuries, and love of enemies, it is destitute of power to repress the one, or to produce the other." In short, it has the beauty and symmetry of an image, but there is no life in it.

We have, perhaps, too long detained the reader with a disquisition not strictly within the province of the Traveller, but which we have thought adapted to throw some light on the present condition of the Indo-Chinese countries. In proceeding to avail ourselves of the very scanty materials which exist for illustrating the topography of this country, our chief guide will be Colonel Symes, who visited Ava as envoy from the governor-general of India in the year 1795,* together with the Journal of Captain Hiram Cox, who was selected as the company's first resident at Rangoon, and who visited Amerapoora in 1797; besides which, the works of older travellers, the journals of the American missionaries, and the tracts and communications scattered through different periodical works, are the only accessible sources of information.

* Dr. Buchanan, whose contributions to the Asiatic Researches have been so repeatedly referred to, accompanied the embassy as surgeon.

RANGOON.

THE river of Rangoon is to the Irrawaddy, what the Hoogly is to the Ganges: it forms the grand entrance to the Birman empire. The general appearance of the river and its banks resembles that of the Calcutta river; the navigation, however, is much more commodious. The land on each side is low and swampy, and the banks are skirted with high weeds and brushwood; but the channel is bold and deep. Before a vessel is quite land-locked, Dagon pagoda, with its gilt spire and *tee*, is seen towering above the trees; and, a little beyond, Syriam pagoda, which is of similar shape, but less lofty. Syriam, where the first British factory was established, lies up a branch of the river that comes from the N.N.E.; it stands in lat. 16° 49′ N., long. 96° 17′ E. The Rangoon branch, called also the Panlang, comes from the *N.W.* The town is situated on a tongue of land about a mile and a half above its confluence with the Syriam river, in lat. 16° 47′ N., long. 96° 9′ E.* The river, thus far, is perfectly commodious for shipping; it is about 600 yards wide at Rangoon; the water in general deep from shore to shore, the bottom good, and the current moderate. The spring tides rise twenty feet. The banks are soft, and so flat, that there is need of little labour for the formation of docks, although they can receive ships of 8 and 900 tons.

The town, as seen from the river, has a rude appearance, being composed of straggling huts of *cadjan* (palm-leaf) and bamboo, raised on piles close to the

* Where not otherwise mentioned, the longitude and latitude are given on the authorities of Symes, Buchanan, and Hamilton's East India Gazetteer.

water's edge, slips for building ships, and mud docks. Some few tiled houses are seen among the trees within the stockade, and the roof of the custom-house is raised two stories in the Chinese style. Part of the timber stockade, which encloses what is called the fort, is seen towards the river; and near the flag-staff is a very good wooden pier, with a crane and steps for landing goods. Here, also, is placed the saluting battery of sixteen old iron guns, four or six-pounders, which are run out through port-holes, in a wooden breast-work like a ship's side. Many small pagodas, some of them with gilt spires, are seen amid the trees on both sides of the river. The buildings along shore on the town side, extend about one mile and a half, and on the opposite one, about a quarter of a mile.

The city forms a square, surrounded with a high stockade; and on the north side it is further strengthened by a fosse, across which is thrown a wooden bridge: on this side, there are two gates; in each of the others, only one. Wooden stages are erected in several places within the stockade, for musketeers to stand on in case of attack. The number of cannon, and the quantity of spoil of every description captured here in 1825, prove the efforts made to strengthen the place, and to maintain its possession against an enemy, to have exceeded greatly the estimate made of its state by Col. Symes. Close to the principal wharf are (or were, for we are describing Rangoon as it was,) two commodious wooden houses, used by the merchants as an exchange. The streets are narrow, much inferior, Col. Symes says, to those of Pegu, but clean and well paved. There are numerous channels to carry off the rain, over which strong planks are laid to prevent any interruption of intercourse. The houses are raised on posts; the smaller are supported

by bamboos, the larger ones by strong timbers. The officers of government, the most opulent merchants, and all persons of consideration, live within the fort: shipwrights, and people of inferior rank, inhabit the suburbs, where one entire street, called Tackally, is exclusively assigned to women of a class who too generally abound in all sea-ports, and who are not permitted to dwell within the precincts of the fortification. The minute and interesting Journal of Mr. Judson, the American missionary, who resided nearly twelve years at Rangoon, describes the society there to be in a very insecure and disorganised state, robberies occurring nightly, and murders being very frequent. This state of things renders the outskirts of the town a very unsafe residence for any persons who might be deemed opulent; but these marauders do not wantonly molest the lower classes. Rangoon, in fact, partakes of the vicious character of most sea-ports, which, attracting all descriptions of persons for the purposes of trade, are generally found to exhibit a state of manners and public character far below the average standard of morals in the interior.

The population of Rangoon is considerable. In 1796, there were 5000 taxable houses in the city and suburbs. Since then, it has enjoyed a flourishing trade, and efforts had evidently been made to increase the strength of the place. Before the war, it may be presumed to have contained at least 30,000 inhabitants. In January 1810, the town was almost totally consumed by fire; and again, in March 1823, a most destructive conflagration was witnessed by the missionaries resident there. "We beheld," says Mr. Judson, "several houses in flames, in a range which led directly to the city; and, as we saw no exertion to extinguish it, we concluded the whole place would be

destroyed. We set off immediately for our house in town, that we might remove our furniture and things that were there; but when we came to the town gate, it was shut. The poor people, in their fright, had shut the gate, ignorantly imagining that they could shut the fire out, though the walls and gates were made entirely of wood. After waiting, however, for some time, the gate was opened, and we removed in safety all our things into the mission-house, some distance in the suburbs. The fire continued to rage all day, and swept away almost all the houses, with the walls, gates, &c." In a country of forests, however, a wooden town is soon rebuilt. The fire, occurring in open day, did not occasion any loss of lives; and the structures, light and slender as they are, were soon restored. Such is the character of all conflagrations in the cities of the East, that the same detail equally suits Delhi, Constantinople, Pekin, or Rangoon. Fatalists by creed, indolent by habit, careless and improvident from the influence of a grinding despotism, the inhabitants view the devastation of public property with a callous and supine indifference.

Having long been the asylum of insolvent debtors from the different settlements of India, Rangoon is crowded, Col. Symes observes, with foreigners of desperate fortune. "Here are to be found fugitives from all countries of the East, and of all complexions. Their common place of meeting exhibits a motley assemblage of merchants, such as few towns of much greater magnitude can boast of: Malabars, Moguls, Persians, Parsees, Armenians, Portuguese, French, and English, all mingle here, and are engaged in various branches of commerce. They not only receive the protection of the government, but enjoy the most liberal toleration in matters of religion; they celebrate their several

rites and festivals, totally disregarded by the Birmans, who have no inclination to make proselytes. The Birmans never trouble themselves about the religious opinion of any sect, nor disturb their ritual ceremonies, provided they do not break the peace, or intermeddle with their own divinity Guadma."

Nature has bestowed on Rangoon every facility and advantage calculated to render it a flourishing and highly important commercial place; and from its position, in skilful hands, it would soon attract the richest commerce of these highly-gifted regions, and become an entrepôt for India.

The imports from the British settlements consist chiefly of coarse piece goods, glass, hardware, and broad cloth; the returns are almost wholly in the teak timber. A considerable traffic also is carried on by boats, which are fitted out annually as well from Rangoon, as from various ports on the great river Irrawaddy, and which proceed by way of the Bassien river, through the channels which divide Cape Negrais from the Continent, to Luckipore and the Dacca provinces, and through the whole course of the Brahmapootra. These boats carry in general from 1000 to 1,500 *mounds* (of 80 lbs. each), with a crew of from twenty to twenty-five men. Each boat is supposed to contain, on an average, the value of 4000 rupees, the greater part in bullion: the remainder consists of sheathing boards, sticks of copper from China, stick lac, cutch, ivory, and wax. The indirect trade of China through Arracan, as well as from Rangoon, has of late years experienced an increase. In fact, from its geographical position, the commerce of Rangoon must become very productive and important.

The facilities of the harbour being so great, and the teak forests of Henzawuddy almost inexhaustible,

ship-building forms an important and principal part of the occupation of the natives. Vessels of 900 and 1000 *tons* burthen are built here at a considerably less cost than at any other part of India. In 1800, the cost of ship-building at Rangoon was 13*l.* per ton, coppered and equipped in the European style: the French models are those used. It is asserted, that ships can be built here for one third less than they cost at Calcutta, and for nearly half what they cost at Bombay.

Speaking of their method of ship-building, Col. Symes observes: "While we admired the structure and materials of their ships, we could not overlook the mode in which the work was executed, and the obvious merit of the artificers. In Bengal, a native carpenter, though his business is commonly well done, yet, in his manner of performing it, excites the surprise and ridicule of Europeans. He cuts his wood with a diminutive adze, in a feeble and slow manner; and when he wants to turn a piece of timber, has recourse to a labourer that attends him. Numbers there compensate for the want of individual energy: notwithstanding this, they finish what they undertake in a masterly manner. The Birman shipwrights are athletic men, and possess in an eminent degree that vigour which distinguishes Europeans, and gives them pre-eminence over the enervated inhabitants of the East; nor, I imagine, are the inhabitants of any country capable of greater exertions than the Birmans."

The convents in the neighbourhood of Rangoon are numerous. Colonel Symes was told, that they exceeded 1,300. From the high importance of the Shoe-dagun Pagoda, it follows that the *zarado*, or head of the rhahaans at Rangoon, receives the highest veneration. He lives in a very handsome monastery half a

mile from the town, on the way to the temple. Nothing can more strikingly exemplify the tolerant character of Buddism, than that its chief priest, who would not have gone out of his way, or stopped, had a monarch accosted him, on being joined by Col. Symes, entered freely into conversation with him, and not only suffered him to bear him company in his walk homeward, but invited him to enter and rest himself. The apartment consisted of a large, lofty hall, with mats spread on the floor, in the centre of which they seated themselves; several young rhahaans who had attended him in his walk, ranging themselves at a little distance. The conversation, as led by the *zarado*, referred solely to his rank as head of the church at Rangoon, and to the sacerdotal titles conferred on him by the Birman sovereigns. He is described as a diminutive old man, seventy-five years of age, but he still walked with a firm step. He wore the usual yellow dress of the rhahaans, and both his head and feet were bare. He maintained a perfectly abstracted appearance, rivetting his eyes on the ground before him, even when engaged in conversation; but he would seem not to have been wholly dead to the vanities of this world, whatever self-denial he might practice as to its gratifications.

About two miles and a half N.N.W. of Rangoon stands the stately pagoda of Shoe-dagun, or the Golden Dagun. This grand building, although not so high by twenty-five or thirty feet as that of the Shoe-madoo at Pegu, is much more highly ornamented. The terrace on which it stands, is raised on a rocky eminence, considerably higher than the circumjacent country, and is reached by above 100 stone steps, that have been suffered to fall into decay. The situation renders Shoe-dagun a conspicuous object at a distance of many

miles. The *tee*, or umbrella of open iron-work, and the whole of the spire, are richly gilded, and, when the sun shines, exhibit a singularly splendid appearance. The placing of the tee is an act of high importance and solemnity; it is, in effect, the sanctification of the temple, signifying that then, and not until then, the divinity takes possession of it. The borders of the terrace on which the temple is raised, are planted with trees in regular rows. From this eminence, there is a beautiful and extensive prospect; the Pegu and Rangoon rivers are seen winding through a level, woody country, and the temple of Syriam, little inferior to that of Dagun, stands near the junction of the streams. The road leading from the city to the temple is formed with care. A wide causeway in the centre prevents the rain from lodging, and throws it off to the sides. The road is made of bricks, and appears to be constructed in a way peculiar to this country. The bricks are about one inch and three-quarters thick, and are placed on the edges by sixes laid transversely. Judging from the length of time which has elapsed since the road was laid down, this method has all the recommendation of durability, it being very little cut up by the clumsy carriages drawn by bullocks passing over it. Numberless little spires are ranged along the edge of the road, in which are niches to receive small images of their divinity Guadma or Dag-un. Several kioums or monasteries lie in this direction, generally removed a small distance from the public way, under the shade of pipal or tamarind trees.

The golden temple containing the idol, may challenge competition in point of beauty with any other of its class in India. The building is composed entirely of teak wood, and indefatigable pains are displayed in

the profusion of rich carved work which adorns it. The whole is one mass of the richest gilding, with the exception of the three roofs, which have a silvery appearance. A plank of a deep red colour separates the gold and silver, which has a happy effect in relieving them. The ornaments represent the head of the peacock. All round the principal pagoda are smaller temples richly gilded, and furnished with images of Guadma, whose unmeaning smile meets you in every direction, the sight of which, accompanied by the constant tinkling of the innumerable bells hung on the top or tee of each pagoda,* combines with the stillness and deserted appearance of the place, to produce an impression on the mind not speedily to be effaced.

The deity now worshipped in the temple of Shoedagun, is unquestionably Buddha; but how comes he to have usurped here the name and honours of the monstrous deity who

> "had his temple high
> Reared in Azotus, dreaded through the coast
> Of Palestine, in Gath, and Ascalon,
> And Accaron, and Gaza's frontier bounds?"

The word Dag-un or Dagoung is composed of the word *dag*, fish, and the mysterious and sacred monosyllable *om*, *on*, *aum*, or *aun*, a title bestowed upon the sun, but which appears, under its various forms, to imply divine existence.† Dagon, therefore, is the Fish-God,

* Each bell has a fan suspended to its tongue, to catch the passing breeze.

† Dagon, according to Sanchoniathon, was Osiris in the shape of a fish, *Deus Cetus*. Said-on is the same deity, both *dag* and *said* signifying fish, whence the names of Sidon and Beth-saida; so, Beth-dagon, Josh. xv. 41, and xix. 27; places so named, in all probability, from the idol worshipped there. Derketos or Atargatis (from Κητος) is the same deity. Under this allegorical represen-

the amphibious deity who was the chief object of Phenician idolatry. Under this form, Vishnou himself is represented in the *matsyŭ* avatar, as a man issuing from a fish. According to the testimony of Mr. Hamelton, the idol originally enshrined here was not of a human form; but he was not allowed to see it. There can, however, be little doubt that the place has taken its name from the deity to whom it was consecrated, and who was worshipped here, ages before the era of Buddha, either by the Tallien nation or by a foreign colony; and that the Indian Gaudama has inherited the honours of the Syrian Dagon, just as the Virgin has succeeded in western countries to the shrines and altars of the Mater Dea, and the temple of Vesta has become the church of the Madonna of the Sun. Here, the mariner who has been delivered from peril, now presents as his votive offering, a model of a ship or boat to Buddha, as his ancestors once did to their amphibious patron, and as in many countries is practised by the worshippers of the Virgin as Our Lady of Deliverance. In like manner, the temple of Shoe-madoo (Maha Deo) at Syriam was once, no doubt, sacred to the Hindoo Apollo, Sooryŭ or Sirius; and Sitong may perhaps be nothing else than Saidon (or Σιτων), the Phenician Dagon under another name.*

Mr. Judson, the American missionary, was present, in 1817, at the grand annual festival held at Rangoon in honour of Gaudama. It lasts for three days. "It

tation, it is plausibly supposed that Noah is referred to.—See BRYANT'S *Mythology*, vol. iii. p. 134; iv. 140; v. 236. CALMET'S *Dictionary, by* TAYLOR, art. *Dagon*; and *Fragments*, cxlv. ccxii. ccxiv.

* If the Philistines or Palestines were, as has been contended, a branch of the Palli or Indo-Scythians, it would cease to be remarkable, that the same object of worship should be introduced by a maritime people into their different colonies.

is observed," he says, "all over the country, but I presume the multitude collected in this place is much greater than at any other, excepting Ava. Priests and people come in boats from a great distance, to worship at the pagoda in this place, which is supposed to contain a relic of Guadama. The viceroy, on these days, goes out in all the pomp and splendour possible, dressed and ornamented with all his insignia of office, attended by the members of government, and the common people. After kneeling and worshipping at the pagoda, they generally spend the day in amusements, such as boxing, dancing, singing, theatrical exhibitions, and fire-works. Most of the older people spend the night at the pagoda, and listen to the instructions of the priests.

"Great and expensive offerings are made at this season. One last year, presented by a member of government, cost 3000 tecals, or 1,200 dollars. It was a kind of portable pagoda, made of bamboo and paper, richly ornamented with gold leaf and paintings. It was a hundred feet in height, and the circumference of its base about fifty. Half way up its height was a man ludicrously dressed, with a mask on his face, white wings on his shoulders, and artificial finger-nails, two inches in length, in the posture of dancing. This offering was carried by sixty men, preceded by a band of music, and followed by the officer who made it, and his suite. Other offerings presented at this festival are, various kinds of artificial trees, the branches and twigs of which are filled with cups, bowls, handkerchiefs, and garments of all descriptions: these are given to the slaves attached to the pagoda, who, the week following, have something like a fair to dispose of their offerings.

"The pagoda to which such multitudes resort, is

one of the largest and most splendid in the empire. To give an accurate description of this noble edifice, requires an abler pen than mine; and perhaps a better one of its construction and dimensions cannot be given, than that which has already been presented to the public by Col. Symes, of a similar pagoda at Pegu. The beauty and variety of its appendages, however, are far superior. After having ascended the flight of steps, a large gate opens, when a wild, fairy scene is abruptly presented to view. The ground is completely covered with a variety of ludicrous objects, which meet the eye in every direction, interspersed with the banyan, cocoa-nut, and toddy trees. Here and there are large open buildings, containing huge images of Guadama, some in a sitting, some in a sleeping position, surrounded by images of priests and attendants, in the act of worship, or listening to his instructions. Before the image of Guadama are erected small altars, on which offerings of fruit, flowers, &c. are laid. Large images of elephants, lions, angels, and demons, together with a number of indescribable objects, assist in filling the picturesque scene."

It was in the year 1813, that this estimable missionary and his wife, bidding farewell to the comforts of civilised life and the privileges of Christian society, took up their residence at Rangoon, with the resolution of devoting themselves to the study of the language, for the purpose of being qualified to translate the Holy Scriptures and other religious works into Birman. There were at the time no English families in the town, nor a female in all Birmah with whom Mrs. Judson could converse. The difficulties to be overcome were appalling, and their situation was alike cheerless and defenceless, surrounded by despotism, avarice, and cruelty, and the palpable darkness of

heathenism. Several missionaries had previously made attempts to reside there, but had been discouraged, and had abandoned the enterprise. Too warm praise cannot be bestowed on the signal patience, constancy, and cheerfulness with which, year after year, they continued to prosecute their silent labours, conciliating by their manners the esteem of the natives, but without attempting any direct attack on their prejudices. That they should have remained so long in this unprotected situation, without suffering either depredation or insult, must be admitted, however, to be greatly to the credit of the people, and a proof of their mild and tolerant character.

A few detached extracts from Mrs. Judson's Journal will supply some interesting illustrations of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Rangoon.

1813. "Our home is in the mission-house built by the English Baptist Society, on the first arrival of Messrs. Chater and Carey* in this country. It is large and convenient, situated in a rural place, about half a mile from the walls of the town.† We have gardens enclosed, containing about two acres of ground, full of fruit-trees of various kinds. In the dry season, our situation is very agreeable. We often enjoy a pleasant walk within our own enclosure, or in some of the adjoining villages.

"As it respects our food, we are much better circumstanced than we expected. We have no bread, butter, cheese, potatoes, or scarcely any thing to which

* The son of the venerable Dr. Carey, of Serampore. Mr. Carey married a Birman lady of European extraction, who, together with their two children, was drowned in ascending the Irrawaddy, through the upsetting of the boat. Mr. Carey narrowly escaped.

† They subsequently found it advisable to remove to a house in the town.

we have been accustomed. Our principal food is rice and curried fowl, and fowls stewed with cucumbers. The country presents a rich and beautiful appearance, every where covered with vegetation, and, if cultivated, would be one of the finest in the world. But the poor natives have little inducement to labour, or to accumulate property, as it would probably be taken from them by their oppressive rulers. Many of them live on leaves and vegetables which grow spontaneously, and some actually die of hunger. At the present time there is quite a famine. Every article of provision is extremely high; many, therefore, are induced to steal whatever comes in their way. There are robberies and murders committed frequently. Scarcely a night passes but houses are broken open, and things stolen; but our trust and confidence are in our Heavenly Father, who can easily preserve and protect us."

1814. "Dec. 11. To-day, for the first time, I have visited the wife of the viceroy. I was introduced to her by a French lady, who has frequently visited her. When we first arrived at the government-house, she was not up; consequently we had to wait some time. But the inferior wives of the viceroy diverted us much by their curiosity in minutely examining every thing we had on, and by trying on our gloves, bonnets, &c. At last, her highness made her appearance, richly dressed in the Birman fashion, with a long silver pipe in her mouth, smoking. At her appearance, all the other wives took their seats at a respectful distance, and sat in a crouching posture without speaking. She received me very politely, took me by the hand, seated me upon a mat, and herself by me. She *excused* herself for not coming in sooner, on the ground of *indisposition*. One of her women brought her a

bunch of flowers, of which she took several, and ornamented my cap. She was very inquisitive whether I had a husband and children, whether I was my husband's first or principal wife, supposing that Mr. Judson had several wives. When the viceroy came in, I really trembled, for I had never before beheld such a savage-looking creature. His long robe and enormous spear not a little increased my dread. He spoke to me, however, very condescendingly, and asked if I would take some rum or wine. When I arose to go, her highness again took my hand, told me she was happy to see me, and that I must come to see her every day. She led me to the door; I made my *salaam*, and departed."

1815. Sept. "A new viceroy has lately arrived, who is much respected and beloved by the people. He visited us soon after his arrival, and told us that we must come to the government-house very often. After he had moved into his new house, he gave an invitation to all the English and Frenchmen to dinner. The viceroy and his wife did every thing in their power to amuse the company. Among other things were music and dancing. The wife of the viceroy asked me if I knew how to dance in the English way? I told her, that it was not proper for the wives of priests to dance. She immediately assented, deeming that a sufficient reason for my declining."

In the spring of 1816, Mr. and Mrs. Judson were bereaved of the solace of their hearts, in their first-born and only son. "A few days after the death of our little boy," says Mrs. Judson, "the viceroy's wife visited us with a numerous retinue. She really appeared to sympathise with us in our affliction, and requested Mr. Judson not to let it too much affect his

health, which was already very feeble. Some time after her visit, she invited us to go out into the country with her for the benefit of our health, and that our minds, as she expressed it, *might become cool.* We consented, and she sent an elephant with a howdah upon it, for our conveyance. We went three or four miles through the woods. Sometimes, the small trees were so close together, that our way was impassable but by the elephant's breaking them down, which he did with the greatest ease, at the word of the driver. The scene was truly interesting. Picture thirty men armed with spears and guns, and with red caps on their heads, which partly covered their shoulders; then, a huge elephant, caparisoned with a gilt howdah, containing a tall, genteel female, richly dressed in red and white silk. We had the honour of riding next to the viceroy's lady; after us, on three or four elephants, came her son and some of the members of government. Two or three hundred followers, male and female, concluded the procession. Our ride terminated in the centre of a beautiful garden of the viceroy's. I say beautiful, because it was entirely the work of nature: art had no hand in it. It was full of a variety of fruit-trees, growing wild and luxuriant: the noble banyan formed a delightful shade, under which our mats were spread, and we seated ourselves to enjoy the scenery around us. Nothing could exceed the endeavours of the vice-reine to render our excursion agreeable. She gathered fruit and pared it, culled flowers and knotted them, and presented them with her own hands. At dinner, she had her cloth spread by ours, nor did she refuse to partake of whatever we presented her. We returned in the evening, fatigued with riding on the elephant, de-

lighted with the country and the hospitality of the Birmans, and dejected at their ignorance of the true God."

Speaking again of this interesting person, the wife of the viceroy, Mrs. Judson says: "I had an opportunity of trying the sincerity of her friendship at the time we procured our order for going to Bengal.* I went to her with a petition, and, contrary to Birman custom, appeared without a present. She was in an inner room, with the viceroy, when I presented the petition, and after hearing it read, she said it should be granted. She called her secretary, and directed him to write an official order, have it regularly passed through all the offices, and impressed with the royal stamp. I was determined not to leave her until I received the order, as it would be very difficult to obtain it unless delivered in her presence." As Mrs. Judson had foreseen, the official persons wished to evade its being executed, and urged her to return home, promising that it should be brought her. The viceroy's wife asked her if that would answer her purpose. "Being perfectly acquainted with the object of the man," says Mrs. J., "I replied, that I had had much anxiety on account of this order, and if it was her pleasure, I preferred waiting for it. She said it should be as I wished, and ordered the man to expedite the business." Mrs. Judson was permitted to remain in her apartment until towards the evening, when the order was brought in and delivered.

An order had arrived from court, some time after this, for the banishment from the country of all the Portuguese priests. There were but three then resi-

* The state of Mr. Judson's health had rendered a change of climate necessary; but, without an order from the viceroy, no female can leave the country.

dent at Rangoon; but to ascertain exactly this point, the viceroy had directed that all foreign priests should appear at the court-house; and this edict had afforded the inferior officers the means of summoning and harassing the members of the mission, who were led to expect their own banishment. At length, a summons, on a Sunday morning, incited Mrs. Judson to attend with the Rev. Mr. Hough, who had joined the American missionaries, and to present a petition stating the grievance. As soon as she caught the viceroy's eye, he, in a very condescending manner, called her to come in and make known her request. On hearing the petition, the viceroy reproved the offender in the most austere manner; at the same time giving a written order that Mr. Hough should not be called on "his sacred day," and that he should be molested no more.

1819. April. "This evening I went, for the second time, to hear a popular Birman preacher. On our arrival, we found a *zayat** in the precincts of one of the most celebrated pagodas, lighted up, and the floor spread with mats. In the centre was a frame raised about eighteen inches from the ground, where the preacher, on his arrival, seated himself. He appeared to be about forty-five years of age, of very

* The *zayat* is raised four feet from the ground, and divided into three parts. The first division is laid entirely open to the road, without doors, windows, or a partition in the front side; it takes up a third part of the building. Their size is of course regulated by the probability of the resort of hearers. They are made of bamboo and thatch. The building erected on the road to the Dag-un pagoda by Mr. Judson, to attract the passers-by, (an experiment highly hazardous,) was twenty-seven feet by eighteen. It must be considered as a very decisive proof of the mild administration of the Birman government, that this bold step was persevered in by Mr. Judson for some time, and he had made very considerable progress without any personal injury or danger.

pleasing countenance and harmonious speech. He was once a priest, but is now a layman. The people, as they came in, seated themselves on the mats; the men on one side of the house, and the women on the other. The congregation was small, not exceeding a hundred persons. The people being convened, one appointed for the purpose called three times for silence and attention. Each person then took the leaves and flowers which had been previously distributed, and placing them between his fingers, (as rosaries,) raised them to his head, and in that respectful posture remained motionless until the service was closed. When all things were properly adjusted, the preacher closed his eyes, and commenced repeating a portion from the Birman sacred writings. His subject was the conversion of the two prime disciples of Guadama, and their subsequent promotion and glory. His oratory I found to be entirely different from all that we call oratory. At first, he seemed dull and monotonous; but presently his soft, mellifluous tones won their way into the heart, and lulled the soul into that state of calmness and serenity, which, to a Birman mind, somewhat resembles the boasted perfection of their saints of old. His discourse continued about half an hour; and at the close, the whole assembly burst out into a short prayer, after which, all rose and retired. This man exhibits twice every evening in different places."

As far as regards acuteness, the Birman teachers would seem to be no mean proficients in the art of reasoning, and fit to rank as scholars even of the Athenian sophists. Moung-hong, "a disciple of the great Toungdwen teacher, the acknowledged head of the semi-atheists," is described as a complete sceptic, scarcely believing his own existence, and always quarrelling on

some speculative point with his wife, who is pronounced by Mrs. Judson to be the most superior woman, in point of intellect, that she met with in Birmah. "If she says, the rice is ready, he will reply, Rice! what is rice? Is it matter, or spirit? Is it an idea, or is it non-entity? Perhaps she will say, It is matter. He will reply, Well, wife, and what is matter? Are you sure there is such a thing in existence, or are you merely subject to a delusion of the senses?" Yet, in manners, our philosopher was all suavity, humility, and respect. His wife, "as sharp as himself," harassed Mrs. Judson with all sorts of questions relative to the possibility of sin's finding entrance into a pure mind, or of its being permitted under the government of a holy sovereign. In their habits and mode of thought and reasoning, the Birmans are influenced by a high conceit of their own powers, and a fancied superiority, fenced by strong prejudices. This was most apparent in the very interesting conversations held with Oo-yan, a man of talents and respectability. On doctrinal points, he discovered a most acute, discriminating mind; and his reasoning was both insinuating and adroit. Candour, too was strikingly evinced by some of the disputants. And numbers, it appears, "indeed, all the semi-atheists," who seem to be Buddhists *par excellence*, are despisers of Guadama and the established religion of Birmah. While the rhahaans, however, affect to make no proselytes, both they and the government are strictly jealous to detect, and relentless to punish any individual Birmans who shall depart from the faith of Guadama. They are slaves of the emperor, and it is viewed as a mark of treason to dissent in this respect from his will. Thus, when the keen reasoners and disputants among their doctors could not gainsay the

zeal, talents, and Christian doctrine of Mr. Judson, and applied to the liberal-minded Maywoon Mya-daymien to interfere and send him away, asserting that, by means of Moung-shway-gnong, a convert, every endeavour was making "to turn the priests' rice-pot bottom upward," he calmly replied, "What consequence? Let the priests turn it back again." But when proofs were alleged that he had become a Christian convert, the viceroy replied, "Then he is worthy of death." The mere rumour that the words "Inquire further" had proceeded from the lips of the viceroy, sufficed to occasion the desertion of the zayat, which was consequently shut up in 1819; and Mr. Judson determined on the bold measure of proceeding to the capital, to present a memorial to the young monarch. An account of his interview with the lord of all elephants will be given under our description of the capital. It was unsuccessful; yet, up to the close of the Journal in December 1823, Mr. Judson was still allowed to carry on divine worship in private in the mission-house, and to give religious instruction to all who called upon him, while he prosecuted, as his main work, the translation of the New Testament.

We must now prepare to ascend the mighty Irrawaddy; but, before we leave Rangoon, it will be proper to make a few remarks on the general appearance and nature of the surrounding country, and the southern portion of the delta.

The country in the immediate vicinity of Rangoon, far from being flat and swampy, is agreeably diversified with gentle risings and slopes. From the site of an old pagoda on an eminence, Captain Cox obtained a commanding view of the country for many miles round. "The Martaban mountains formed a boundary to the N.E. To the south, and westward of the

river, the meanderings of which are seen for many miles, is an extensive plain, cleared for paddy-grounds, and bounded by deep forests. The soil of the valleys is a fine loam, covered with rich luxuriant pastures; the cattle are as large and in as good a condition as are to be seen in any part of India. The soil of the knolls or little hills appeared to be a red loam mixed with sand, on a basis of red rock, that seems to have undergone the action of fire; it is friable and broken on the surface into gravel, and contains, apparently, a large portion of iron. The roads at present are very indifferent, but might very easily be rendered good and fit for carriages. In the vicinity of the town are several orchards and many pleasant situations for building. The air is pure and elastic; and its general salubrity is evinced by the appearance of the inhabitants, who are a hale, robust race."* It has been supposed that the inequalities in the soil are artificial. Nothing, however, Captain Cox states, can be more distant from the truth. Immediately to the northward of the town, a gentle ridge commences, extending from the river two miles and a half, north and south: at its highest point, it is two hundred feet at least above the level of the river at neap tides. In its breadth, it varies from fifty to four hundred yards, shelving away to the westward, and sending off bluff spires to the eastward.† On the apex or northern

* "The climate is good," says Mrs. Judson, "better than any other part of the East."

† The soil of this ridge is, 1st. A thin stratum of vegetable mould, mixed with silicious earth, which latter predominates; this first stratum is of various depths, from twelve feet to a few inches; 2d. Red, ferruginous, porous rock, with its stratum vertical or perpendicular to the horizontal strata of the other classes; 3d. Decomposed red ferruginous rock, mixed with silicious earth, with a large proportion of iron ore, red, yellow, and blue; 4th. Argilla-

edge of this ridge, stands the stupendous pagoda of Shoe-dagun; and to the north of it, in a hollow formed by the rains, is a pool of water, limpid, but acid to the taste.* Wherever the blue, ponderous stone (which forms the sixth stratum) has been laid bare by the monsoon torrents, and is exposed to the rays of the sun, a native copperas is formed. The rocks on the surface near the large pool have the appearance of sandstone, in many places skinned over with a thin crust of red, dephlogisticated iron ore; but when exposed to the air, they fall into a yellowish white impalpable powder. On the surface of the mud deposited in those pools which have been dried up by evaporation, a yellow scum appears; and among the rocks and hollows, the presence of sulphur is strongly indicated.

"The general course of the river is to the S.E., but with frequent and deep windings, where the reaches on the river are about 250 yards broad, winding sometimes less than 100 yards, but with depth sufficient for ships. The banks are low, highest on the north-eastern side, and appear well cultivated and interspersed with straggling houses. The spontaneous growth of the banks are cane reeds from six to ten feet high, the tops of which are excellent provender for cattle. The soil from the edge of the river, is an unvaried stratum of rich, sandy loam."

ceous earth, white clay; 5th. Blue, silicious earth, with a large proportion of iron ore and vitriolic acid; and 6th, immediately below it, is a dark blue, ponderous, granular stone, emitting fire on collision with steel, containing a large proportion of iron ore and vitriolic acid.

* From the result of some experiments on the water, Captain Cox was led to conclude that it is a pure chalybeate, containing iron held in solution by either sulphuric or vitriolic acid, with a very small proportion of magnesia and common salt.

Panlang (by Captain Cox written Pau-layn), the first station above Rangoon, has once been a town of considerable magnitude, and the number of boats generally moored near it, indicate that it is still a place of some importance. Here, the Rangoon river, which is frequently called the Panlang-mioup, separates from the great stream in the same manner as the Hoogley does from the Ganges. The principal branch, which is about 700 yards in width at this junction, pursuing a southerly course, divides, as it approaches the sea, into a number of channels, which are filled by the tide, and are for the most part navigable. The eastern bank is in the viceroyalty of Pegu, but the opposite country is included in the province of Dalla. The great delta of the Irrawaddy, extending from the western mountains of Cape Negrais to Sirian or Syriam, is about 110 geographical miles in length, and is divided into the governments of Negrais, Bassien (or Persaim), Dalla, Rangoon, and Syriam. The district of Dalla extends westward to Mainda, the residence of the governor of the district; a town consisting of one long street, at the east end of which is a creek, which extends all the way to Bassien, and has twelve feet of water at high tide. The city of Dalla, from which the district takes its name, is said to be on the western bank of an arm of the Irrawaddy, called the Chinabucker, and was formerly a place of importance. The jurisdiction is entirely distinct from that of Rangoon, which is vested in the viceroy of Henzawaddy: the Pegu maywoon cannot interfere with a criminal on the Dalla side of the river.

Bassein (properly Persaim) is seated on the river to which it gives name, called also the Negrais river, the westernmost branch of the Irrawaddy, which falls into the Indian Ocean at Cape Negrais. The harbour is

commodious, and it is reported that vessels of any size might securely anchor in its stream. The British factory established here in 1757, was destroyed in the wars between the Birmans and Taliens in the days of Alompraw; and as it has never been restored, Bassien, though occupying so favourable a position, has not, of late years, been visited by Europeans, Rangoon having become the emporium of the empire. It stands in lat. 16° 50′ N., long. 93° E.

The island of Negrais lies off the mouth of the Bassien or Negrais river. Its only importance is derived from the harbour. There is not a single spring of fresh water, nor any habitation on the island. The coast is here a barren desert, covered with an impenetrable jungle. Towards the north, there is a hill crowned with an old pagoda, from which the point of Cape Negrais is known under the name of Pagoda Point. At its foot, a flat has been cleared of jungle sufficiently to allow of the erection of a few fishermens' huts. Negrais harbour is said to be, without exception, the most secure in the Bay of Bengal, as from hence a ship launches out at once into the open sea, and may work to the southward without any other impediment than the monsoon opposes.

The whole delta of the Irrawaddy, including the country southward and westward of Tonghoo, and between Cape Negrais and the Bagoo-kioup, is now called Henzawaddy. The tract lying between the Syriam river and the Sittong river, formed the ancient kingdom of Sittong, which divides Henzawaddy from Martaban. Exclusive of the delta, there is very little low land in the Birman dominions. The teak-tree does not grow here; but even at a short distance

from Syriam, the country is dry and hilly. The soil is remarkably fertile, and produces the finest rice.

VOYAGE UP THE IRRAWADDY.

THE voyage from Rangoon to the capital in the dry season, may be accomplished in little more than a month; it occupied, however, Colonel Symes and Captain Cox fifty-one and fifty-two days. The stream is always very rapid, but, at the season of its increase, it would become too powerful to admit of any boats proceeding upwards, were it not for the assistance of the south-west monsoon, which sets in at the same period, and enables them to stem the current. The navigation, however, is troublesome and tedious, owing to the frequent halts which it is necessary to make, to afford rest to the boatmen. Mr. Judson descended the river from Ava to Rangoon in twelve days.*

The boats which navigate the Irrawaddy in large fleets, and are constantly plying on its waters, are

* Colonel Symes left Rangoon on May 29, 1795, and reached Amerapoora on the 20th of July; the river was then regularly on its increase. Captain Cox set out from Rangoon December 5, 1796, at which season the stream was at the lowest, and reached the capital on January 25th. Mr. Judson embarked December 21st, 1819, and reached the landing place of the capital January 25, being only the thirty-sixth day. On his return, he left Amerapoora on the 6th of February, and arrived at Rangoon on the 18th, being just a third of the time required to ascend the river, and not a fourth of the interval occupied by the voyage of Colonel Symes. In like manner, in ascending the Magdalena, boats are sometimes delayed, in the rainy season, from fifty to sixty days; the average time is about twenty-five days; whereas in descending, the voyage may be accomplished in seven days. Ten leagues is reckoned, in going up the stream, "a good day's journey."—See MOD. TRAV., *Colombia*, p. 300, &c.

constructed on a commodious plan, and are well adapted to make their course against the powerful stream. A boat sixty feet in length measures not more than twelve feet across in the widest part. But the consequence of their being thus long and narrow is, that they not only require a great deal of ballast, but would be in constant danger of oversetting, were they not provided with outriggers, consisting of thin boards, or buoyant bamboos, which compose a platform extending horizontally six or seven feet on the outside of the boat from stem to stern; so that the vessel can incline no further than until the platform touches the edge of the water, when she immediately rights. Upon this platform the boatmen ply their oars, or impel the vessel forward by poles.* Here the crew sleep by night, and live by day; protecting themselves from the weather by putting up mats, or spreading a sail from the roof of the boat to the outside edge. A sort of cabin is constructed by taking away one thwart beam near the stern, laying a floor two feet below the gunwale, and raising an arched roof about seven feet above the floor; a commodious room is thus formed, 14 feet in length and 10 feet in width, together with a small closet. At the stern is a stage, on which the *leedegee* or steersman takes his stand. A vacant space is left of about seven feet, where a kettle may be boiled and dinner cooked. On each side of the cabin, a door opens on the platform, and there are windows which admit of a free circulation of air. The roof is made of bamboos covered with mats, and over all is extended a piece of canvass that effectually secures it from the heaviest rain. The inside is neatly lined with mat-

* In the same manner the roof of the *champans*, or flat-bottomed boats used on the Magdalena, serve as a deck for the boatmen, on which they stand to push along the boat with their poles.

ting. A vessel of this bulk will require a crew of twenty-six boatmen, besides the *leedejee*, who acts as captain. Boats of precisely similar construction, with the exception of the outriggers, are described by Herodotus, and are still to be seen represented on the sculptured walls of the Egyptian temples.

The Irrawaddy, or, as it might be rendered, Elephantine river,* has been supposed to derive its name from the vast herds of that majestic animal which abound on its banks. As the word, however, is Sanscrit, this is not so likely, as that it has a mythological reference, or that the sacred name of the Indian Iravati has been transferred to the Birman river; agreeably to the practice of all colonists, who love to bestow, on the ground of some real or fancied analogy, the names of their native scenes on new regions. Deep jungles skirt the banks of the river in this part, and, as usual in all uncleared tracts under this latitude, there is no trifling drawback on the pleasures of the voyage, occasioned by the swarms of mosquitoes. Captain Cox describes them as the largest and most ravenous he ever met with; and Col. Symes, as venomous beyond what he ever felt. Two pairs of thick stockings were

* We have already noticed the various orthography observed by different travellers in giving the name of this river. That which we have adopted in the text, is not the most correct, but comes near the pronunciation, and has been most commonly followed in our maps. Col. Francklin writes it Era Wuddey; Mrs. Judson, A-rah-wah-tee and Alayawotte; others, Iravati and Irabati; from which it is easy to suppose that the word Ava has been formed. In like manner, the Elephantine river of India, the third of the Punjab, is called the Ravey, a corruption of Iravati, which the Greeks turned into Hydroates or Hydravates. The Nile also, which the Irrawaddy in many respects resembles, had the same title of Elephantine where it entered Egypt from the north, although the elephant is believed not to be indigenous in Africa.—See *note* at p. 4.

insufficient to guard against their attacks. The servants, and even the boatmen, got no rest all night. A kind of reed that grows on the banks, breeds and harbours them in the greatest abundance. Fortunately, this pest does not extend many miles up the river; a war-boat, quickly rowed, can soon escape from them, but a heavy vessel must lie for one tide exposed to their action. "They assailed us," says Col. Symes, "even in the day-time, and in such numbers, that we were obliged to fortify our legs with boots, and put on thick gloves, while, by continual flapping with a handkerchief, we endeavoured to defend our faces. But no sooner had darkness commenced, than these troublesome insects redoubled their attacks in such multitudes, of such a size, and so venomous, that, were a European with a delicate skin to be exposed uncovered to their ravages for one night, it would nearly prove fatal. The Birman boatmen, whose skins are not easily penetrated, cannot repose within their action, and the Bengal servants actually cried out in torment."* Indigo is cultivated here in patches on the

* This is nothing to the insect plagues of the New World. Along the whole course of the Magdalena, innumerable insect tormentors wage war upon the lord of the creation. Mosquitoes near the sea, and further up, enormous flies glut themselves with his blood.—See Mod. Trav., *Colombia*, p. 292. A very interesting account of the singular manner in which these insects attach themselves to a particular spot, exhibiting varieties of species in the space of a few leagues, and never intermixing, and of other phenomena connected with their geographical distribution, may be found in Humboldt's Pers. Narr., vol. v. pp. 85—118. "How comfortable must people be in the moon!" said an Indian to Father Gumilla; "she looks so beautiful and clear, that she must be free from mosquitoes." When two persons meet in the missions of the Orinoco, the first questions they address to each other are: "How did you find the *zancudoes* (venomous gnats) during the night? How stand we to-day as to mosquitoes?" "These questions," adds the learned Traveller, "remind us of a Chinese form of politeness, which indicates the

banks of the river, which are generally about a mile apart, with houses scattered at intervals. "Wherever I have landed," says Capt. Cox, "the natives have appeared to me as well lodged, clothed, and fed, as the peasantry of any part of India I have seen. Every family plant their own indigo, cotton, and paddy; and the women spin, manufacture, and dye all the cloth necessary for their own consumption, while the men attend the labours of the field. Considering that there is no encouragement for exporting the surplus produce, I am at a loss to account for any appearance of opulence among them. That they have some commerce is, however, certain, from the number of excellent boats of burthen that are seen lying at every considerable town, or passing and repassing.

Above Panlang, the influence of the tide becomes weaker, and the water during the ebb is fresh. At Ran-gen-tsen-yah, (or, as Colonel Symes writes it, Yangain-chain-yah,) a village about forty miles from Rangoon, the traveller passes out of the Panlang or Rangoon stream, and enters into the great Irrawaddy. The course of the stream is here nearly south, and

ancient state of that country. Salutations were made heretofore in the *celestial empire* in the following words: *Vou-to-hou*—implying, Have you been incommoded in the night by the serpents?" As both the mosquitoes and the gnats pass two-thirds of their lives on the water, in the forests crossed by great rivers, they generally become more rare in proportion as the traveller recedes from the shore. In that zone, "where the barometer becomes a clock," the true mosquito is not a nocturnal insect: their reign lasts from six in the morning till five in the afternoon, when they are succeeded by twilight tormentors (*tempraneros*), and these again give place to the *zancudoes*, who fly by night. This voracious appetite for blood, in insects that live on vegetable juices, and in countries so thinly inhabited, is very surprising. "What would these animals eat if we did not pass this way?" say the Creoles in ascending the American rivers.

about a mile wide. Thus far, progress is made principally by rowing and poleing along the boats; but now the river being no longer enclosed by high and close banks, the boatmen spread their canvass, and take advantage of the strong southerly gales to ascend the stream.*

Denoobew (Da-noo-byoo), about sixty miles from Rangoon, which Colonel Symes passed early on the sixth day, is an extensive town, with a lofty temple, resembling Shoe-dagun in form, but of smaller size. There is here a manufactory of mats, which are made in beautiful variety, and superior in quality to what are fabricated in any other part of the empire. "We passed in the course of this day's journey," (the fifth from Rangoon,) proceeds Colonel Symes, "many islands of sand formed by different streams of the river in the dry season, but which are entirely covered when the waters swell: on some of these islands there

* From Mr. Judson's Journal, we take the following itinerary:—First Day (Dec. 21). To Kyee-myen-daing, a village. Second day. Reached at noon, Kyoon-noo, a cluster of villages, near one of which, about twenty miles from Rangoon, they remained the rest of the day. Third day. Passed into the Irrawaddy, and reached Ran-gen-tsen-yah, twenty miles from Kyoon-noo. Fourth day. Passed Da-noo-byoo. Sixth day. Passed Hen-tha-dah. Tenth day. Reached Kah-noung, a considerable town, ninety miles from Rangoon. Twelfth day (Jan. 1). Passed a remarkably high, rocky mountain, the side of which, for a considerable extent, is indented with numerous recesses, containing images of Gaudama, all carved out of the solid rock. Thirteenth day. Passed the large towns of Shway-doung and Pah-doung, on opposite sides of the river, and reached Pyee (Prome), 120 miles from Rangoon. On January 17, being the twenty-eighth day, they reached Pah-gan, distant about 200 miles from Rangoon. Here the river bends to the east, and forms a point. On the 20th. Reached Gnah-myah-gnay. 22d. Passed the confluence of the Kyen-duem with the Irrawaddy. 25th. Passed Old Ava and Tsah-gaing; and about noon, reached O-ding-mau, the lower landing-place of Ahmarapoora, about 350 miles from Rangoon.

are trees and verdure. We left the towns of Segahghee on the east, and Summeingtoh on the west. Our voyage this day was delightful; the weather turned out fine, and the wind was so strong, that we passed the banks at the rate of *three miles an hour*. There were no fewer than a hundred sail of boats of different sorts in company, and the whole was a cheerful and pleasing sight. We stopped at sunset near the town of Yeoung-benzah. The next day (the sixth), we passed several islands of sand. In one place, we perceived the roots and stump of a tree growing close to the water's edge under a high bank, about fourteen feet beneath the surface of the soil. This singular appearance is to be accounted for by supposing that, where the bank is now raised, there had formerly been a sand-bank level with the water, on which a tree had taken root, and which had been covered by annual deposites from the river during the inundation. It is probable, that the tall reeds and coarse grass which every year rot and incorporate with the sand of the river, form the fine soil of the plains. Thus, aquatic *exuviæ* are to be discovered every where deep in the earth. The stream, however, washes away on one side as much as it deposits on the other; and, as is the case with all streams flowing through champaign countries, is continually changing its channel. In the morning we passed Taykyat, a long and straggling town on the west side; also Terriato, or Mango village, small, but beautifully situated on a high bank that commands the country on the opposite side to a great distance: it is surrounded by groves of mango-trees, from which it takes the name. Taamboo-terra, on the same side, is a long town. The country, in this day's voyage, did not appear so well inhabited as that we passed through the day before.

At half-past four, we halted for the night at Kioum-zeik, or the convent stairs. Two temples, not very large, but gilded from top to bottom, here make a brilliant appearance. There are many monasteries, and the rhahaans are seen strolling about in considerable numbers." This appears to be a very flourishing place, possessing a manufacture of cotton cloth. Several water-courses which intersect the town, have good wooden bridges built over them. Near the river are some fields planted with indigo, which thrives luxuriantly, and might be cultivated to great advantage; but the natives either do not know the process, or do not take the trouble of purifying and reducing it to a hard substance, being satisfied with using it in a coarse liquid state, to colour the coarse calicoes manfactured here.

Near Kioum-zeik is the much more ancient town of Henzadah (Hen-thah-dah). Buffaloes and other cattle were seen in large herds grazing on the neighbouring plain. In this vicinity, the reedy banks again renew the visitation of the annoying musquitoes. A little above this place, a considerable branch of the river goes off in a south-westerly course to Bassein: it is sometimes called *Anou-kioup*, or the western river. The great Arracan chain of hills are visible in the north-west quarter. On the eighth day, passing several small villages, Colonel Symes reached a town called Ackeo. The course of the river was sluggish, running deep beneath an overhanging bank; and the thermometer, which, on the preceding day, had stood at 78°, rose to 86°; but still, the heat was not oppressive. The next evening they stopped close to the town of Gnapee-zeik,* having passed this day

* *Gnapee* is a sort of sprat, which, "half pickled, half putrid," is

Shwaye-gaim, so named because gold dust is sometimes found here in the sands, washed down by the rains. The banks of the river in this part are covered with reeds six feet high, which harbour numerous tigers. Near Gnapee, the western bank is planted with pipal and mango-trees; and near Kanoung-lay, which they passed on the following day, on the same side, were seen orchards of mango, plantain, jack-fruit, and custard apple. The adjacent fields were enclosed with good fences; many boats were building on the banks; and the general aspect of things denoted prosperity. A little further is Kanoung-ghe, or Great Kanoung; "a long town, with a good quay and well-constructed stairs, consisting of a hundred steps, descending to the water's edge." The country is tolerably well cleared in this part, and the population of the district must apparently be considerable. The thermometer at two o'clock this day rose to 94°. A few quails and wild pigeons were noticed in the evening.

Early on the eleventh day, Colonel Symes reached Meyah-oun, formerly Loonzay, distant about 100 miles from Rangoon, the scene of obstinate contests between the Birmans and the Peguans. This is a very ancient city, stretching two miles along the margin of the river, and is distinguished by numerous gilded temples and spacious convents. A great variety of tall, wide-spreading trees gives this place an air of venerable grandeur; several rhahaans were luxuriously reposing under their shade. At the time of Colonel Symes's visit, two hundred large boats, each, on an average, of sixty tons burthen, lay off the

a favourite sauce with the Birmans, as a relish to their rice. *Zeik* signifies a landing-place.

quay, all provided with good roofs, and masted after the country manner. The neighbourhood is uncommonly fruitful in rice, and a large quantity is annually exported to the capital. Here are capacious granaries belonging to the king, built of wood, and covered with thatch; these are kept filled with grain, ready to be transported to any part of the empire in which there happens to be a scarcity. During this day's voyage, the Anou-pec-tou-miou, or great western chain of mountains, was distinctly visible. The particular mountains in sight are named Taungzo. The districts passed through seemed exceedingly populous, and in most parts cultivated.

As they advanced, the next day, towards the town of Peing-ghee (or Pohem-ghee), the western range of hills closed upon the river, and displayed in some places very beautiful scenery. The rocky banks rise abruptly to the height of two or three hundred feet, richly clothed with hanging trees of variegated foliage.*

* Captain Cox, describing apparently the same part of this voyage, but at a different season, (Dec.) says: "About noon" on the fifteenth day, "as we approached the mountains on the western shore, a beautiful view opened to us. To the west was a margin of bright sand, backed by a green bank and woody hill; to the northward, high and distant mountains, covered with forest-trees to their very summits; to the eastward, a high bank, with large trees and huts scattered below them, ending in an abrupt point, which closes the reach, so as to give the river here the appearance of a fine lake chequered with the boats of our fleet. As we advanced, the scene varied; many sandy islands divided the stream, some of them barren sand, others high and covered with lofty trees and cultivated ground. We advanced by the western channel, where a precipitous hill about 150 feet high, covered with trees and bushes, comes down abruptly to the river, and forms its western boundary. The basis of this hill is a crumbling rock of yellow, coarse grit sand; the superstratum, an immense bed of rich sandy loam. The stream here is about a quarter of a mile wide, and pretty rapid. When we had passed these cliffs, we came to a

Owing to the narrowness of the channel in this part, the stream is so rapid that oars are useless, and the perpendicular banks afford no foot-path to track; it is therefore necessary to impel the boat forward by bamboo poles, in the use of which the Birmans are very expert. The town of Peing-ghee, and that of Sahlahdan, a little above it, export a great part of the teak-timber that is carried to Rangoon. The forests extend along on the western mountains, and are in sight from the river. The trees are felled in the dry season, and, when the monsoon sets in, are borne by the torrents to these towns. Colonel Symes saw here on the stocks, a ship of 400 tons burthen, building for a Mussulman merchant of Surat. Ship and boat building is here most actively carried on. The teak-tree, although it will grow on the plains, is a native of the mountains. The forests, like most of the woody and uncultivated parts of India, are extremely pestiferous. "An inhabitant of the champaign country considers a journey thither, as almost inevitable destruction. The wood-cutters are a particular class of men, born and bred in the hills; but even these are said seldom to attain longevity." The timber is sold very cheap. A plank three inches thick, and from sixteen to twenty feet long, may be purchased for a tecal or about half a crown.

The scenery of the river in the approach to Prome

beautiful valley, in which is situated the town of Pohem-ghee. The hills here make a bend to the westward, and send down another branch of the river, forming a beautiful gorge or valley, variegated with gentle risings: all the flat grounds are cultivated with paddy."—*Journal*, pp. 24, 5. The precipitous hill above mentioned, must be the rocky mountain referred to by Mr. Judson, as exhibiting numerous sculptures on the face of the rock; but it is remarkable, that neither Col. Symes nor Captain Cox should notice them.

or Peeaye-mew, is pleasingly diversified with hill and valley, with spots of cleared ground and hanging woods. The range of high mountains recedes in a westerly direction, but smaller hills still skirt the river. Several populous towns occur: the principal is Podung-mew, on the right bank; and Schwaye-do-mew, on the left or eastern bank of the river. The city of Prome, also situated on the east side of the Irrawaddy, in lat. 18° 50′ N., and long. 95° E., forms an important point of the line of towns, being, in fact, the most northern fortress of Pegu. Many ages ago, it was the residence of a dynasty of Talien kings: it now forms a vice-royalty, usually conferred on a member of the reigning family. Prome is sometimes called *Terreketteree*, or single-skin; and they have a legendary tale respecting the origin of this name, which recalls, on the banks of the Irrawaddy, the fabled origin of Carthage and of Troy. "It is related, that a favourite female slave of Tutebong-mangee, or the mighty sovereign with three eyes, importuned her sovereign for a *gift* of some ground, and being asked, of what extent, replied in similar terms with the crafty queen when she projected the site of Carthage. Her request was granted, and she used the same artifice."*

The city is situated on the south side of a pleasant valley, on an elevated point projecting into the river. "At present," says Capt. Cox, who visited it in December, when the water was low, "it is about forty feet above the level of the river, which rises during the rains about twenty or twenty-five feet. Its area, north and south, is about one mile and a half, and its breadth about three-fourths of a mile. It was

* Symes, vol. ii. p. 182.

formerly surrounded with a wall of masonry: parts of two or three bastions, towards the river, still remain. They are in the old style of fortifications, with battlements intended for musketry only, the ramparts not having sufficient breadth to admit of cannon, which, if mounted, must have been fired *en barbet*. The intermediate spaces, where the old wall has fallen to ruins, are defended by a stockade of teak piles, about one foot square, and twenty feet high. In this stockade are many gates and steps of wood leading to the river, for the accommodation of the inhabitants. Within the stockade are several pagodas, some of them gilt; the rest of the buildings are mean; some few are of wood, but the greater part are built of bamboos and cadjan. The only regular street leads through the centre of the town, north and south, the other quarters being only divided by crooked lanes and alleys. A large proportion of the inhabitants were stated to be Mohammedans. Its old fortifications and the remains of religious edifices attest its former opulence, and its position on the river renders it still a commanding post; it is also centrical to the best parts and the most populous districts of Ava. The hills with which it is surrounded, abound with teak timber, and are rich in metals: lead and iron only are at present got from them, in small quantities, but gold has been, and may be obtained. The iron is said to be softer and more malleable than any imported; and is preferred by the natives, who manufacture it into many articles for their own consumption.* Teak timber is the chief

* The tribe of smiths, including all the artificers of metals, (of which a considerable number reside in Prome, where the best iron is procured,) are particularly fond of horse-flesh, supposing it to be particularly adapted to recruit their strength, when wasted by working at their forges. To the disgusting practice of eating the

article of trade, to which may be added cotton, grain, rope, and paper manufactured into umbrellas, books, &c." A ship of 300 tons was on the stocks when Captain Cox visited it. The difficulty of getting the vessel down in safety to Rangoon must be considerable, as the current is so rapid; and their effecting it serves as a proof of their enterprise, and shews what they are capable of doing if encouraged. Stone-cutters also are numerous, who manufacture flags for pavements, and slabs and vases for the use of temples, out of a fine freestone found in the neighbourhood. Adjacent to the town, Colonel Symes states, there is a royal menagerie of elephants, consisting of two rows of lofty well-built stables, in which these animals are lodged during the rains. Altogether, Prome is one of the most important places in the empire. The situation is deemed particularly salubrious. The river here flows in a bold, straight channel, from one mile to half a mile in breadth. To the westward, the hills, for several miles above and below the town, form the bank of the river. When the British troops advanced upon this place in April 1825, all the surrounding hills were fortified to their very summits, presenting a position of a very formidable appearance, and in reality so strong by nature, that 10,000 steady soldiers could have defended it against an attack of ten times that force. The stockade itself was complete, and great

putrid flesh of diseased animals, is attributed the prevalence of a dreadful disorder, which attacks the extremities, producing ulcerous sores, which soon mortify, and leave those who survive, disgusting and mutilated objects. The beggars of the country are chiefly composed of this class, who wander about in groupes, assembling at the feasts of the principal pagodas, where they are relieved by the bounty of the devout and the humane. With the exception of persons of this description, there is not a beggar to be seen in the Birman dominions.

labour must have been bestowed upon it. "Indeed, both in materials and workmanship," adds General Sir A. Campbell in his despatch, "it surpasses any thing we have hitherto seen in this country."* The place was, nevertheless, evacuated by night on the advance of the British troops—apparently in confusion, as above 100 pieces of artillery were found in the works, and extensive granaries well filled with corn. Either by accident or through design, the town was on fire when our troops entered it; one whole quarter was reduced to ashes, and much grain destroyed, before it could be got under.†

About five miles from Prome, in a southerly direction, there are remains of a still more ancient city, called by Col. Symes Yættee, by Capt. Cox written Therai-Kittra, which, some centuries ago, was the capital of a dynasty of Peguan kings. A level road,

* Col. Symes mentions the ruins of an ancient fort at the upper end of the city, "a small pentagon built of brick; which, from its situation, must have been very strong. The modern fort," he adds, "is nothing more than a palisadoed enclosure, with earth thrown up behind it." But this was thirty years ago. These stockades have been found no contemptible defence.

† From subsequent accounts, it would seem to have been intentionally set on fire. "It has been proved to me beyond a doubt," writes Sir A. Campbell, "that strong reinforcements and thirty pieces of cannon were within a short march of Prome, when I took possession of it. These troops have now very generally dispersed. Prince Sarawuddy is retiring direct upon the capital, with the remnant of his people. Desolation marks his track, and the merest cottage does not escape the incendiary's torch. Prompt and decisive measures alone saved Prome from the general conflagration, and its inhabitants from a wretched fate····The inhabitants are coming in in great numbers, and even chiefs of towns and villages are now suing for passes of protection. They appear highly delighted at being relieved from a state of oppressive tyranny, that either compelled them to take up arms in a hopeless cause, or drove them into the jungles, with their families, to lead a life of wretchedness."—*Asiat. Journal*, vol. xx. p. 684.

through cultivated fields interspersed with groves of tall palmyra-trees, leads from Prome to this place. He observed in the way, two rivers almost dry, but which, in the rainy season, pour down an impetuous torrent from the mountains into the Irrawaddy, bearing down the teak timber from the forests above. It was dusk before Col. Symes reached Yættee. He entered the place through an old gateway, which appeared narrower, but of greater depth, than any that he had seen; but the ruinous state of both the gateway and the wall rendered it difficult to judge of their original dimensions. Within, he could distinguish nothing but houses and fields, and it was too late to explore the antiquities. Two intelligent men informed him, that it was once a fortified city of importance, of a square form,* measuring a space equal to two miles and a half; that it had flourished for several centuries before the fall of the Pegu monarchy; and that the vestiges of the imperial palace and a large temple were still remaining. During his ride, he observed two caravans of waggons drawn up in the form of a double circle, one within the other, presenting a very formidable barrier against the assaults either of men or of wild beasts. They were loaded chiefly with *gnapee* and salt-fish, from the town of Omow, situated on a lake where fish is caught in such abundance, as to constitute an article of commercial exportation. The roads appeared well made and much frequented; and the *ledgeree* or steersman, who had travelled by land from Prome to Rangoon, a journey of six days, reported it to be equally good the whole way. By similar caravans of waggons is conducted a

* According to information given to Capt. Cox, it was of a circular form, three miles in diameter, and surrounded with walls of masonry.

very important branch of Chinese commerce. Passing through the centre of the Birman dominions, they penetrate the Arracan chain of mountains, and thus traverse the whole country, from the Chinese province of Yunnan, on the eastern frontier of Birmah, to the banks of the Brahmaputra and the Bengal provinces.

Leaving Prome at an early hour, with a strong southerly gale, Col. Symes reached, towards evening, the town of Kammah or Comma, on the western bank of the Irrawaddy.* They did not stop here, but continued their course as far as Neoung-ben-zeik (or Nenbon-zeik),† where the boats were moored for the night. "This also," he says, "is a town of some respectability." Among the chief places passed this day, was Pou-oo-daung, a small village on the western bank, behind which abruptly rises a hill of a conical form, on the top of which is a temple of peculiar sanctity, having once been, as legends say, the abode of Gaudama, the impression of whose foot is shewn indented on a slab of marble. Obscure hamlets, at distant intervals, just served to shew that this part of the country was not without inhabitants. Comma is the chief town of a district, and sends large quantities of teak timber to Rangoon. "The fort," Capt. Cox says, "lies three miles inland, on a rivulet that empties itself into the Irrawaddy, and is navigable, in the rains, for large boats almost all the way to Arracan. Here also is the high road by which the merchants who

* Capt. Cox did not reach Comma till the noon of the day after leaving Prome.

† This, we presume to be the place that is afterwards called, in Col. Symes's Narrative, Yeoungben-zeik, or Indian fig-tree stairs, and described as a fine village, on the east side of the river, in a romantic country. In the despatches from General Campbell, it is written Nenbonzick. Col. Symes places Comma also on the east side, whereas it is on the west bank.

trade to Dacca, bring their goods on bullocks and in covered carts. The numerous religious buildings in the town indicate its opulence."

The next evening, Col. Symes reached a town called Sirriap-mew, and, by noon the next day, the town of Mee-a-day, the personal estate of the then maywoon of Pegu, generally called on that account Meeaday-praw. Here they halted for nine days, a temporary house being constructed for their accommodation, consisting of three small rooms and a hall open to the north: it was got ready for their reception in little more than four hours. "Fifty or sixty labourers completed it in that time, and on emergency could perform the work in much less. Bamboos, grass for thatching, and the ground rattan, are all the materials requisite. Not a nail is used in the whole edifice. A row of strong bamboos, from eight to ten feet high, are fixed firm in the ground, which describe the outline, and are the supporters of the building. Smaller bamboos are then tied horizontally, by strips of the ground rattan, to these upright posts. The walls, composed of bamboo mats, are fastened to the sides by similar ligatures. Bamboo rafters are quickly raised, and a roof formed, over which thatch is spread in regular layers, and bound to the roof by filaments of rattan. A floor of bamboo grating is next laid inside, elevated two or three feet above the ground; this grating is supported on bamboos, and covered with mats and carpets. Thus ends the process, which is not more simple than effectual. When the workmen take pains, a house of this sort is proof against very inclement weather. We experienced during our stay at Meeaday, a severe storm of wind and rain, but no water penetrated; and if the tempest should blow down the house, the inhabitants would run no risk of

having their brains knocked out, or their bones broken: the fall of the whole fabric would not crush a lady's lap-dog.

"Meeaday is a place of no great magnitude, but extremely neat. There are two principal streets, and at the north end of the present town are to be seen the ruins of a brick fort, which, like all other forts of masonry in the Birman empire, is in a state of dilapidation. At a short distance there is a pleasant river, which flows through a fertile plain, affording some rich pasture-ground, and interspersed with plantations of tobacco. On the south and south-east sides, the town is inclosed by a deep ravine, the banks of which are cut perpendicular; and the remains of an old brick wall were discoverable, which was probably a defence to the former suburb. We observed many small temples and convents apart from the town, situated in groves of mango, tamarind, and pipal trees of uncommon stateliness and beauty. The maywoon had a residence here; also a pleasure-house and betel-garden at some distance. North of the town, there is a good deal of land in cultivation, chiefly rice. The fields are well laid down and fenced. This quarter is beautifully wooded and diversified with rising grounds. We observed many cart-roads and path-ways leading into the country in various directions. The soil is composed of clay and sand, and in some places is very stony, particularly near the river."

The point to which we have now conducted our readers, was the limit to which, in this direction, the British army had driven back the Birman forces, when, on the 17th of September last (1825), an armistice was concluded, with a view to the restoration of peace and amity between the contending powers. The third article of the armistice provides, that "a line of

demarcation shall be drawn between the two armies, commencing at Comma, passing through the village of Nenbonzick, and continuing along the road from that village to Tonghoo. The negociations for peace were to be carried on at Nenbonzick, or Nembenziek, as being half way between the armies, the British quartered at Prome, and the Birman head-quarters at Meeaday. Here, then, we shall for the present suspend our progress northward; and before we take leave of the kingdom of Pegu, on the confines of which we now find ourselves, we shall gather up what further information we possess respecting this important province of the Birman empire.

PEGU.

THE site of Pegu, the ancient capital, situated about ninety miles by water above Rangoon, in lat. 17° 40′ N., long. 96° 12′ E., may still be traced by the ruins of the ditch and the wall which once surrounded it. The inside displays a striking and melancholy picture of fallen grandeur, and gives sad evidence of the ruthless character of Birman warfare. Alom-praw, when he took the city in 1757, razed every building to the ground, and dispersed or led into captivity all the inhabitants: the praws, or temples, only were spared, and of these, the great pagoda of Shoe-madoo has alone been kept in repair. After it had long lain in desolation, Minderajee-praw, to conciliate the natives, issued orders, about the year 1790, to rebuild Pegu, and invited its scattered families to re-people their deserted city.* At the same time, the maywoon was ordered to

* The order for the rebuilding of the ancient capital of the Talien monarchy, which Col. Symes represents as originating in liberal policy on the part of Minderajee-praw, is ascribed by Dr.

remove hither from Rangoon, and to make it the seat of his government. The present inhabitants, chiefly rhahaans, or priests, followers of the provincial government, and poor Talien families, glad to regain a settlement in their once magnificent metropolis. Their numbers altogether, perhaps, do not exceed 6 or 7000. Those who dwelt there in its days of splendour are nearly extinct, and their descendants and relatives are scattered over the provinces of Tonghoo and Martaban. Many also took refuge in Siam.

The kingdom of Pegu has unquestionably been the most powerful of all the Indo-Chinese states; and the central position of this province, its abundant fertility of soil, and its mineral wealth, might again render it a flourishing country. We have, in the Travels of Vincent Le Blanc, a most romantic account of what Pegu was in the seventeenth century. "The kingdom of Pegu," he says, "is one of the largest, richest, and most potent of the Indies, next to the Mogul and China; but to the two last are happened lately strange revolutions: they are extremely fallen off from their state, and have been dismembered by the kings of Tungu and of Arracan, who had, in my time, the possession of the white elephant that bred so much contention in Siam. This kingdom, in my days, contained many others; viz. two empires, containing

Buchanan to a very different motive. "Prophecies and dreams are also in great credit among the Birmans. We were informed, that a prophecy having lately been current, foretelling that Pegu would again be the seat of government, the king was thrown into considerable anxiety, and thinking to elude the prophecy, had sent orders to the maywoon of Haynthawade (Henzawudy) to remove the seat of his government from Rangoon to Pegu, then in ruins. The late maywoon was so attached to Rangoon, that he always found some excuse for delaying the execution of the order; but while we were in Birmah, his successor was busily employed in rebuilding Pegu."—*Asiat. Reg.*, vol. vi. p. 173.

twenty-six crowned states. The town of Pegu is very large and square, five gates on every side, encompassed with a deep work or trench, full of water-crocodiles. The walls are built of wood, with watch-towers of rich work and gilt, repaired every tenth year. The houses are stately edifices. At New Pegu, the king keeps his court. The streets are exactly straight, and large. About the heart of the town, you discover almost all the streets, which is a gallant curiosity. Old Pegu is built after the same model, and there the merchants inhabit. In New Pegu, the streets are set with palm-trees and cocoas loaden with fruit. The new town was framed and built by the line, near a forest of palms, towards the north, in a large field. In the trenches, (filled with water by the river that washes the coast,) are baths purposely accommodated. The town is as big as Fez. The king's palace stands at the further end of New Pegu, sheltered from the north wind by a little hill: there grow all sorts of trees, five sorts of palm-trees, enclosed with a wall like a park. The palace is built square, with a dome: at every corner stands the statue of a giant, of polished marble, who, Atlas-like, upheld this goodly fabric; and are represented with such tortions of face, you would think they complain of their load. The stone of which it is composed, is smooth and resplendent as glass: it is environed with a deep trench. The entrance is over a drawbridge, through a gate of excessive height and strength, where are the figures of a giant and his wife, each of one piece, and of a mixed coloured marble: the pavement is of the same. They spare neither gold nor azure; and in galleries we see carved the histories of all their wars. From thence, we descend some steps of marble into a lower court, encompassed with rails, where there is a pleasant

fountain, whence the water is conducted into several gardens by pipes. The gardens are fenced with strong walls; one of them is three miles long: the river Caypumo runs through one end of the garden, westward. There are many other gardens and palaces nearer hand, built of marble and porphyry, and a lake a mile in circuit. One of these palaces is allotted to the queen and her court, which joins to a park stored with exquisite and rare animals. In the lake belonging to the king's palace are seen all sorts of waterfowl; and near this palace there is another park stored with tame beasts and birds. There is also a park for lions, tigers, and other fierce beasts; and it is a sad sight to see criminals daily devoured by them.

"The kingdom of Pegu is rich in mines of gold and silver, rubies, sapphires, garnets, and other precious stones: these daily augment the king's treasures. In one court of his palace at New Pegu, there is such store, that it is little esteemed; not one man to guard it, nor the doors kept shut. There stands a figure or statue of an exceedingly tall man, all of beaten gold, with a crown of the same, enriched with rubies, upon his head; and round it four other statues of youths, all of gold, which seem to be idols. In another court, is represented a giant sitting, of silver, with a crown of the same, but far richer, set with jewels. In other courts, stand statues made of gauze, a mixture of many metals: the crowns of these latter are richer than the others, with rubies and sapphires.

"The Peguans go all clothed alike, in cottons, linens, and silks the best; and all are barefoot ever, whether walking or riding. Their buildings are costly, carved and wrought, sparing neither gold nor azure. When the king or any nobleman builds a palace, he provides himself with the purest gold to

gild it. At Old Pegu are many refiners and gold and silver beaters, who work it into leaves as we do, for the convenience of the gilders; for they gild the very walls and towers, and their houses, after the Persian fashion. New Pegu is almost all so built, and nothing spared to make up a sumptuous, splendid structure. Merchants and other tradesmen and shopkeepers live in strong houses, well built of stone or brick, close shut with strong gates and locks, and call those houses *godons*." *

When Col. Symes visited, in 1795, the site of this once magnificent capital, the building of the new town was still going forward. He thus describes the appearance which it then presented.

"The extent of ancient Pegu may still be accurately traced by the ruins of the ditch and wall that surrounded it: from these it appears to have been a quadrangle, each side measuring nearly a mile and a half. In several places the ditch is choked up by rubbish that has been cast into it, and the falling of its own banks; sufficient, however, still remains to shew that it was once no contemptible defence. The breadth I judged to be about sixty yards, and the depth ten or twelve feet. In some parts of it there is water, but in no considerable quantity. I was informed, that when the ditch was in repair, the water seldom, in the hottest season, sunk below the depth of four feet. An injudicious faussebray, thirty feet wide, did not add to the security of the fortress. The fragments of the wall likewise evince that this was a work of magnitude and labour: it is not easy to ascertain precisely what was its height, but we conjectured it at least thirty feet, and in breadth, at the base, not less than

* Asiat. Journ. vol. xix. pp. 651, 2.

forty. It is composed of brick, badly cemented with clay mortar. Small equidistant bastions, about 300 yards asunder, are still discoverable, and there had been a parapet of masonry; but the whole is in a state so ruinous, and so covered with weeds and briars, as to leave very imperfect vestiges of its former strength. In the centre of each face of the fort, there is a gateway about thirty feet wide; and these gateways were the principal entrances. The passage across the ditch is over a causeway raised on a mound of earth, that serves as a bridge, and was formerly defended by a retrenchment, of which there are now no traces.

"Pegu, in its renovated and contracted state, seems to be built on the plan of the former city, and occupies about one half of its area. It is fenced round by a stockade from ten to twelve feet high: on the north and east side, it borders on the old wall. The plane of the town is not yet filled with houses, but a number of new ones are building. There is one main street running east and west, crossed at right angles by two smaller streets not yet finished. At each extremity of the principal street, there is a gate in the stockade, which is shut early in the evening; and after that time, entrance during the night is confined to a wicket. Each of these gates is defended by a wretched piece of ordnance, and a few musketeers, who never post sentinels, and are usually asleep in an adjoining shed. There are two inferior gates on the north and south side of the stockade.

"The streets of Pegu are spacious, as are those of all the Birman towns that I have seen. The new town is well paved with brick, which the ruins of the old plentifully supply; and on each side of the way there is a drain to carry off the water. The houses of the meanest peasants of Pegu, and throughout the

Birman empire, possess manifest advantage over Indian dwellings, by being raised from the ground either on wooden posts or bamboos, according to the size of the building. The kioums or monasteries of the rhahaans, and the habitations of the higher ranks, are usually elevated six or eight feet; those of the lower classes from two to four feet.

"There are no brick buildings either in Pegu or Rangoon, except such as belong to the king, or are dedicated to their divinity, Gaudma; his majesty having prohibited the use of brick or stone in private buildings, from the apprehension, as I was informed, that if people got leave to build brick houses, they might erect brick fortifications, dangerous to the security of the state. The houses, therefore, are all made of mats, or sheathing-boards, supported on bamboos or posts; but, from their being composed of such combustible materials, the inhabitants are under continual dread of fire, against which they take every precaution. The roofs are lightly covered, and at each door stands a long bamboo, with an iron hook at the end, to pull down the thatch: there is also another pole, with a grating of iron at the extremity, about three feet square, to suppress flame by pressure. Almost every house has earthen pots, filled with water, on the roof; and a particular class of people,* whose

* "These people are called *Pagwaat;* they are slaves of government; men who have been found guilty of theft, and, through mercy, had their lives spared. They are distinguished by a black circle on each cheek, caused by gunpowder and puncturation, as well as by having on their breast, in Birman characters, the word *thief*, and the name of the article stolen; as, on one that I asked to be explained to me, *putchoo khoo*, cloth thief. These men patrole the streets at night, to put out all fires and lights after a certain hour. They act as constables, and are the public executioners."

business it is to prevent and extinguish fires, perambulate the streets during the night.

" The maywoon's habitation, though not at all a magnificent mansion for the representative of royalty, is, notwithstanding, a building of much respectability, compared to the other houses of Pegu. From an outside view, we judged it to be roomy, and to contain several apartments, exclusive of that in which he gives audience: it possesses, however, but few ornaments. Gilding is forbidden to all subjects of the Birman empire; liberty even to lacker and paint the pillars of their houses, is granted to very few. The naked wood gave an unfinished appearance to the dwelling of the maywoon, which, in other respects, seemed well adapted for the accommodation of a Birman family.

" The object in Pegu that most attracts and most merits notice, is the noble edifice of Shoemadoo, or the Golden Supreme. This extraordinary pile of buildings is erected on a double terrace, one raised upon another. The lower and greater terrace is about ten feet above the natural level of the ground, forming an exact parallelogram: the upper and lesser terrace is similar in shape, and rises about twenty feet above the lower terrace, or thirty above the level of the country. I judged a side of the lower terrace to be 1,391 feet; of the upper, 684. The walls that sustained the sides of the terrace, both upper and lower, are in a ruinous state: they were formerly covered with plaster, wrought into various figures. The area of the lower is strewed with the fragments of small decayed buildings, but the upper is kept free from filth, and is in tolerably good order. There is reason to conclude that this building and the fortress are coeval, as the earth of which the terraces are composed, appears to have been taken from the ditch, there

being no other excavation in the city, or in its neighbourhood, that could have afforded a tenth part of the quantity.

" The terraces are ascended by flights of stone steps, which are now broken and neglected. On each side are dwellings of the rhahaans, raised on timbers four or five feet from the ground. These houses consist only of a large hall; the wooden pillars that support them are turned with neatness; the roofs are covered with tiles, and the sides are made of boards. There are a number of bare benches in every house, on which the rhahaans sleep; but we saw no other furniture.

" Shoemadoo is a pyramidical building, composed of brick and mortar, without excavation or aperture of any sort, octagonal at the base, and spiral at top; each side of the base measures 162 feet: this immense breadth diminishes abruptly, and has not unaptly been compared in shape to a large speaking-trumpet. Six feet from the ground, there is a wide projection that surrounds the base, on the plane of which are fifty-seven small spires of equal size, and equidistant: one of them measured twenty-seven feet in height, and forty in circumference at the bottom. On a higher ledge there is another row, consisting of fifty-three spires of similar shape and measurement. A great variety of mouldings encircle the building; and ornaments somewhat resembling the fleur-de-lis surround the lower part of the spire; circular mouldings likewise girt it to a considerable height, above which there are ornaments in stucco, not unlike the leaves of a Corinthian capital; and the whole is crowned with a *tee*, or umbrella, of open iron-work, from which rises a rod with a gilded pennant.

" The circumference of the *tee* is fifty-six feet; it

rests on an iron axis fixed in the building, and is further secured by large chains strongly rivetted to the spire. Round the lower rim of the *tee* are appended a number of bells, which, agitated by the wind, make a continual jingling. The *tee* is gilt, and it is said to be the intention of the king to gild the whole of the spire. All the smaller pagodas are ornamented with proportionable umbrellas of similar workmanship, which are likewise encircled with small bells. The extreme height of the edifice, from the level of the country, is 361 feet, and above the interior terrace, 331 feet.

" On the south-east angle of the upper terrace, there are two handsome saloons, or *kioums*, lately erected, the roofs composed of different stages, supported by pillars: we judged the length of each to be about 60 feet, and the breadth 30. The ceiling of one is already embellished with gold leaf, and the pillars are lackered; the decoration of the other is not yet completed. They are made entirely of wood. The carving on the outside is laborious and minute: we saw several unfinished figures of animals and men in grotesque attitudes, which were designed as ornaments for different parts of the building. Some images of Gaudma, the supreme object of Birman adoration, lay scattered around.

" At each angle of the interior and higher terrace, there is a temple sixty-seven feet high, resembling, in miniature, the great temple: in front of that in the south-west corner, are four gigantic representations, in masonry, of *Palloo*, or the evil genius, half beast, half human, seated on their hams, each with a large club on the right shoulder. The pundit who accompanied me, said that they resembled the *Rakuss* of the Hindoos. These are guardians of the temple.

"Nearly in the centre of the east face of the area are two human figures in stucco, beneath a gilded umbrella. One, standing, represents a man with a book before him, and a pen in his hand; he is called Thasiamee, the recorder of mortal merits and mortal misdeeds: the other, a female figure kneeling, is Mahasumdera, the protectress of the universe so long as the universe is doomed to last; but when the time of general dissolution arrives, by her hand the world is to be overwhelmed and everlastingly destroyed.

"A small brick building near the north-east angle, contains an upright marble slab, four feet high and three feet wide: there is a long legible inscription on it. I was told, it was an account of the donations of pilgrims of only a recent date.

"Along the whole extent of the north face of the upper terrace, there is a wooden shed for the convenience of devotees who come from a distant part of the country. On the north side of the temple are three large bells of good workmanship, suspended nigh the ground, between pillars; several deer's horns lie strewed around. Those who come to pay their devotions, first take up one of the horns, and strike the bell three times, giving an alternate stroke to the ground: this act, I was told, is to announce to the spirit of Gaudma the approach of a suppliant.* There are several low benches near the foot of the temple, on which the person who comes to pray, places his offering, commonly consisting of boiled rice, a plate of sweetmeats, or cocoa-nut fried in oil. When it is given, the devotee cares not what becomes of it: the

* It is deserving of remark, that the approach of a suppliant to the shrine of Jupiter Ammon in the Oasis, was announced to the divinity by the sounding of metal knobs suspended between two pillars.

crows and wild dogs often devour it in presence of the donor, who never attempts to disturb the animals. I saw several plates of victuals disposed of in this manner, and understood it to be the case with all that was brought.

"There are many small temples on the areas of both terraces, which are neglected and suffered to fall into decay. Numberless images of Gaudma lie indiscriminately scattered. A pious Birman who purchases an idol, first procures the ceremony of consecration to be performed by the rhahaans; he then takes his purchase to whatever sacred building is most convenient, and there places it within the shelter of a kioum, or on the open ground before the temple; nor does he ever again seem to have any anxiety about its preservation, but leaves the divinity to shift for itself. Some of those idols are made of marble that is found in the neighbourhood of the capital of the Birman dominions, and admits of a very fine polish; many are formed of wood, and gilded; and a few are of silver: the latter, however, are not usually exposed and neglected like the others. Silver or gold is rarely used, except in the composition of household gods.

"On both the terraces are a number of white cylindrical flags, raised on bamboo poles; these flags are peculiar to the rhahaans, and are considered as emblematic of purity and of their sacred function. On the top of the staff there is a *henza*, or goose, the symbol both of the Birman and Pegu nations.

"From the upper projection that surrounds the base of Shoemadoo, the prospect of the circumjacent country is extensive and picturesque; but it is a prospect of nature in her rudest state; there are few inhabitants, and scarcely any cultivation. The hills of

Martaban rise to the eastward, and the Sitang river, winding along the plains, gives an interrupted view of its waters. To the north-west, about forty miles, are the Galladzet hills, whence the Pegu river takes its rise; hills remarkable only for the noisome effects of their atmosphere. In every other direction, the eye looks over a boundless plain, chequered by a wild intermixture of wood and water." *

Colonel Symes, accompanied by Dr. Buchanan, took a ride for about a mile and a half to the eastward of the fort. The road lay through woods intersected by frequent pathways. A miserable hut, here and there, beneath a clump of bamboos, was the only habitation they met with; but the memorials of an extinct population were thickly strewed. Hillocks of decayed masonry, covered with a light mould, and the ruins of numerous temples, met the eye in every direction. They saw no gardens or enclosures, but the pathways, which bore the traces of cattle, indicated that the country further on was better peopled. On the western side of the river was found an inconsiderable village, in the neighbourhood of which there were rice-plantations that extended a mile to the westward. Beyond these lay a thick wood, chiefly of

* Col. Symes was told by the *zarado* of Pegu, that the temple of Shoemadoo is believed to have been founded 2,300 years ago, by two merchants, brothers, who came to Pegu from Tallo-miou, a district one day's journey's E. of Martaban. "These pious traders at first raised a temple one Birman cubit (22 inches) in height. *Sigeamee*, the spirit that presides over the elements, in one night increased its size to two cubits. The merchants then added another cubit, which Sigeamee doubled in the same short time. The building thus attained the height of twelve cubits, when the merchants desisted. The temple was afterwards gradually increased by successive monarchs of Pegu." Shoemadoo signifies literally Golden Divinity; *shoe*, or *shwa*, signifying golden, and *madoo*, being a corruption of *maha-deva* or *maha-deo*, *magnus deus*. Madhuvu is given by Mr. Ward as one of the titles of Vishnoo.

bamboo and pipal-trees. Through this wilderness, one of the party penetrated nine or ten miles, without meeting with an inhabitant or seeing a single dwelling. "Southward of Pegu, about a mile beyond the city walls, there is a plain of great extent, for the most part overgrown with wild grass and low brushwood, and bare of timber, except where a sacred grove maintains its venerable shade. A few wretched villages are to be seen, containing not more than twenty or thirty poor habitations. Small spots have been cleared for tillage by the peasants, who seem to live in extreme poverty, notwithstanding they possess in their cattle the means of comfortable subsistence; but they do not eat the flesh, and what is remarkable enough, seldom drink the milk. Rice, *gnapee*, and oil, expressed from a small grain, with salt, are almost their only articles of food. Their cows are diminutive, resembling the breed on the coast of Coromandel; but the buffaloes are noble animals, much superior to those of India. Some are of a light cream-colour. They are used for draft and agriculture, and draw heavy loads on carts and small waggons, constructed with considerable neatness and ingenuity.

"The only article of consequence manufactured at Pegu, is silk and cotton cloth, which the women weave for their own and their husbands' use. It is wrought with considerable dexterity; the thread is well spun; the texture of the web is close and strong, and it is mostly checkered like the Scotch tartan; but they make no more than what suffices for their own consumption."

The country in this neighbourhood abounds with various kinds of game, particularly antelopes, jungle-fowl, and peacocks. Tigers prowl around the villages by night, and sometimes carry off the dogs, but do not

venture to attack the buffaloes, who, to all appearance, Colonel Symes says, are a match for any tiger, and almost as fierce. The inhabitants also complained of being much molested in the wet season by wild elephants, who occupy the forests in great numbers. "These powerful animals, allured by the early crops of rice and sugar-cane, make predatory excursions in large troops, and do a great deal of mischief, devastating more than they devour. The peasantry have often to lament the destruction of their more exposed plantations."

"How much is it to be lamented," exclaims Colonel Symes, "that this country, one of the fairest and most healthful on the globe, should remain, for the greater part, a solitary desert! It must require a long and uninterrupted term of peace, to renew the population of Pegu. Should it be so fortunate, there can be little doubt that Pegu will be numbered among the most flourishing and delightful countries of the East." How far recent events may conduce to so desirable a result, time will shew. If, in pursuance of our Indian policy, it should be deemed advisable to re-establish the Peguan monarchy in the person of some native chief, with a British resident at his capital, the oppressed Taliens and Carayns would joyfully hail their emancipation from their Birman masters; and the prediction which troubled Minderajee-praw, would be most singularly fulfilled.*

* The Taliens or Talains of Pegu are evidently a race of Hindoo origin, who attained civilisation at an earlier period than the Birmans. They call themselves Môn, and are termed by the Siamese Ming-môn. Their language, the Môn, has never been satisfactorily analysed. "It seems," Dr. Leyden says, "to be quite original, and is said by the Barmas (Birmans) and Siamese to have no affinity with either of their languages. In the early Portuguese histories, they are denominated the Pandalus of Môn; and they are

FROM PEGU TO MARTABAN.

Of the country between Pegu and Martaban, our only information is derived from the journal of the late Mr. Francis Carey, who attended the viceroy in an expedition to Martaban, in the year 1809. "The Birman army moved before daylight on the morning of the 19th of November, passed a large village called *Shoe-bon* (golden flower), and after travelling for some hours in a N.W. direction, encamped in an extensive plain, within two days' march of the river Chitoung (Zeet-taung). The first two hours, they penetrated through thick jungles of small trees and bamboos; after which they entered upon a very large plain, extending to the E. as far as the mountains, to the S.W. as far as the sea, and to the N.E. as far as the eye could reach. The plain was a complete grass jungle, with a few cultivated spots, and abounded with various kinds of wild beasts. The mountains appeared to run in a north-easterly direction from Chitoung, and to turn off again to the S. towards Martaban. The next day, the army crossed, on boats rafted together, a river called Kouban, about 200 yards broad, and not fordable. Mr. Carey supposed it to be a branch of the Chitoung, or to rise among the mountains of Tonghoo. The country during the march was a complete wilderness, covered with long grass: the course was N.E. On the 21st, the course was altered to S.E.; and after travelling through very high grass, the army encamped on the bank of the Chitoung river. The whole country from Pegu hither was an extensive plain, ap-

supposed to have founded the ancient Kalaminham empire at a very early period." Kalaminham is probably corrupted from *ming-mon*. The Môn alphabet appears to be a variety of the Pali.—See *Asiat. Res.* vol. x. p. 240.

parently flooded during the rainy season, covered with long grass, and infested with wild beasts.* The town of Chitoung is situated on the east bank of the river; it is surrounded by a few straggling villages. The river is about half a mile in breadth, and appears to be deep and regular: it abounds with alligators. Towards the N., it runs close up under the mountains, and then strikes off to the S., till it falls into the sea. Mr. Carey *saw no mountains to the W. of the Chitoung river*, as described in Symes's Embassy. The eastern mountains are totally uncultivated and uninhabited. Around the borders are to be found a few houses of Corians (Carayns) or mountaineers. The mountains appear to be covered with large trees, with here and there a vacancy; they are said to abound with *chatts*, a large sort of deer, *chines*, a species of antelope, and tigers; and the valleys with elephants, wild hogs, deer, &c.

"The passage of the viceroy took place the next morning with great pomp: he crossed the river upon four boats lashed together, and towed by two war-boats. The troops lined the road where he landed, *sitting with their backs towards him, as a mark of very great respect.* Presents of rice, fish, and betel-nut were made to him. On the ensuing morning, the army, still directing its march to the S.E., entered the thick forests which skirt the Chitoung mountains: they were found almost impenetrable, consisting of various kinds of timber trees, among which are the *yendak*, red and black, a species of mahogany; the *moukkhou*, a tall, smooth tree, of a hard grain; the *ketchee*, yielding a useful gum, and the wood of which

* The Chitoung Sittong, or Deet-taung river, formed the ancient boundary between the kingdoms of Pegu and Siam.

is durable; the *peema* or *jarool*; and the *pengadoor*, the hardest wood in the Birman dominions. The road had been long ago formed by cutting away the trees. There is a shorter and better road over the plain country, but it is passable only in the months of November and December. The rate of travelling through the forests was about two miles and a half an hour: it had been four miles an hour to the Chitoung river. On the 25th, the viceroy amused himself with an elephant hunt. Next day, the track of march continued through the forests: the army encamped on the east side of the mountain called Tikklat, a cluster of six large hills. A small canal, called *Theboo*, runs from the mountain towards the Chitoung river.

"On the 27th, the army emerged from the thick forests on the banks of a beautiful river called Doungwing, or Maywing (Taungwa-kiaung), whence Mr. Carey could perceive that they had passed between two ranges of mountains: that on the W. was called Koukthinating, that on the E., Jingat, on which is a lofty pagoda. On the 28th and 29th, they again traversed dense forests; the course S.E. On the 30th, the course was altered to the E. On December 1st, the road was diversified with fine views on both sides of the mountains, spreading into an open plain or valley: those to the N.W. formed a regular range. Mr. Carey ascended one of the mountains, and found the habitations of some Corians, who are in a perfectly savage state.* The march next day diverged to the S.; and on the 3d, they reached a village called Kwy-

* Neither men, women, nor children appeared to have washed their hands or faces for months. Their faces were besmeared with the red betel, and the saliva drivelled down their chins. Their clothes were few and filthy, and swarmed with vermin; their nails were "like little spades." They use a small pipe, which is seldom

agan, three miles distant from Martaban. On the 4th, the army collected, and marched through the town of Martaban, which is more than a mile in length. Next day, Mr. Carey ascended one of the highest mountains, to take a view of the country, which he thus describes: ' The prospects were truly grand and magnificent. To the N. and S., the range of mountains upon which the town is situated, were to be seen as far as the eye could reach. To the E., the long and high range of mountains which separate the Birman dominions from those of Siam, run in a parallel line with those which skirt the sea-shore, at about the distance of 100 or 150 miles. To the W., was to be seen the river (the Thaluan), divided into two branches, and opening into the sea, with vast numbers of high islands scattered in different directions. The town appears to be well peopled, as does the surrounding country. The population consists of Peguans, Birmans, Siamese, and mountaineers. The town is situated on the E. side of the mountain, and a stockade runs along the top and the bottom of it; but it is now in a state of decay.' "*

In Vincent Leblanc's Travels, before referred to, we have the following brief account of Martaban: " From Siam, we came to the kingdom and town of Martaban, sometime subject to Pegu, but since to Siam. There is plenty of rice and other sorts of grain; mines of metals, rubies, and other stones; and the air is very wholesome. The capital town is Martaban, 16° N. (the true latitude is 16° 28' N.) It hath

out of their mouths. They acknowledge no government, and live entirely on what these forests yield, together with the rice, betel, &c. which they raise, a bare sufficiency for the year's consumption.

* Asiat. Journal, vol. xx. p. 267.

a good harbour, situate upon the river Caypumo, or rather an arm of the sea, where the tide runs strongly towards Pegu; for, whereas ordinarily it flows by degrees, with an easy motion, here it fills that arm of the sea or river on a sudden, and flows with such fury and impetuosity, as it were mountains rolled up in water; and the most rapid torrent in the world doth not parallel this in swiftness: by three passages, it fills the harbour with a most fearful force and rapidity. Martaban joins to the territories of Dougon" (probably, Dag-un, on the Syriam or eastern branch of the Rangoon river), "the remotest town of Pegu. At Martaban, some years before we made our travels there, a rich and potent king, named Chaubaina, was besieged by Bramaa of Pegu. That inhuman tyrant of Pegu put him to a cruel death, and sacked that flourishing town: it had twenty-four gates. We went from Martaban to Pegu, four small days' journey distant by land." *

In October 1824, an expedition, composed of European and native troops, was sent by General Campbell to take possession of this port. The place is described in the despatches as having a strong and commanding appearance. It is situated at the bottom of a very high hill, washed by an extensive sheet of water. On its right is a rocky mound, surmounted with a two-gun battery, with a deep *nullah* beneath. The battery communicated with a stockade of timber; and behind this was a deep wall of masonry, varying from twelve to twenty feet in thickness, with small embrasures for cannon and musketry. The stockade ran along the margin of the water for three quarters of a mile, where it joined a large pagoda, which pro-

* Asiat. Journal, vol. xix. p. 651.

jects into the sea as a bastion. The town continues to run in an angle from the pagoda for at least a mile, terminating at the house of the maywoon, close to a stockade which extends up the hill. The rear of the town and works was protected by a thick jungle and large trees. The enemy suffered the British to reconnoitre without molestation. On the next day (the 30th), after a heavy cannonade during the night, the British troops stormed the rock on which the battery was placed; it was bravely carried, and the remaining works were soon cleared. The enemy fled at the approach of our troops, rushing into the water and the jungle by hundreds, under a destructive fire. The town was found deserted, all the property having been carefully carried off. A considerable number of prisoners, however, were taken, together with 116 pieces of cannon, mostly wall-pieces. The capture of Martaban was followed by the voluntary submission of Tenasserim, and the town and province of Yeah; Tavoy and Mergui had previously surrendered;* and thus, the whole Birman coast, from Rangoon eastward, was reduced to British authority.

The coast of Tenasserim originally formed part of the dominions of Siam, but was ceded in 1793 to Birmah. Mergui is situated about six miles up the Tenasserim river, in lat. 19° 12′ N., long. 98° 24′ E. This river, like all others in this part, has a bar, but vessels of moderate size can cross it, and the port is said to be very commodious: the largest ships can anchor in the roads. The English had a factory here in 1687, and were much esteemed. A number of Mohammedans are settled here, and some Romish

* An expedition sailed from Rangoon on the 20th August, under Lieut.-col. Miles, which soon gained possession of these valuable ports.

Christians, who have a priest and a church. The Mergui islands, an archipelago extending along this coast 135 miles, are uninhabited, although the soil is said to be fertile. To the south of these is the island of Salanca or Junk-seylon, about 54 miles long and 15 broad, separated from the main land by a shallow channel, a mile in breadth, which is nearly dry at low water. It has a harbour at the north end, called Popra, which may be entered over a mud bar, during the spring tides, by ships drawing twenty feet of water. The anchorage round the island is generally good. There are valuable tin mines in the island, which are worked by the natives; and prior to the colonization of Prince of Wales's Island, it was a place of considerable trade. The chief town is Terrowa. The inhabitants consist of Malays, Chinese, Siamese, and Birmans. This island formed the southernmost point of the Birman empire.

Tavoy (or Daway), like Tenasserim, is at once the name of a town, a river, and a province. The town is about eight leagues up the river, in lat. 13° 13′ N., long. 98° 6′ E. A pagoda stands on the point which forms the western side of the entrance of the river. The country is stated to be extremely fertile.

The inhabitants of these provinces are said to be a peculiar tribe called Meng.* The country produces tin, sapan wood, stick-lac, corn, and *marbao*, a timber fit for ship-building. From Martaban are exported tin, rice, wild cardamums, edible birds' nests from the Andaman and Nicobar islands, and a species of caviare called *balachong*, compounded from the spawn of fish and pounded shrimps, made into thin cakes: great quantities of this article are consumed in

* Probably, Mong; and if so, they are Talain or Peguans.

Ava and by the Malays, but it is very disgusting to a European palate. The chief trade of Martaban arises, however, from its potteries. The port is about twenty leagues E. of Rangoon river.*

We now resume our itinerary of the Irrawaddy,

* Asiat. Journ., vol. xix. p. 760. It will hardly be expected that we should undertake to expound the ancient geography of these regions, respecting which learned authorities are so much at variance. Ptolemy is almost the only ancient writer who affords any intelligible information on this point; and all he knew of the countries eastward of Ceylon, was from report. In the Periplus of the Erythean Sea, immediately after leaving the Ganges, there is said to be an island in the ocean, called *Khruse*, or the Golden Isle, which lies directly under the rising sun, and at the extremity of the world towards the east. Khruse is mentioned as an island by Mela, Dionysius, &c.; as a Chersonese by Ptolemy. According to Mela, it was an island at the promontory Tamos,—supposed to be the Tamala of Ptolemy. But what point this name denoted, is questionable. D'Anville supposes it to be Cape Negrais; yet, if so, how can the Golden Island be Malacca? The learned Editor of the Periplus, concluding Tamala to be either Cape Negrais (as D'Anville supposes), or Botermango (according to the hypothesis of M. Gosselin), is disposed to place *Khruse* at the mouth of the Irrawaddy. Here Gosselin fixes his Golden Chersonese and the river Chrysoana. "But Ptolemy," remarks Dr. Vincent, "has two provinces,—one of gold and one of silver, before he arrives at the Chersonese; and if his Kirrhadia be Arracan, these provinces must be on the western coast of Ava, above the Golden Chersonese of his arrangement." This would seem to prove that Gosselin's theory is untenable, and that D'Anville is correct in making the Aurea Chersonesus correspond to the Peninsula of Malacca, and the Magnum Promontorium to Cape Romania. Tamala may then be Malaya, and Khruse, Sumatra. The Zaba and Thagora of Ptolemy, which he mentions as ports on either side of the great promontory, are supposed to be Saber (or Saban) and Tingoram. By the river Daona, seems to be meant that from which the city of Tana-serim takes its name. Here it may be supposed that the *Seres* had a colony. If *Serus Fluvius* be the Meinam, as D'Anville concludes, we might expect to find traces of the same nation in this part of the ancient dominions of Siam.—See D'ANVILLE'S *Anc. Geog.*, vol. ii. pp. 121—5. VINCENT'S *Periplus*, vol. ii. p. 514.

and rejoining Col. Symes at Meeaday, shall proceed to trace his route

FROM PROME TO AMARAPURA.

It has already been mentioned, that the line of demarcation agreed upon in the armistice between the British and the Birman forces, was drawn along a road leading eastward from Nenbon-zeik to Tonghoo. Respecting this important place, once the capital of a powerful state, we have at present no certain information, as it has never been visited by any European. It appears to be situated on one of the heads or tributaries of the Zeet-taung river, and is noted for its cotton-manufactories. The district is said to be fertile, but thinly inhabited; it yields the best betel-nut in the empire. Gold dust is found in the neighbourhood of the city. The prince of Tonghoo is generally one of the blood-royal. The inhabitants of this part of the empire would seem to bear not the very best character. While Colonel Symes was at Amarapura, the Tonghoo Tee-kien was residing there with a number of his followers. They are described as a class of persons notorious among the Birmans for their insolence and dishonesty. "I had before heard much," he says, "of the ferocity of these people: they were always quarrelling with the followers of the other princes, particularly those of the prince of Prome." As the military retainers of a prince do not always present the most favourable specimens of national character, it would be hardly just to draw any sweeping inferences against the people of Tonghoo from this circumstance; but it shews that national or provincial feuds and jealousies are still rife between the several tribes or clans.

During Colonel Symes's stay at Meeaday, he made several short excursions to different parts of the country. He found little variation in its appearance, but describes it as very beautiful, though but half cultivated. He was uniformly treated with respect by the natives. Not only the better class of the inhabitants of Meeaday came to visit him, but people of condition from all the towns and villages for twenty miles round; so great was the curiosity excited by the news of the mission, to see the general of the strangers. The Colonel says, he often received eight or ten different companies in a morning. "When a party wished to be introduced, a message was sent to ask permission; which being obtained, they entered the room in a crouching position, and sat down on their heels, men and women alike. They always brought a gift of something, whatever they supposed might be acceptable,—tobacco, onions, fine rice, &c.: no company presented themselves empty-handed; it would not have been respectful. Of course, their offerings drew from me a suitable return, such as fillets of Indian muslin to the women, and a Cossembuzar silk handkerchief to the men. Several parties of women came unaccompanied by their husbands or any of their male friends; and according to the notions entertained by them, there was nothing indecorous in it; they were unconscious of any thing but an innocent desire to gratify curiosity, and manifest respect. Women of a better class were always accompanied by a train of female attendants, and, like the sex every where, were more lively, good-humoured, and inquisitive, than the men.

Colonel Symes mentions a very remarkable object which he met with in the course of his walks,—"a flat stone, of coarse grey granite, laid horizontally on

a pedestal of masonry, six feet in length and three in width, protected from the weather by a wooden shed. This stone, like that at Pou-oo-dang, was said to bear the genuine print of the foot of Guadma. On the plane of the foot, upwards of one hundred emblematical figures are engraved in separate compartments. Two convoluted serpents are pressed beneath the heel, and five conch-shells, with the involutions to the right, form the toes. It was explained to be a type of the creation, and is held in profound reverence." The rhahaans made no objection to Colonel Symes's copying it. A similar impression, he was informed, is to be seen on a large rock situated between two hills, one day's journey west of Memboo. Adam's Peak, in the island of Ceylon, is impressed with another of these sacred foot-prints; and it is a tradition common to the Birmans, the Siamese, and the Singalese, that Gaudma Buddha placed one foot on the continent and the other on the island of Ceylon!

On resuming their route for the capital, with a hard gale from the south, they made way at not less than five miles an hour, and soon passed, on the western side, Meelsah-gain; "a large village at the foot of a fine, swelling, wooded lawn, ornamented with some neat temples." Beyond this occurred some villages of no note. The country seemed populous, and herds of cattle were seen grazing on the banks. The next day, they sailed till they came to an extensive island, which divides the river into two branches, and taking the eastern channel, brought to at the lower town of Loon-ghee. "Loon-ghee, or Great Cable, takes its name from a curious ligament of stone, which unites a pointed rock that rises in the middle of the stream with the opposite bank: it has the appearance of a petrified cable; and the natives

relate, that, a hundred years ago, a large rope floating down the river, was stopped at this place, and that, one end adhering to the rock, and the other to the bank, the rope was changed into stone. The quality which the waters of the Irrawaddy possess, of changing wood into stone, of which," continues Colonel Symes, " we afterwards saw innumerable instances, renders the transmutation of the cable by no means an impossible circumstance. They also say, that the opposite island formerly constituted part of one situated fifteen miles higher up, but was severed from it by an earthquake, and carried down to the place where it now rests. Whether removed by an extraordinary convulsion of nature, and by a still more extraordinary transportation, or whether encircled by the river from its having changed its channel, the island now constitutes a principal object in one of the finest sylvan scenes I ever beheld. From a temple above Loonghee, seated on a commanding cliff whose summit overhangs its base, the eye is gratified with a delightful combination of natural beauties. A fine sheet of water, three miles in breadth, broken by an island more than a mile long and half a mile wide, covered with trees of luxuriant foliage; eminences on the opposite shore, that rise from gently swelling grounds clothed with wood, to brown and rugged mountains, which, receding in an oblique direction, leave to the view a long and level plain;—these altogether form a landscape rarely equalled."

The embassy was detained for some days at Loonghee, in compliance with the wishes of the Maywoon who accompanied it. His infant son had been unwell for some time, and the illness had now increased to a dangerous height. " A war-boat was despatched express to the capital, to bring down medicine and a

celebrated professor of physic. In the mean time, all the physicians of the country, to the number of twenty, were assembled to consult and prescribe for the sick infant. The disorder was an inflammatory fever. Tea made of wild thyme, and decoctions of several vegetable productions, were the only medicines administered. They did not, however, neglect to call in the aid of supernatural remedies: incantations and amulets were used, to the efficacy of which much was attributed." While the recovery of the child continued doubtful, Colonel Symes sent his Hindoo pundit every morning to inquire after its health. The pundit was introduced into the sick chamber, where he witnessed the most amiable demonstrations of parental tenderness. Both the father and the mother were seen kneeling by the side of the infant's bed, and they attended on him day and night. At length, the twenty doctors pronounced their patient out of danger, to the joy of his parents and all their attendants.

During their detention here, Colonel Symes made several short excursions. The soil in the immediate neighbourhood is light and sandy, with many loose stones: it is very favourable for the cultivation of cotton, several plantations of which were seen. Sesasum also is sown here. The country is for the most part undulating. There are several neat villages within the distance of two or three miles. A deep ravine, formed by the monsoon rains, extends inland from the river, the banks of which are covered with stunted trees, affording shelter to numerous tigers, who abound in the adjacent forests. Partridges, hares, quails, and wood-pigeons of a beautiful plumage, may be met with in the open fields; but the jungle-fowl keep close in the thick covers, where it is dan-

gerous to venture after them. On the island were seen a few deer, extremely wild, and three buffaloes. The cattle used for draft and tillage are remarkably good. They put only a pair in the plough, which differs little from that of India. In their large carts, they yoke four, and often six. Colonel Symes one day met a waggon drawn by four stout oxen, driven by a country girl standing in the vehicle, who seemed to manage the reins and a long whip with equal ease and dexterity. They were going at a hard gallop,—"a novel sight to a person accustomed to the slow-moving machines of India, in which the women are almost too timorous to ride, much less to attempt to guide them." These vehicles are well constructed, and both neater and more commodious than the clumsy gawries of Hindostan. A caravan of eighteen waggons, each drawn by six bullocks, was met travelling from the south towards the capital. A good tilted roof of bamboo, covered with painted cloth, threw off the rain. "They contained not only merchandise, but also entire families,—the wives, children, monkeys, cats, parroquets, and all the worldly substance of the waggoner. Each bullock had a bell under his throat. The wheels not being greased, a horrid noise announced the approach of the caravan long before it could be seen. They travel slowly, from ten to fifteen miles a day. At night, the waggons are disposed in a circle, and form a barrier, within which the carriers feed their cattle, light fires, and dress their victuals, secure from the attacks of tigers, which much infest the less populous parts of the empire." A well-frequented road leads from Loon-ghee to the city of Tonghoo, distant fifteen days' journey.

At length, the embassy proceeded, and reached, at the end of the first day's voyage, Mee-ghe-oung-yay,

or Crocodile Town, a place of considerable trade on the western bank. Nearly a hundred large boats and several smaller ones were lying off the stairs; they were taking on board rice, garlic, onions, and oil, for the consumption of the capital. The fields in this neighbourhood are divided by thorn hedges; the low grounds are planted with rice, and the higher lands with leguminous shrubs, or are left for pasture. Some neat farms were observed, each containing four or five cottages, better built than the houses in general are in the towns, and fenced round with wide enclosures for the cattle. In this day's voyage, they passed many towns and villages, and, about half way, another island, two miles in extent, on which was a pyramidal temple called *Keendoo-praw*, together with several smaller ones. The next day, they passed Patanagoh, a long, straggling village, with a richly gilded temple. Every house had a comfortable garden, enclosed with a bamboo railing, with orchards of palmyra, plantain, and mango-trees. Near this place, which is on the eastern shore, the villagers were seen cutting the ripened indigo. On the western side, Melloon seemed rich in temples, but not otherwise important. Numerous villages were seen this day, and several sandy islands. In the evening, they brought to on the eastern side, between the towns of Magway and Spanzeik. Low, woody hills now begin to skirt the river, particularly on the eastern bank. The summits of some of these hills are crowned with temples: one on the western bank, called Maynbu, appeared to be considerable. The river, where not interrupted by islands, is not less than two miles across.

After passing various villages, (among others, *Shoe-lee-rua*, or Golden-boat-village, so called from its being inhabited by watermen in the *golden* service,)

the embassy reached, in the afternoon of the third day, Yanangheoum (Ranangoong), or Earth-oil-creek, which derives its name from the wells of petroleum in the neighbourhood. The aspect of the country now became totally changed. The surface is broken into small, separate hills, entirely barren; the only vegetation consists of some stunted bushes that grow on the declivities and in the dells, and a few unhealthy trees immediately in the neighbourhood of the villages. The soil, a reddish clay, is superficially covered with a quartz-gravel, and concrete masses of the same material were seen thickly scattered. The mouth of the creek was crowded with large boats, waiting to receive a lading of oil; and immense pyramids of earthen jars were disposed within and around the village, in the same manner as shot and shells are piled in an arsenal. Yanangheoum is situated in lat. 20° 28′ N., long. 94° 30′ E. The town has a mean appearance, notwithstanding its numerous pagodas, which Captain Cox describes as falling to ruins. The inhabitants, however, he says, were well dressed, and many of them had gold ear-ornaments of a spiral form. They ought to be rich, from the great trade they carry on in the earth-oil. At the time of his journey, thirty-three large boats, besides numerous smaller ones, were lying here; and thirty-three more large merchant-boats were lying at two villages a little higher up. Colonel Symes represents the place to be inhabited only by potters, who carry on an extensive manufactory, and find full employment. He found the smell of the oil extremely offensive. The nearest wells are about three miles from the river in an E.N.E. direction. The road lies through the dry, sandy channels of water-courses, and over rugged, arid downs, partially clothed with plants

of the euphorbium genus, the cassia-tree, which yields the *cutch*, or terra japonica, (used throughout India to add to the astringency of the betel,) and the hardy *biar* or wild plum of India. The wells in this place are 180 in number; they are scattered over the downs at irregular distances. Four or five miles to the N.E., there are 340 more. The oil or naphtha is of a dingy green, and odorous. It is used for lamps. Boiled with a little *dammer* (a resin of the country), it serves for paying the timbers of houses and the bottoms of boats, which it keeps from decay and vermin; it is also employed as a lotion in cutaneous eruptions, and as an embrocation in bruises and rheumatic complaints. It is drawn pure from the wells in the liquid state; but, in the cold season, it congeals in the open air, and always loses something of its fluidity. "It is, in fact," says Captain Cox, "a genuine petroleum, possessing all the properties of coal-tar. The only difference is, that Nature elaborates in the bowels of the earth, that for the Birmans, for which European nations are indebted to the ingenuity of Lord Dundonald."

The method of sinking these wells is ingenious. "The hill is cut down so as to form a square table of from fourteen to twenty feet for the crown of the well; and from this table, a road is formed by scraping away an inclined plane. The shaft is sunk of a square form, and is lined, as the miner proceeds, with frames of cassia-wood staves; the uppermost ones about four feet and a half square, but more contracted below. When a miner has pierced six or more feet of the shaft, a series of these frames are piled one on another, and are regularly added to at top, the whole gradually sinking as he deepens the shaft, so as to secure him against the falling in of the sides. The strata to be

pierced through consist of, first, a light, sandy loam, intermixed with fragments of quartz, silex, &c.; secondly, a friable sand-stone, easily wrought, with thin horizontal strata of martial ore, talc, and indurated argil; thirdly, at about twenty cubits from the surface, a pale blue, argillaceous schist, impregnated with the petroleum, very difficult to work, growing harder as they go deeper, and ending in schist and slate, such as is found covering veins of coal in Europe. Below this schist, at the depth of 130 cubits, is coal. The specimen seen by Captain Cox was mixed with sulphur and pyrites. The machinery used in drawing up the rubbish, and afterwards the oil, consists of an axle crossing the centre of the well, resting on two rude forked stanchions, with a revolving barrel like the nave of a wheel, in which is a score for receiving the draw-rope. The bucket is of wicker work covered with *dammer*. To receive the oil, one man is stationed at the brink of the well, who empties the bucket into a channel leading to a jar sunk in the earth, whence it is ladled into smaller ones, and immediately carried down to the river. When a well grows dry, they deepen it: none have been abandoned, and they would seem to be inexhaustible. Even the death of a miner from mephitic air, which sometimes occurs, does not deter others from persisting in deepening them when dry. The miners assured Captain Cox, that no water ever penetrates the earth into these wells. The rains in this part of the country are, in fact, seldom heavy, owing probably to the high range of mountains to the eastward, which arrest the clouds. During the rainy season, a roof of thatch is thrown over the wells; the waters soon run off to the river, and what sinks into the earth, is prevented from descending to any great depth by the increasing hard-

ness of the oleaginous strata.* The property of these wells is in the owners of the soil, and descends as a sort of entailed hereditament, with which, it is said, the government never interferes, and which no distress will induce them to alienate. One family generally possesses as many as four or five wells; seldom more. A tenth of the produce goes to the king, and one-sixth to the labourers, either in oil or in money. The average produce of each well per diem, Captain Cox estimates at 300 *viss*, or 109,500 *viss* per annum, equal to 173 tons 955lbs, or, in liquid measure, 793 hogsheads of sixty-three gallons each. And as there are 520 wells registered by government, the total produce per annum is 412,360 hogsheads; worth, at the wells, 711,750 *tecals*.† Between seventy and eighty boats, of an average burthen of sixty tons, are constantly employed in this branch of commerce.

Colonel Symes picked up near this town, several lumps of petrified wood, in which the grain was clearly discernible. "It was hard, silicious, and seemed composed of different lamina. The natives said, that the petrifying quality of the earth at this place was such, that leaves of trees shaken off by the wind, were not unfrequently changed into stone before they could be decayed by time." This whole tract seems to invite the researches of the geologist.

After passing Pengkioum, where a small river falls into the Irrawaddy, the country resumes its verdant ap-

* The coal mines of Whitby are worked below the harbour, and the roof of the galleries is not more than fifty feet from the bed of the sea.

† At the wells, it is worth 1¼ tecals per 100 *viss*. It is delivered to the exporter at the river, at two tecals per 100 *viss*, the value being enhanced three-eighths by the portage. At Rangoon, it is sold at the rate of three sicca-rupees, three anas, and six pice per 112 lb.

pearance, and the trees shoot up with their usual vigour. The bed of the river is here very wide, being about four miles across in the dry season, but its stream is then divided into different channels by low islands of sand. On the western bank is seen the town of Sembu-ghoon, a position of great importance, as here only the lofty range of Anou-pec-tou-miou, which sweep round and enclose the province of Arracan, open and form a pass about sixty miles in length. Through this opening, all the Bengal merchandise imported into Birmah by way of Arracan, is brought, to be shipped on the Irrawaddy.* A little higher up, on the eastern side, is a large town called Pakang-yay, with several neat temples, surrounded with groves of palmyra, tamarind, and banyan-trees; here also were some heavy trading-boats. In the evening after leaving Yanangheoun, the embassy reached Sillah-miou, a large and handsome town, shaded by wide-spreading trees, and embellished with several temples. A smooth bank of the finest verdure, sloping to the river, adds much to its beauty. The soil seemed in general poor, but some fields were regularly fenced, and large herds were grazing in the neighbourhood. The *crotolaria juncea*, which yields good hemp or flax, grows here spontaneously. This town is distinguished for its silk-manufactories. The silk is brought from Yunnan in China, by way of Amarapura, in a raw state, and is returned in the web. The colours are bright and beautiful, though not very durable, and the texture is close and strong. The goods are mostly woven

* The difficulties of reaching Arracan even through this natural gap, would be almost insurmountable by any other than native troops, accustomed to jungle warfare. Accordingly, it has been deemed necessary that the Bengal army, on evacuating Henzawuddy, should retire by way of Rangoon.

in patterns adapted to the Birman dress. At a short distance from the town are the ruins of a brick fort, erected in a very judicious situation.

The next day, they made little progress, owing to the violence of the current, which obliged the boatmen to take to their poles. The Arracan mountains appeared to the west, and a lofty conical hill, called Poupa, was in sight to the eastward. A few villages and numerous temples skirted the banks. At a place called Yoo-wa, another small river enters the Irrawaddy; and two days' journey up this river, is a large town called Yoo-miou. The district derives its name from the people called Yoo, who were represented to Colonel Symes as exceedingly ugly, having protuberant bellies and *white teeth*, a great deformity in the eyes of the Birmans, who stain their teeth, eyelashes, and the edge of the eye-lids with black.* The Yoos are said to speak the language of Tavoy. They are subject to the Birmans, and are, like them, worshippers of Guadma. Their territory skirts the great chain of Anou-pec-tou-miou from lat. 21° to 23° N. Small barren hills now form the eastern bank, abounding with petrifactions, but relieved by fertile and well-cultivated valleys; till, after doubling a rocky point, round which the current sets with formidable rapidity, we come to the large town of Seen-ghoo, situated on a green level bank, affording a fine range of pasturage. For a great distance, small temples are built close to the river. At Kea-hoh, a poor village, which Colonel Symes reached in the evening of the third day (from Yanangheoum), the inhabitants obtain a livelihood by

* The collyrium they use is called *surma*, the Persian name for antimony. White teeth, they say, are fit only for dogs! The practice of dying the eye-lashes is common to the females of Hindostan and Persia.

extracting molasses from the palmyra-tree, of which they make tolerably good sugar. "Although," remarks Colonel Symes, "the soil near the river is in most places unproductive and barren, yet, as we advanced northwards on the following day, population increased. Every little hill or rising ground was crowned with a temple. That of Logah-nunda is distinguished for its superior size; it is a clumsy, inelegant mass of building, elevated on a semicircular terrace; the base is painted with different colours, and the cupola is richly gilded." A little beyond appears in view the once magnificent city of

PAH-GAHN.

Of this ancient capital, celebrated in Birman history as the seat of a former dynasty,* little more

* Pah-gahn is said to have been the residence of forty-five successive monarchs, and to have been abandoned about 500 years ago, in consequence of a divine admonition. "Whatever may be its true history," remarks Colonel Symes, "it certainly was once a place of no ordinary splendour." The learned editor of Marco Polo's Travels, supposes it to be no other than the ancient capital of Mien, referred to by that Traveller in his account of the inroad made into Birmah by the Great Khan. He describes it as distant fifteen days' journey from the great plain in which the Birmans were totally defeated by the Tátar army. The coincidence of dates is remarkable, as five centuries would place the abandonment of Pah-gahn about the period of the Mongol conquest. Amarapura did not then exist, and Ava was too near to have taken fifteen days in reaching it. Marco Polo styles the city large and magnificent. "The inhabitants," he adds, "are idolaters, and have a language peculiar to themselves. It is related, that there formerly reigned in this country a rich and powerful monarch, who, when his death was drawing near, gave orders for erecting on the place of his interment, at the head and foot of his sepulchre, two pyramidal towers, each terminating with a ball. Around the balls are suspended small bells of gold and silver, which sounded when put in motion by the wind. The whole formed a splendid object; and the Great Khan,

than a few straggling houses is to be seen from the river; and "in fact," says Colonel Symes, "scarcely any thing remains of ancient Pagahm, except its numerous mouldering temples, and the vestiges of an old brick fort, the ramparts of which may still be traced." Mr. Judson ascended one of the principal edifices, upwards of a hundred feet high, and he describes the view presented from the summit as extremely striking and impressive. "All the country round seems covered with temples and monuments of every sort and size; some in utter ruin, some fast decaying, and some exhibiting marks of recent attention and repair. The remains of the ancient wall of the city stretched beneath us, the pillars of the gates, and many a grotesque decapitated relic, checkered the motley scene." The ruins are stated by Colonel Symes to cover a space of ground not less than six or seven miles along the river and three miles inland. The religious edifices differ in structure from those in the lower provinces. "Instead of a slender spire rising to a great height from an extended base, the temples of Pah-gahn in general carry up a heavy breadth to very near the top, and then come abruptly to a point, which gives them a clumsy appearance.* Many of the more ancient temples are not solid at the bottom: a well-

upon being informed that they had been erected in pious memory of a former king, would not suffer them to be violated or injured in the smallest degree."

* The pyramid of Meidun near Memphis, displays the shape of the Pah-gahn temple, while that of Gheeza, if surmounted with a *tee*, would correspond precisely to that of Shoe-madoo. Both these pyramidal forms, as well as the globular structures of the Cingalese, are alike sacred to Buddha under different invocations or avatars. The variations of structure are neither accidental nor arbitrary, but imply the particular incarnation to which the edifice is dedicated.

arched dome supports a ponderous superstructure. Within, an image of Guadma sits enshrined. Four arched door-ways open into the dome." In one of these, Colonel Symes saw a human figure erect, which, he was told, represented Guadma, and another of the same personage, lying on his right side asleep; both colossal. He supposes the erect figure, however, to be rather the Hindoo Ananda, and the recumbent one, Na-ra-yan, sleeping on the waters. A very curious and ancient temple was being repaired by order of the Engy-Teekien, at the time of Colonel Symes's return. "It was built of masonry, and comprehended several arches, forming separate domes, into which four arched porches led, that faced the four cardinal points. On each side of the doors, in recesses in the walls, were seated gigantic human figures, made of stucco, with large staring eyes, and the head protruded forward, as if to look at those who approached the threshold. These were the preternatural porters, whose power of perception is believed to be such, that they can penetrate the recesses of the heart, and discover the sincerity of devotion." The prince intended to gild this temple; and four *viss* of gold, equal to 600*l*., were already prepared for it. The art of turning well-formed arches of brick, exhibited in the more ancient temples, is now lost in Birmah; and wooden buildings have every where superseded the more substantial edifices of masonry erected by a former race of inhabitants.

Pah-gahn stands in lat. 21° 9′ N., long. 94° 35′ E., about 260 miles distant from Rangoon. A small river, named in the days of its splendour *Shoe-kiaung*, the golden stream, here falls into the Irrawaddy. The modern town of Neoundah, about four miles to the north, is, in fact, a continuation of Pah-gahn, and

has succeeded to a portion of its honours. "On entering the town," says the Colonel, "we came into a long, narrow, winding street, about thirty feet wide; the houses were built of bamboo, and raised from the ground. This street was full of shops, containing no other articles than lackered ware; boxes, trays, cups, &c. varnished in a very neat manner, were displayed in the front of the shops; they were of various colours; some had figures painted on them, others wreaths of flowers. Leaving this street, we crossed a water-course on a good wooden bridge, and came to the bazar, or provision-market; the green-stalls seemed to be well provided with rice, pulse, greens, garlic, onions, and fruit; there were also fresh fish, *gnapee*, and dead lizards, which latter the Birmans account a delicacy; but there was not any meat. In our progress, we passed over another bridge, and saw several streets running in parallel lines: some of these were inhabited by carriers, whose cattle were feeding on rice straw round their houses. Having reached the extremity of the town in this direction, we came upon a well-paved road, that led to the great temple named *Shoezeegoon*, to which we proceeded. On each side of the road there was a range of small temples, neglected and in ruins: the kioums, or monasteries, were in good repair, and we saw some handsome houses for the accommodation of strangers. Shoezeegoon is neither so large nor so well built as the temples at Rangoon or Pegu; the height does not exceed 150 feet; it is surrounded with a spacious area paved with broad flags, on which there are a number of smaller buildings, profusely gilded and laboriously carved. A staircase on the outside leads up to a gallery, about a third of the height of the principal temple, whence we had an extensive prospect of the

country, which appeared to be exceeding unproductive and barren.

" Returning by a different way, we walked through an alley occupied by blacksmiths' shops, furnished with bill-hooks, spike-nails, adzes, &c. A little further on, we saw the ruins of a street that had been consumed by fire only two days before: from seventy to eighty houses were destroyed by the conflagration. Passing through the suburbs, we came to a part where the inhabitants were employed in expressing oil from the sesamum seed: the grain is put into a deep, wooden trough, in which it is pressed by an upright timber fixed in a frame; the force is increased by a long lever, on the extremity of which a man sits and guides a bullock that moves in a circle, thus turning and pressing the seed at the same time. The machine was simple, and answered the purpose effectually. There were not less than 200 of these mills within a narrow compass. From the circumstance of the cattle being in good order, we concluded that they were fed on the seed after the oil was extracted. The land about Pagahm scarcely yields sufficient vegetation to nourish goats."

Neoundah is a place of considerable trade. Cotton, japanned wares, and sesamum oil, are the principal exports. On his return, Colonel Symes brought to at night off this place, amid a fleet of not fewer than two hundred large trading boats, moored at the bank, in waiting for their lading. Here, in proceeding to the capital, the envoy took formal possession of a royal barge which had been sent down from Amarapura for his personal accommodation, with two war-boats to row it. " The platform contained space for thirty-two rowers, sixteen on each side; but on this occasion the oars were not fastened, as it was meant

to be towed by the war-boats. The inside was divided into three small apartments handsomely fitted up. The roof and sides were lined with white cotton, and the floor was covered with carpets and fine mats.

After leaving Neoundah, the eastern bank rises to from eighty to a hundred feet in perpendicular height. In the face of the cliff, more than half way up, are seen apertures resembling door-ways, said to be entrances to caves formerly inhabited by hermits. The river is perpetually divided by long islands, but is still for the most part about three miles wide. After passing the towns of Sirray-kioum and Gnerroutoh, both on the eastern bank, they brought to near Shwayedong, a small but neat town, containing about 300 houses in a regular street, each with its small garden, fenced with a bamboo railing. Two monasteries and a few small temples were seen under the shade of wide-spreading trees. The country, during the latter part of the day's voyage, seemed much more fertile and populous than in the neighbourhood of Pah-gahn. Keozee, on the same side, is the only place of consequence that occurred in the next day's voyage. Near this town, the country is enclosed, and the remains of a tobacco-plantation were seen. Detached hills appeared to the eastward. They brought to at a small village called Tou-cheac, where the inhabitants acquire a livelihood by selling the *læpac*, or pickled tea-leaf, of which the Birmans are extremely fond. The plant grows in a district to the north-east of Amarapura, called Palang-miou, but is very inferior to the tea of China, and is seldom used but as a pickle.

The river is now from three to five miles in width. The country continued to improve in the appearance of culture and population. They passed on the eastern side, Kiouptaun, or the Line of Rocks, Tanoundain, a

respectable town, with several other smaller towns and villages, and in the evening, brought to at an island opposite Tirroup-miou, or Chinese City. This name commemorates a victory gained here over a Chinese army some centuries ago, when Pah-gahn was the seat of government. It appears to have been through many ages, a favourite object of ambition with the Chinese emperors, to achieve so desirable a conquest as that of the valley of the Irrawaddy.

About five miles above Tirroup-miou, the Kiayn-duem river, which rises in the lower range of mountains on the confines of Assam, in lat. 25° N., mingles its waters with the Irrawaddy. At its entrance, the Kiayn-duem is nearly a mile in breadth. It flows through a very fertile country, and is said to be navigable for large boats twenty days' distance from its confluence with the Irrawaddy.

In the rowers of the barge sent down from Amarapura to meet the embassy, Col. Symes was struck with a physiognomy differing much from the other boatmen, and a softness of countenance resembling the Bengalese, more than the Birman cast of features. They proved to be Cassayers who had been brought away from their native country, which lies beyond the Kiayn-duem, when the Birmans carried their predatory incursions across its stream. Above the conflux of the two rivers, the Irrawaddy has the appearance of a beautiful canal, the island to the westward, as well as the eastern bank, being well inhabited. "Numberless villages and hamlets, with farm-yards, surrounded with stacks of paddy, buffaloes, horses, and black cattle, recall to mind scenes of European husbandry, and evince the industry and plenty of the country." At Yanda-boo, are manufactories of

earthen-ware; and at the succeeding town of Summei-kioum is the greatest manufactory of saltpetre and gunpowder in the empire. Hence the royal magazines are supplied; neither gunpowder nor saltpetre is, however, suffered to be exported under any plea, nor can the smallest quantity be sold without a special license from some man in power. A creek leads up to this town. The grounds in the neighbourhood are cultivated with rice. Temples and villages now line the banks so thickly, Colonel Symes says, that it would be tedious to enumerate them. Gnameaghee is celebrated for producing the best tobacco in the empire. Many brick-kilns were burning here, preparing materials for building temples, of which there appeared to be already a sufficient number. Beyond this place occur numerous islands: some of them are wooded and cultivated, and have inhabitants. The next place of consequence is Sandaht, or Elephant Village, situated near a bend of the river, in doubling which, the boats had great difficulty in making their way against the powerful stream. It derives its name from being wholly occupied by the elephant-keepers of the royal stables. The king is sole proprietor of all the elephants in his dominions; and the privilege to ride on or keep one of these animals, is an honour granted only to personages of the very first rank and consequence. His Birman majesty is said to possess six thousand.

The next day, they passed Meah-moo, a large town on the western bank, remarkable for a manufactory of coarse checkered cotton cloth; Yapadain, on the eastern side, a town with several temples and a handsome monastery; further on, several populous villages, pleasantly situated, and adorned with well-enclosed gardens and orchards of plantain, guava, and other fruit.

trees; and at night reached Kioptaloun, where a large temple, surrounded with several small buildings, was the only object that merited attention. "As our distance from Amarapura diminished," says Colonel Symes, "towns and villages on each side recurred at so short intervals, that it was in vain to inquire the name of each distinct assemblage of houses. Each, however, had its name, and was, for the most part, inhabited by one particular class, professing some separate trade, or following some peculiar occupation. We were shewn a tomb erected to the memory of a person of high distinction, who had been accidentally drowned near the spot fifteen years before: it was an oblong brick building, one story high, with eight or nine doors opening towards the river. Many beautiful temples and kioums would have engaged our attention, had we not already seen such numbers, and had we not been assured that all we had viewed fell far short of those we should have an opportunity of beholding at the capital."

Late in the evening of the eighth day from Neoun-dah, they reached the lower landing-place of what was long the metropolis of

AVA.

THE scene of desolation which here presented itself, was very striking. The scattered religious buildings that yet remain, extend about two miles along the banks of the river, which are here of a moderate height and rocky. Ava (or Aungwa), says Colonel Symes, "is divided into an upper and a lower town, both of which are fortified. The lower, which is the more extensive, is about four miles in circumference; it is protected by a wall thirty feet in height, at the foot of which there is a deep and broad fosse. The upper fort

or citadel, about a mile in circuit, was much more compact and strong than the lower. The walls are now (1795) mouldering into decay; ivy clings to the sides, and bushes undermine the foundation, and have already caused large chasms in different faces of the fort. The materials of the houses, consisting chiefly of wood, had, on the first order for removing, been transported to the new city of Amarapura; but the ground, except where covered with bushes or rank grass, still retains the traces of former buildings and streets. The lines of the royal palace, the *lotoo*, or grand council-hall, and the spot on which the *piasath*, or imperial spire, had stood, were pointed out to us by our guide. Clumps of bamboos, tall thorns, and a few plaintain-trees, occupy the greater part of the area of this once flourishing capital. Numerous temples (on which the Birmans never lay sacrilegious hands) were dilapidating by time. It would be impossible to draw a more striking picture of desolation and ruin."

Among the religious buildings within the fort, the Shoegunga-praw has been always held peculiarly sacred. An oath of allegiance is taken in this temple by every Birman officer, on being appointed to any great public trust, whether civil or military; and the infringement of this oath, which is viewed as the most heinous crime that a Birman can be guilty of, is invariably punished with the severest tortures. A temple of much greater magnitude stands a short distance to the westward of the fort. It is named Logatherpoo-praw, and was formerly the residence of the zarado or high priest of the empire. The area on which the temple stands, is a square surrounded with an arcade of masonry; on each side are erected nine cubical towers. The temple in which the stupendous idol is placed, has an arched excavation which contains the image of Guadama,

seated on a pedestal in its customary position. The height of the idol, from the top of the head to the pedestal, is nearly twenty-four feet. The head is eight feet in diameter; across the breast it measures ten feet; and the hands are between five and six feet long. The pedestal, which is also of marble, is raised eight feet from the ground. The neck and left side of the image are gilded, but the right arm and shoulder remain uncovered. It was declared to be composed of one block of marble, nor could Col. Symes, on the closest inspection, observe any junction of parts.

Ava was at this period the resort of numerous thieves, who found concealment among its decayed buildings. To any one acquainted with the fickle character of Asiatic rulers, it will cause no surprise to learn, that recent accounts represent Ava as likely again to resume its ancient honours as once more the capital of the empire. Amarapura was the creation of Minderajee-praw; its streets were laid out on the same plan as those of Ava. The will of the emperor once expressed, will soon restore the old city to its former splendour, and throw back the modern capital into a similar state of neglect and ruin.

On leaving Ava, the river bends again to the northward, when the opposite city of Chagaing, and the spires, the turrets, and the lofty *piasath* of Amarapura, create an unexpected pleasure, and exhibit a fine contrast to the gloomy and deserted walls of Ava. Chagaing, on the northern side, has also been an imperial residence, and is noted in Birman history. It is situated partly at the foot and partly on the side of a rugged hill, which is broken into separate eminences; and on each summit stands a spiral temple. These temples, rising irregularly one above another to the

top of the mountain, forms a beautiful assemblage of objects, the effect of which is increased by their being carefully whitewashed and kept in repair. Chagaing is the principal emporium to which cotton is brought from all parts, and where, after being cleaned, it is embarked for the China market. Its scattered houses extend for three or four miles along the banks. It is very populous, and has a large share of trade. There are remains of a fort built of brick, the walls about sixteen feet high, but unimportant as to strength, being commanded by the adjacent hills. The river, when at its height, has the appearance of a vast lake interspersed with islands, in which the foundations of Amarapura seem to be immersed. Numberless boats are seen passing up and down, and the houses on the southern shore occur in such uninterrupted succession, as to appear like a continued town or the suburbs of a city.

AMARAPURA,

THE immortal city, stands on the banks of the deep and extensive lake of Tounzemahn, which communicates by a navigable channel with the Irrawaddy. The situation is particularly fine for the site of a metropolis: it was chosen by Minderajeepraw, who founded the city in 1783. To be seen to advantage, however, it should be visited when the river is at its height.* When filled by the periodical rains, the lake on the one side, and the river on the other, form a dry peninsula, on which advantageous

* Mr. Judson, who visited Amarapura in January, landed at O-ding-miou, the lower landing-place. "At our present distance of nearly four miles from the city," he writes, "(and we cannot get nearer at this season,) it appears to the worst advantage. We can hardly distinguish the golden steeple of the palace amid the glittering pagodas, the summits of which just suffice to mark the spot of our ultimate destination."

situation the city is built. The number and variety of the boats moving on the waters of the lake, the great expanse of water, and the lofty surrounding hills, present a most striking scene. The palace, viewed in this direction, appears a confused assemblage of buildings, glittering with a blaze of gilding. One part of it consists of a square building finished with battlements, and a flat roof, with Tuscan pilasters at the angles. It is painted white, with gilded mouldings, but is so surrounded with trees and the mean abodes of the natives, that it is very imperfectly seen from the river. The city extends for four miles along the south-eastern bank, and is filled with religious buildings of various classes. The palace is about three-fourths of a mile N. E. by N. from the extremity of the western suburbs, and the fort about one mile further. To the eastward and northward is a high range of rugged, barren mountains, distant from four to five miles. The main breadth of the river, opposite Amarapura, is about two miles. In the dry season, its bed is mostly filled with high sandy islands, then under cultivation; but they are entirely covered by the inundation, and are annually changing their form and position.

The fort of Amarapura is an exact square. There are four principal gates, one in each face, and a smaller gate on each side of the great gate, equidistant between it and the angle of the fort; twelve gates in all. At each angle of the fort there is a large quadrangular bastion, which projects considerably; there are also eleven smaller bastions on each side, including those over the gateway. A curtain extending two hundred yards, connects each bastion. Each side of the fort occupies 2,400 feet. The rampart, faced with a wall of brick, is about twenty feet high, exclusive of the

parapet, which has embrasures for cannon, and apertures for musketry. Small bastions project at regular distances, and the gates are massive, and guarded by cannon. Considered as an Eastern fortification, it is highly respectable, but would be insufficient to resist modern tactics. From the height and solidity of the wall, the Birmans deem it impregnable, although a battery of half a dozen well-served cannon would effect a breach in a few hours.

The southern face of the fort is washed, during the rainy season, by the waters of the lake. The houses of the city and suburbs extend along the bank as far as the extreme point of land. The houses have in general but a mean appearance from the river: they are raised on piles, with pitched roofs. Few are built of brick and mortar, except those belonging to members of the royal family. Many are of wood, with tiled roofs; others are composed of mats and bamboos, covered in with shingles or thatch. The houses of the chief persons are surrounded with a wooden enclosure. On the ridge of the roofs are ranged earthen pots filled with water, which every citizen is compelled to provide in readiness against any conflagration. The religious buildings have a very splendid appearance, owing to the unbounded expenditure of gilding on the outside of the roofs, which must cost immense sums. The gold leaf used is exceedingly pure, and bears exposure to the air for a long time without injury. The size or glue used to make it adhere, called *seesee*, is prepared from the juice of the *croton subiferum*.

On the further side of the lake, and opposite to the fort, stands the village of Tounzemahn, near which, in a tall grove of mango, palmyra, and cocoa-nut trees, a dwelling was prepared for the British embassy; and here all missions to the court

are detained until after their presentation to the Golden Feet.* "On entering the lake," says Col. Symes, "the number of boats that were moored, as in a harbour, to avoid the influence of the sweeping flood, the singularity of their construction, the height of the waters, which threaten inundation to the whole city, and the amphitheatre of lofty hills that nearly surrounded us, altogether presented a novel scene exceedingly interesting to a stranger."†

The population of Amarapura was estimated by Capt. Cox, in 1800, at 175,000 persons, and the houses at between 20,000 and 25,000; but in 1810, Captain Canning was of opinion, that it did not contain more than half that number, the entire city having recently been destroyed by fire. The city is divided into four subordinate jurisdictions, in each of which a

* The usage of debarring an envoy or foreign minister from entering the capital previously to his first formal presentation, has long been the established practice of both the Birman and the Siamese courts.

† The dwelling assigned to Colonel Symes was in a grove, behind which extended a smooth level plain, intersected by embankments enclosing plantations of rice. The spot was very little above the level of the lake, and the river, when it reached its utmost height, had encroached so much on the grove, as to excite the Colonel's apprehensions of inundation. "The cause of the swelling of the waters," he says, "was not apparent, as there had not fallen with us rain sufficient to produce the smallest alteration in the river. The Birmans, however, who *knew the exact limit to which it would rise*, laughed at our proposing to make arrangements for a sudden embarkation, and assured us, that within the memory of man, the floods had never surpassed a certain boundary." Nothing is more remarkable than this invariable regularity in those vast operations of nature to which these regions are indebted for their fertility, and to which it might have been expected that uncertainty must inevitably attach. In like manner the Nile, after a lapse of three and twenty centuries, still observes the same standard of sixteen cubits in its periodical rise, that was the point of plenty in the days of Herodotus.

maywoon presides. This officer, who, in the provinces, has the powers of a viceroy, exercises in the metropolis the functions of a mayor and recorder, holding both a civil and a criminal court of judicature; he acts also as a sheriff in all capital cases, being obliged to attend in person at the execution of the culprit. The power of life and death is vested in the monarch. The examinations taken by the maywoon are, in such cases, transmitted to the *lotoo*, or grand council, by whom, after further investigation, report is made to the king. Civil suits may also be transferred from the lower courts to the *lotoo*, but at a heavy expense. There are regular lawyers, who conduct causes and plead. Eight only are licensed to plead in the *lotoo*; they are styled *ameendozaan*, and their usual fee is equal to about 16*s*. The government has moreover large profits on all suits that are brought into court. In fact, the advance which the Birmans have made in civilization, is most strikingly evinced by the resemblance which in these respects their legal and fiscal institutions bear to the enlightened system of European nations.

"In no country in the East," says Colonel Symes, "is the royal establishment arranged with more minute attention than in the Birman court." Next in rank to the princes of the blood are the *woongees*, or chief ministers of state; they are four in number, and form the grand council of state. They issue mandates to the maywoons or provincial viceroys, and control every department. To assist them in the administration of affairs, four *woondocks* are associated with them, who sit in the *lotoo* in a deliberate capacity, but have no vote. Four *attawoons*, or privy-counsellors, seem to be a sort of check upon the *woongees*: they have the peculiar privilege, not

enjoyed even by the *woongees* themselves, of access to the emperor at all times. Besides these grand officers of state, there are four chief secretaries, called *seredojees*, who have numerous *serees* (writers) under them; four *nakhaanjees*, who sit in the *lotoo*, and take notes of the proceedings; four *sandohgaan*, who regulate all ceremonials, introduce strangers of rank into the golden presence, and bear messages from the council to the emperor; nine *sandozains*, or readers, attached to the *lotoo*; an *assaywoon*, or paymaster-general; a *daywoon*, or king's armour-bearer; a *chainjeewoon*, or master of the elephants; together with *woons*, or pages of the queen's household, and of that of the prince royal. Each of the junior princes has also his distinct establishment.

"In the Birman government, there are no hereditary dignities or employments; all honours and offices, on the demise of the possessor, reverting to the crown.

"The *tzaloe*, or chain, is the badge of the order of nobility, of which there are different degrees, distinguished by the number of strings or small chains that compose the ornament; these strings are fastened by bosses where they unite: three of open chain work is the lowest rank; three of neatly twisted wire is the next; then of six, of nine, and of twelve. No subject is ever honoured with a higher degree than twelve: the king alone wears twenty-four.

"It has already been noticed, that almost every article of use, as well as ornament, particularly in their dress, indicates the rank of the owner. The shape of the betel-box, which is carried by an attendant after a Birman of distinction wherever he goes, his ear-rings, cap of ceremony, horse furniture, even

the metal of which his spitting-pot and drinking-cup are made, (which, if of gold, denote him to be a man of high consideration,) all are indicative of the gradations of society; and woe be unto him that assumes the insignia of a degree which is not his legitimate right!*

"The court dress of the Birman nobility is very becoming: it consists of a long robe, either of flowered satin or velvet, reaching to the ankles, with an open collar and loose sleeves; over this there is a scarf, or flowing mantle, that hangs from the shoulders; and on their heads they wear high caps made of velvet, either plain, or of silk embroidered with flowers of gold, according to the rank of the wearer.† Ear-rings are a part of male dress: persons of condition use tubes of gold about three inches long, and as thick as a large quill, expanding at one end like the mouth of a speaking-trumpet; others wear a heavy mass of gold beaten into a plate, and rolled up: this lump of metal forms a large orifice in the lobe of the ear, and

* This strict observance of the laws of etiquette regulates also their domestic architecture. In constructing houses, whether temporary or permanent, the rank of the occupant determines the form and number of stages of which the roof may be composed; nor dares any subject assume a mode of structure to which he is not legally entitled: he would soon have his house pulled about his ears. Gradations of rank are indicated also by the *chattah* or umbrella. That of the emperor is white with a deep fringe, adorned with gold lace and plates; those of the princes of the blood are gilded, but without fringe; those of the *woongees* are of the same shape as the imperial one, but red instead of white; those of the tributary princes are yellow; those of the maywoons of provinces, blue. Inferior officers have black umbrellas, but supported by very long shafts. Commoners use black umbrellas, with shafts of moderate length.

† Three officers of high rank who visited Col. Symes, are described as having their caps ornamented with a wreath of gold leaves, not unlike the strawberry-leaves in a ducal coronet.

Engd on Steel. by H. Adlard.

A WOONGEE & HIS WIFE

in their dress of ceremony

A RHAHAN OR PRIEST.

drags it down by the weight to the extent sometimes of two inches. The women likewise have their distinguishing paraphernalia: their hair is tied in a bunch at the top of the head, and bound round with a fillet, the embroidery and ornaments of which express their respective ranks; a short shift reaches to the pit of the stomach, is drawn tight by strings, and supports the bosom; over that is a loose jacket with close sleeves; round their waist they roll a long piece of silk or cloth, which, reaching to their feet, and sometimes trailing on the ground, encircles them twice, and is then tucked in. When women of condition go abroad, they put on a silk sash, resembling a long shawl, which crosses the bosom, and is thrown over the shoulders, gracefully flowing on each side. The lowest class of females often wear only a single garment, in the form of a sheet, which, wrapped round the body, and tucked in under the arm, crosses the breast, which it scarcely conceals, and descends to their ankles. Every woman, when walking, must shew great part of her leg, as what may be called the petticoat is always open in front, instead of being closed by a seam.

"Women, in full dress, stain the palms of their hands and their nails of a red colour, for which they use a vegetable juice, and strew on their bosoms powder of sandal-wood, or of a bark called *suneka*, with which some rub their faces. Men of rank wear, in common dress, a tight coat, with long sleeves made of muslin, or of extremely fine nankeen, which is manufactured in the country; also a silk wrapper that encircles the waist. The working class are usually naked to the middle, but in the cold season, a mantle or vest of European broad cloth is highly prized."

The description given by Colonel Symes of his

formal presentation to the Lord of all Elephants, is highly curious and interesting. Owing, as it should seem, to unfavourable impressions respecting the relative greatness and importance of the British empire, which he ascribes to foreign emissaries, and a hesitation on the part of the Birman emperor to recognise the governor-general of India in any higher character than that of a provincial governor, our envoy was at first treated with a parsimonious politeness bordering on contempt. At the first interview, the throne was vacant, his majesty not deigning to illuminate them with the golden presence. At the same time, a studied exhibition was made of the pomp and dignity of the court. An elephant was sent to convey Colonel Symes from the landing-place to the palace; but Dr. Buchanan and Mr. Wood, who were attached to the mission, were provided only with horses. The procession was arranged with due formality. After proceeding a short way, they entered a wide and handsome street, paved with brick. The houses, which were low, built of wood, and tiled, had evidently been afresh white-washed for the occasion, and were decorated with boughs and flowers. In front of each house projected a slight latticed railing of bamboo, over which were hung mats, forming a sort of covered balcony, every one of which was crowded with spectators, male and female. Boys sat on the tops of the houses, and the streets were so thronged as to leave only space sufficient for the procession to pass; but throughout this crowd, there was no disturbance or noise. Every person, as the procession came in sight, squatted down, and remained in that respectful position till it had passed. The *pagwaats*, or constables, armed with long rods, drove back those who advanced too far, but without hurting any one. The distance from the

landing-place to the fort, the colonel supposes to be two miles. Within the fort are the dwellings of the official persons. They passed through a market supplied with rice, pulse, and other vegetables, but saw neither meat nor fish. At the distance of two short streets from the palace, they dismounted, and proceeded on foot to the *rhoom*, a lofty hall, raised four or five feet from the ground, and open on all sides, in the centre of a spacious area, about a hundred yards from the gate of the palace. On entering this saloon, they were required to put off their shoes, and to take their seats on the carpets spread for them, with their faces towards the palace gate, awaiting the arrival of the princes of the royal family.

The prince of Pah-gahn, the junior in rank, though not in years, being born of a different mother, first made his appearance, mounted on the neck of a very fine elephant,* which he guided himself, while a servant behind screened him from the sun with a gilded *chattah*. Fifty musketeers led the way; next came a number of halberdiers, carrying spears with gilded shafts and decorated with gold tassels, followed by six or eight officers of his household, dressed in velvet robes, with embroidered caps, and chains of gold depending from the left shoulder to the right side; these immediately pre-

* Men of rank in Birmah always guide their own elephants, sitting on the neck in the same manner as the drivers do in India. Owing to this custom, they are unprovided with those commodious seats in which an Indian gentleman reposes at ease on the back of this noble beast while the guidance is intrusted to the attendant. Colonel Symes was placed in a large wicker basket, somewhat resembling the body of an open carriage, but smaller, without any seat, but carpeted, and fastened to the animal by iron chains passed round his body: the equipage was neither comfortable nor elegant. It is remarkable, that the drivers, instead of making the elephant kneel to receive his rider, guided him to a stage erected for the purpose of mounting.

ceded the prince's elephant; another body of spear-men, with his palanquin of state, closed the procession. On entering the gate, the prince gave to an attendant the polished iron hook with which he governed his elephant, as any thing that can be used as a weapon is not suffered to be brought within the precincts of the palace, even by the emperor's sons. Soon after, the prince of Tonghoo, the next in precedence, appeared, attended by a similar suite; and then in succession, the princes of Bassien and Prome. The Engy-Teekien, or heir-apparent, came last, just as the great drum that proclaims the hours, sounded twelve from a lofty tower near the palace. He was preceded by a body guard of infantry, of 4 or 500 men, armed with muskets, and uniformly clothed and accoutred. Next came a party of Cassay troopers, in their fanciful dress and high conical caps bending backwards. They were followed by twenty or thirty men with gilded wands. Then, after eighteen or twenty officers of rank with gilded helmets, came the civil officers of the household, wearing the *tzaloe*, or chain of nobility, over their robes, and in their caps of state. The prince now appeared, borne on men's shoulders, in a very rich palanquin, but without any canopy. On each side walked six Cassay astrologers of the brahminical sect, in white gowns and white caps studded with gold stars. Close behind, servants carried the prince's gold water-flaggon and an immense gold betel-box. Several elephants and led horses, with rich housings, came after; and lastly, inferior officers and a body of spear-men, with three companies of musketeers, one clothed in blue, another in red, and another in green, closed the procession. The utmost decorum and regularity were maintained; and if, Colonel Symes observes, the parade was less splendid than imperial Delhi could

exhibit in the days of Mogul magnificence, it was far more decorous than that of any court of Hindustan at the present day. The whole of these processions occupied two hours.

Colonel Symes was now permitted to proceed to the *lotoo*, or grand hall of audience, where the court was assembled in all the pomp that Birmah could display. This magnificent hall was supported by seventy-seven pillars, disposed in eleven rows: the space between the pillars, Colonel S. judged to be about twelve feet, except the central row, which was wider. The roof of the building was composed of different stages, the highest in the centre. The row of pillars that supported the middle roof, was between thirty-five and forty feet in height; the others gradually diminished towards the extremities of the building, and those which sustained the balcony were not more than twelve or fourteen feet high. At the further end of the hall, a high gilded lattice extended quite across the building: in its centre was a gilded door, elevated five or six feet from the floor, which, when open, displayed the throne. At the bottom of the lattice was a gilt balustrade, in which were deposited the umbrellas and other insignia of state. The royal colour is white, and the umbrellas are of white silk bespangled with gold. Within this saloon were seated on their inverted legs, all the princes, woongees, attawoons, officers of state, and principal nobility of the Birman empire. The space between the central pillars is always left open, that the Golden Eyes may not behold any persons but from choice. In a few minutes, eight Brahmins, dressed in white sacerdotal gowns, and silk caps of the same colour studded with gold, assembled round the foot of the throne, within the balustrade, and recited a long prayer in not unpleasing recitative; this ceremony

lasted a quarter of an hour. When they had withdrawn, the letter from the governor-general was placed on a silver tray in front of the railing; a reader then advanced, and chanted what was understood to be a Birman translation of it, and proclaimed a list of the presents for the emperor. Some questions were now put to the envoy by a *nakhaanjee*, as from his majesty, respecting the royal family of Great Britain and the state of England; the officer withdrawing each time, to communicate the colonel's reply to the invisible sovereign.* A handsome dessert of sweetmeats, Chinese and Birman, including læpac or pickled tea-leaf and betel, was now served up in silver, china, and glassware. The gentlemen of the embassy tasted of a few, and found some of them very palatable. It was at length intimated, that there was no occasion for them to remain any longer; and after making three obeisances to the empty throne, they were reconducted to the saloon. Here they waited till the princes had taken their departure, the Engy-Teekien first, and the others according to their rank, and then returned to their dwelling on the island.

At length, the unequivocal marks of disrespect which Col. Symes received, determined him on preferring a temperate remonstrance. It had its designed effect, and his Birman majesty at length consented to receive the English gentlemen in the character of an imperial deputation. This time they were received with far more attention. Tea was served to them in the *rhoom*, and they were permitted to wear their shoes till they reached the inner enclosure that sepa-

* No inquiry whatever was made respecting the governor-general, nor, in the colonel's subsequent conversations with the princes, was his name once mentioned; but the *woongees* were anxious to draw from Mr. Wood the real extent of his authority.

Engd on Steel

by H. Adlard

THE IMPERIAL COURT AT UMMERAPOORA.

rates the court of the *lotoo* from that of the royal palace, which no nobleman is allowed to tread with covered feet. The royal saloon of ceremony into which they were now ushered, was an open hall, supported by colonnades of pillars, twenty in length and four in depth. The basement of the throne, as in the *lotoo*, was alone visible: it was about five feet from the floor. Folding-doors screened the seat. The whole was richly gilded and carved. On each side extended a small gallery, enclosed with a gilded balustrade, a few feet in length, containing four umbrellas of state; and on two tables at the foot of the throne, were placed several large vessels of gold, of various forms. Immediately over the throne, a splendid *piasath* rose in seven stages above the roof of the building, crowned by a *tee*, from which issued a spiral rod. "We had been seated little more than a quarter of an hour," says the colonel, "when the folding-doors that concealed the seat, opened with a loud noise, and discovered his majesty* ascending a flight of steps that led up to the throne from the inner apartment. He advanced but slowly, and seemed not to possess the free use of his limbs, being obliged to support himself with his hands on the balustrade. I was informed, however, that this appearance of weakness did not proceed from any bodily infirmity, but from the weight of the regal habiliments in which he was clad; and if what we were told was true, that he carried on his dress fifteen *viss* (upwards of fifty pounds avoirdupois) of gold, his difficulty of ascent is not surprising. On reaching the top, he stood for a minute, as though to-

* This was Minderajee-praw, who, "wearied with the fatigues of royalty, went up to amuse himself in the celestial regions," in 1819, after a prosperous reign of thirty-seven years, and was succeeded by his favourite grandson, the present emperor.

take breath, and then sat down on an embroidered cushion with his legs inverted. His crown was a high conical cap, richly studded with precious stones; his fingers were covered with rings; and in his dress he bore the appearance of a man cased in golden armour, while a gilded, or probably a golden wing on each shoulder, did not add much lightness to his figure. His looks denoted him to be between fifty and sixty years old, of a strong make, in stature rather beneath the middle height, with hard features, and of a dark complexion; yet, the expression of his countenance was not unpleasing, and seemed, I thought, to indicate an intelligent and inquiring mind.

"On the first appearance of his majesty, all the courtiers bent their bodies, and held their hands joined in an attitude of supplication. Nothing further was required of us, than to lean a little forward, and to turn in our legs as much as we could, not any act being so unpolite or contrary to etiquette, as to present the soles of the feet towards the face of a dignified person. Four Brahmins, dressed in white caps and gowns, chanted the usual prayer at the foot of the throne: a *nakhaan* then advanced into the vacant space before the king, and recited in a musical cadence the name of each person who was to be introduced on that day, and of whose present, in the character of a suppliant, he entreated his majesty's acceptance. My offering consisted of two pieces of Benares gold brocade; Dr. Buchanan and Mr. Wood each presented one. When our names were mentioned, we were separately desired to take a few grains of rice in our hands, and, joining them, to bow to the king as low as we conveniently could, with which we immediately complied. When this ceremony was finished, the king uttered a few indistinct words, to convey, as I

was informed, an order for investing some persons present with the insignia of a certain degree of nobility: the imperial mandate was instantly proclaimed aloud by heralds in the court. His majesty remained only a few minutes longer, and during that time looked at us attentively, but did not honour us with any verbal notice, or speak at all, except to give the order before mentioned. When he rose to depart, he manifested the same signs of infirmity as on his entrance. After he had withdrawn, the folding-doors were closed, and the court broke up.

"In descending, we took notice of two pieces of cannon, apparently nine-pounders, which were placed in the court, on either side of the stairs, to defend the entrance of the palace. Sheds protected them from the weather, and they were gilded all over. A royal carriage was also in waiting, of curious workmanship, and ornamented with a royal spire: there was a pair of horses harnessed to it, whose trappings glistened in the sun."

In the outer court, Col. Symes saw the immense piece of ordnance captured at Arracan: it had been gilded and placed beneath a roof of a dignified order.*

Prior to this interview with the emperor, Col. Symes attended the levees of the Engy Teekien and the queen dowager. The etiquette observed in his visit to the prince, was much the same as in his presentation to the emperor. The saloon of audience was adorned with six rows of pillars, seven in a row; but there was neither gilding nor paint on them, such ornaments being strictly confined to the sovereign and the priesthood; and the naked pillars gave a very rude appearance to the apartment. Four Brahmin priests

* See page 42.

chanted a prayer, that lasted a quarter of an hour; at the close of which, a window opened at the end of the saloon, and discovered the prince seated behind it, dressed in a habit that shone with gold, and with a pyramidal cap that glistened exceedingly. His head and shoulders alone were visible. He spoke not a word, and noticed no one, but sat erect and motionless like a pagod. A list of the presents was recited by a reader kneeling in front of the sofa; and after about a quarter of an hour had elapsed in this dumb interview, the shutters were suddenly closed, and they saw him no more. Subsequently, however, the prince vouchsafed to honour Col. Symes with an unceremonious reception, when, instead of merely exhibiting himself from a casement, he was seated on a richly ornamented couch, in a very simple costume: he wore a vest of white muslin, with a lower garment of silk, and his head was bound with an embroidered fillet. His manners on this occasion were frank and free from ostentation; he asked many frivolous questions, and endeavoured to amuse his visiter with the prattle of two sprightly children, his daughters.*

The interview with Medaw-praw, the queen dowager, was far more interesting. An Asiatic princess holding a drawing-room, is no ordinary spectacle. This ve-

* This prince, to whom Minderajee-praw is said to have been particularly attached, died before his father, in consequence of which his son, at that time a boy, was declared heir to the throne. His claims, however, appear to have been contested by his uncles, and his accession was the signal for the execution of the Prince of Tonghoo, with his family and adherents. The Prince of Prome also, whose daughter he had married, was thrown into prison, where he died of his wounds shortly after. "The emissaries of the new king," writes Mr. Judson, (July 1819) "are searching in every direction for the adherents and *protegés* of his deceased uncles." He was crowned on the 2d of November following.

nerable personage appears to have been held in the highest estimation. Her sister had been the wife of the famous Alom-praw, and her daughter being espoused to the reigning monarch, she stood in the double relation of aunt and mother-in-law to Minderajee-praw. Her rank gave her precedence over all the sons of the emperor, except the heir-apparent. Col. Symes found her residing in a very handsome mansion, near the palace. "We entered the enclosure," he says, "without any of the parade observed in our former visits. At the bottom of the stairs we put off our shoes, and ascended into a handsome hall, supported by several lofty pillars; at the further end, a portion of the floor was elevated six or eight inches, and separated by a neat balustrade from the rest of the room; within this space, under a white canopy, was placed a large cushion of blue velvet fringed with gold, on a carpet covered with muslin. There was a numerous assemblage of both sexes, but particularly women, sitting round the balustrade. As soon as we entered, a space was immediately vacated for us to occupy, in front of the door and opposite to the cushion. After we had been seated a few minutes, the old lady came forth from an inner apartment, and walked slowly towards the elevated seat, supported by two female servants, whilst another held up her train; her long white hair hung loose upon her shoulders, but she wore neither covering nor ornament upon her head. Her dress, which was extremely fine, without being gaudy, became her advanced years and high dignity: it consisted of a long robe of white muslin, and over her shoulders was thrown a sash of gauze, embroidered with sprigs of gold. She advanced to where the cushion was placed, and took her seat on the carpet, supporting her head on her arm that rested on the pillow, whilst

the two female attendants, neatly dressed, kneeling, one on each side, fanned her with long gilded fans. Every person seemed to pay her profound respect, and when she entered, both men and women bent their bodies in the attitude of submission. I had brought, as a token of my veneration, a string of pearls and some fine muslin. The Sandohgaan announced the offering, and enumerated the articles with a loud voice, entreating, in my name, her gracious acceptance of them. She looked at the English gentlemen with earnestness, but seemed entirely to disregard the Chinese, although their dress was much more showy than ours. Her manner was on this occasion extremely complaisant, and she asked several questions, such as, what were our names? how we were in health? what were our ages? On being informed, she obligingly said, she would pray that we might attain as great a longevity as herself; adding, that she had reached her seventy-second year. I did not perceive, amongst the numerous company that attended, any of the junior princes, or of the principal ministers, although there were several personages of distinction. After she had retired, a very handsome dessert was served up: the fruits and preserves were delicious: whatever China could yield, was united with the produce of their own country. Having tasted of various dishes, we withdrew without any ceremony."

Rope-dancers, figure-dancers, musicians, tumblers, and masquerade performers, were in attendance both at the imperial palace and at the levees of the princes. The tumblers, however, appeared much inferior in agility to those of southern India.

When Captain Cox repaired to Amarapura, the emperor, with all his court, was residing at Mheghoon, a few miles higher up the river, where his

majesty was busily employed in erecting a magnificent pagoda. The city of Mheghoon was at this time merely "an assemblage of bamboo huts, with a few wooden houses, straggling along the western bank of the river for about two miles, under a range of high, barren hills." About the centre was a wooden palace, externally of a mean appearance, a little beyond which was the site of the intended pagoda. His majesty held his court in a large tent, about 300 feet in diameter, supported in the centre by a stout mast about sixty feet high, and the sides resting on an arcade of a hundred arches, of bamboo work, with wooden piers about fifteen feet high. "The throne, which came close to the outer edge of the tent, was an octagon of wood, like a large pulpit; each face was about ten feet; the floor elevated about six feet above the level of the tent; the sides open to the south and east, the west and north sides skreened by a curtain; the floor was carpeted, and a raised bench, covered with velvet cushions laced with gold, was placed near the centre, a little advanced to the front. Below, within the circle of the tent, was a raised seat like a clerk's reading-desk, covered with green velvet, edged and trimmed with broad gold lace, with large red velvet cushions on it, trimmed in the same manner. To the right and left of the throne, on the ground, just within the arcade of the tent, were ranged twenty of the king's body-guard, in satin gowns trimmed with gold lace, with treble scolloped capes and cuffs, and gilt hats like Mambrino's helmet. Nearer the throne, to the right or west side, were seated in a line with the body-guards, six eunuchs of the palace, native Mahommedans, in white jammas and coloured silk lungees, with white handkerchiefs round their heads. The princes of the blood, the *chobwas* (petty tributary

princes), and all the courtiers of superior rank, were dressed in red velvet gowns, like that worn by the maywoon; the caps of the princes and chobwas varying according to their rank, which is further denoted by the gold chains they wear. The inferior courtiers' dress and caps were made of satin trimmed with narrow gold lace, but in form the same as the viceroy's.

"His majesty was dressed in white muslin with a gold border, and had on a crown, shaped something like a mitre, about fifteen inches in height. In his hand he had a small *chowrie*, made of peacock's quills, with which he fanned away the flies. When seated, he asked in a clear and audible voice, which was the resident. The interview lasted about twenty minutes, during which the emperor made several inquiries respecting the Europeans, and at length, addressing the viceroy, said, "The weather is very warm—I must retire: take care of him."

Mr. Burnet, who attended Capt. Cox, was subsequently admitted to a still more familiar interview with his majesty in his retreat at Mheghoon. He found the king seated on a common mat on the floor of his bungalow, reclining on pillows covered with green velvet. He was dressed in an open *jamma* of white cloth, a common silk *lungee* round his loins, his hair gathered into a knot on the crown of his head, without any handkerchief. The courtiers and Mr. Burnet were arranged on the same level, but on the bare bamboos. The king's grandson came in and took his seat at his majesty's left hand, on which Minderajee-praw embraced and kissed him. The daughter of the prince of Prome, the intended wife of the grandson, seated herself on his right hand. Several of the emperor's daughters also came in, bowed to the ground, and then seated themselves opposite to his majesty.

Mr. Burnet, though evidently noticed, was not spoken to by the emperor, whose mind was at this time wholly occupied with the changes which he meditated introducing in the ecclesiastical system of the empire,* but which, it seems, he found it impracticable or impolitic to carry into effect. A few months after, the new regulations were repealed (it is said at the intercession of the queen), and the priesthood were again admitted to his favour.

* "Among the observations that were made by him on the subject, he said, that he feared too many resorted to a religious life from a love of indolence; that he did not pretend to be learned in these matters himself, but, as the head of the religion of his dominions, it was his duty to see that those immediately intrusted with its rites were well informed; and in consequence, he gave orders that candidates for the superiority of *keoums* should in future undergo a more strict examination. His courtiers maintained a humble and profound silence, except when occasionally answering in the affirmative. It appears that his majesty is much dissatisfied with the present state of religion in his dominions, and meditates some great changes. He has found the priesthood in general miserably ignorant; even his arch-priest cannot satisfy his doubts. He says, they read over their canonical books, when they first enter on the monastic life, as a task imposed on schoolboys; and although they have no other employment to engage their attention, they never afterwards investigate or inquire into the mystical meaning of their rites; so that they are totally unfit to instruct the people. Hence the various abuses that have crept into their religion; the building of small pagodas, the use of beads, &c., all of which are cloaks for hypocrisy, and unauthorised by the tenets of their ancient faith. These he means to forbid; also the practice of the poonghees taking servants with them to carry the provisions they collect in the morning; and to restrain the number of poonghees. These severe strictures and meditated reforms alarm his courtiers very much: they dare not remonstrate, and are afraid to obey."—P. 231. It seems that Minderajee-praw was in no small degree under the influence of the Brahmin magi attached to his court. He wished to introduce an additional intercallary moon, in order to rectify the Birman calendar; but the rhahaans resisted the innovation, and in the end prevailed.—See *As. Res.* vol. vi. p. 170.

Minderajee-praw was believed to be in heart hostile to the established religion, and his death was the signal for renewed exertions on the part of the priests. "Since the decease of the old king," writes Mr. Judson, in 1819, "the people have been more engaged than ever in building pagodas, making sacred offerings, and performing the public duties of their religion." A persecuting spirit, instigated by the rhahaans, began at the same time to manifest itself against the estimable American missionaries stationed at Rangoon, which determined Mr. Judson and his colleague to go up to the new sovereign with their memorial.* They obtained without difficulty, through the good offices of the former viceroy of Rangoon, permission to behold the golden face. "The scene to which we were introduced," says Mr. Judson, "really surpassed our expectation. The spacious extent of the hall, the number and magnitude of the pillars, the height of the dome, the whole completely covered with gold,

* We have been unable to ascertain from any document the name of the reigning emperor; a circumstance which will awaken no surprise when the Birman etiquette on this point is known. "Among the Hindus," says Dr. Buchanan, "it has never been customary to call any prince by his proper name. This custom has been communicated to the Birmans with such strength, that it is almost impossible to learn the name of any prince during his reign. His titles only can be lawfully mentioned; and the law is enforced with such rigour, that Birmans even in Calcutta shudder when requested to mention the dreadful name."—*Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 264. In the letter addressed by Minderajee-praw to the governor-general (Sir John Shore), given by Col. Symes, no name occurs, but the imperial writer is designated as "the lord of earth and air, the monarch of extensive countries, the sovereign of the kingdoms of Sonahparinda, Tombadeva, Seawuttena, Zaniengnia, Soonaboomy, in the district of Hurry Mounza, in the country of Zemee, Hamaratta, Dzodinagara, &c.;" moreover, master of the white, red, and mottled elephants; with a string of other pompous and unmeaning titles. By the way, no mention is made of the proprietorship of *the* white elephant.

presented a most grand and imposing spectacle. Very few were present, and these evidently great officers of state. We remained about five minutes, when every one put himself into the most respectful attitude, and Moung Yo whispered that his majesty had entered. We looked through the hall as far as the pillars would allow, and presently caught sight of this modern Ahasuerus. He came forward, unattended, in solitary grandeur, exhibiting the proud gait and majesty of an eastern monarch. His dress was rich, but not distinctive; and he carried in his hand the gold-sheathed sword, which seems to have taken the place of the sceptre of ancient times. But it was his high aspect and commanding eye that chiefly rivetted our attention. He strided on. Every head, excepting ours, was now in the dust. We remained kneeling, our hands folded, our eyes fixed on the monarch. When he drew near, we caught his attention: he stopped and partly turned towards us. 'Who are these?' 'The teachers, great king,' I replied. 'What! you speak Birman?—the priests that I heard of last night?—when did you arrive?—are you teachers of religion?—are you like the Portuguese priest?—are you married?—why do you dress so?' These and some other similar questions we answered; when he seemed pleased with us, and sat down on an elevated seat, his hand resting on the hilt of his sword, and his eyes intently fixed on us."

Moung Zah, the prime minister of state, now read the petition, which stated, that the American teachers had come up to behold the golden face, and had reached the bottom of the golden feet, to ask permission to preach their religion in the Birman empire, and that those who were pleased with it, whether foreigners or natives, might not be molested by the officers of go-

vernment, this being the only favour they had to ask of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea. The emperor heard the petition, and stretched out his hand. Moung Zah crawled forward and presented it. His majesty began at the top, and deliberately read it through: he then handed it back without saying a word, and took the tract which had been prepared by the missionaries as a statement of their doctrines. He held it long enough to read the two first sentences, which asserted, "that there is one eternal God, who is independent of the incidents of mortality, and that, beside him, there is no God;" he then, with an air of indifference or disdain, dashed it to the ground. Moung Yo, an officer of the viceroy, made an attempt to serve them by unfolding one of the volumes which composed their present — a Bible in six volumes, covered with gold leaf, each volume enclosed in a rich wrapper: but his majesty took no notice. After a few moments, Moung Zah interpreted his imperial master's will in the following terms: "In regard to the objects of your petition, his majesty gives no order. In regard to your sacred books, his majesty has no use for them: take them away." Something was said respecting Mr. Colman's skill in medicine, upon which the emperor once more opened his mouth and said, "Let them proceed to the residence of my physician, the Portuguese priest; let him examine whether they can be useful to me in that line, and report accordingly." He then rose from his seat, strided on to the end of the hall, and there throwing himself down upon a cushion, lay listening to the music and gazing at the parade spread before him. The missionaries subsequently learned from Moung Zah, that the policy of the Birman government, in regard to the toleration of any foreign religion, is precisely the same as that of

the Chinese; that there was no room to hope that any of the emperor's subjects who should embrace a religion different from his own, would be exempt from punishment; and that, in presenting a petition to that effect, they had been guilty of an unpardonable offence.*

This interview took place in January 1820. Chagrined and disheartened, Mr. Judson returned to Rangoon, and subsequently accompanied Mrs. Judson to Bengal, for the benefit of her health. In January 1821, he resumed his duties at Rangoon, under somewhat more favourable auspices. The viceroy had given unequivocal evidence of his disposition not to interfere, and had defeated the efforts of some of the native priests to injure Moung Shwa Gnoung, the most prominent among the converts. Towards the close of this year, Mr. J. was joined by Dr. Price, an American physician. In the mean time, it seems, the emperor had sometimes made inquiries respecting the American teachers, in such a manner as to awaken a hope, that another application might be more successful than the first had been; and reports of Dr. Price's medical and chirurgical skill having reached the golden ears, an order was despatched from Amarapura, requiring his attendance at the palace. Accordingly, on the 28th of August, 1822, Mr. Judson and Dr. Price, leaving the mission at Rangoon in charge of Mr. Hough, set out for the capital, which they reached on the 27th of September following. They were favourably received by the emperor,† with whom, and some of his

* Judson's Account, pp. 228—234.

† When the missionaries were presented to the king this time (Sep. 27, 1822), Dr. Price was received very graciously; but, though Mr. Judson appeared before him almost every day, the emperor did not notice him till the 1st of October, when he thus

chief courtiers, conversations were several times held on the subject of Christianity. After spending about four months at Amarapura, Mr. Judson returned to Rangoon, to fetch his lady, while Dr. Price remained behind, having, it appears, gained ground considerably in the emperor's favour.*

addressed him: "And you, in black, what are you? a medical man, too?" "Not a medical man, but a teacher of religion, your majesty." The emperor then asked him if any persons had embraced his religion? to which Mr. Judson replied in the affirmative. No marks of displeasure were produced by this information, but the emperor asked Mr. Judson many questions on subjects of religion, geography, and astronomy. Mr. Judson remarks, in a letter dated November 22, of that year, that he is more cordially received as a minister of the Christian religion than he had ever anticipated, and that the disposition of the emperor and his most intimate associates appeared to be characterised by toleration and candour. It was believed, that the emperor and other distinguished natives had for some time been sceptical in relation to the superstitious theology of their own country, and that this state of mind had rendered them less hostile to principles subversive of the opinions generally held sacred by the Birmans. Mr. Judson supposes that the repulse which he met with on his former presentation, was dictated as much by policy as by any other motive. The emperor had recently ascended the throne, and might fear to render the commencement of his reign unpopular by countenancing a new religion. "Besides a distinguished nobleman, who is believed to be examining the truth of the Gospel revelation in a state of feeling bordering on anxious conviction, it is thought, that the princess, who directs the education of the heir-apparent, and who is a woman of superior endowments and great influence, is also impressed with the important facts made known in the Divine system."—*Miss. Reg. Jan.* 1825, p. 48.

* "Since Mr. Judson left me," writes Dr. Price, "the king has been more familiar than ever, manifesting a desire to make my solitude as comfortable as his favour can make it. His majesty exhibits an entire confidence, and admits me near his person. His counsellors are disposed to encourage every useful art... The king has given an order for granting me a building lot on the bank opposite Ava. The same privileges he promises to every American or Englishman. On a spot of ground, 245 cubits by 140 to 170, on the river directly opposite the palace, I have put up a bamboo

This unexpected turn of affairs changed the whole aspect of the Mission. No distinct promise to tolerate the Christian religion had, indeed, been given as yet by the monarch, but his affable manners awakened the sanguine expectation of ultimate success; and the emperor's own brother, some time after Mr. Judson's return to Rangoon, wrote to him in affectionate terms, requesting his speedy return to Ava, and begging him to bring with him the sacred books.*

On the 12th of December, 1824, Mr. (now Dr.) and Mrs. Judson, embarked on the river for Ava, to which the court had removed. A foreign female had never yet been introduced at the Birman court, and much curiosity was excited by the expectation of her arrival. They arrived there after "a pleasant trip" of six weeks, and found that Dr. Price had taken a native wife. The war with England, unhappily, had somewhat soured the emperor's mind against foreigners, and Mr. Judson's reception at court was rather cool. But Mrs. Judson immediately commenced her benevolent plans by opening a free school; and in January, it already contained nine boys and seven girls. Since then, up to the last accounts, no intelligence had been received from them: but a sepoy who had escaped from Ava to the British head-quarters at Prome, stated, that all the Europeans at Ava were in chains, in prison, and wholly dependent on charity for subsistence; that Mrs. Judson, however, was permitted to live at her own house, and was allowed to see Dr. Judson every two or three days.† Under few eastern

house; and as I have a royal order for as many bricks as I want, provided I take them immediately, I have thought it best to put up a brick house to accommodate one or two families."—*Miss. Reg. Jan.* 1825, p. 48.

* Judson, p. 328.

† Miss. Reg. Jan. 1826, p. 77.

despotisms would the life and liberty of an unprotected female, in such circumstances, have been so far respected.

Amarapura, to which Minderajee-Praw gave the proud title of the immortal city, is no longer the capital of Birmah. A new palace was being erected at Old Ava in February 1824, of which, as soon as completed, the emperor was expected to take possession in due form, and this city was to be the future residence of the court. Of the transitory nature of mundane grandeur, there cannot be a more striking illustration than a Birman capital, with its wooden houses and glittering pagodas. All the magnificence which once attached to New Ava has, probably, ere this, passed away. Colonel Symes describes several very handsome edifices. One of the most interesting was the *Piedĭgaut-tiek*, or royal library,—a large brick building, raised on a terrace, at the north-west angle of the fort, close to a very handsome monastery. It consisted of one square room, with an enclosed verandah running round it. The room was locked, and could not be opened without a special order; but the librarian assured Col. Symes that there was nothing in the inside different from what he saw in the verandah, where about a hundred large chests, curiously ornamented with gilding and japan, were ranged against the wall. The books were regularly classed, and the contents of each chest were inscribed in gold letters on the lid. The librarian opened two, and shewed Colonel Symes some very beautiful writing on thin leaves of ivory, the margins ornamented with flowers of gold. Some were in the Pali language. "If all the other chests were as well filled as those that were submitted to our inspection," remarks the colonel, "his Birman majesty may probably possess a more

numerous library than any potentate from the banks of the Danube to the borders of China."

The *kioum-do-gee*, or royal convent, is described as an edifice not less extraordinary from the style of its architecture, than from the magnificence of its decorations. "It was composed entirely of wood. The roofs, rising one above another in five distinct stories, diminished in size as they advanced in height, each roof being surmounted with a cornice curiously carved and richly gilded. The body of the building, elevated twelve feet from the ground, was supported on large timbers driven into the earth after the manner of piles, of which there were probably 150 to sustain the immense weight of the superstructure. The inside was most splendid. A gilded balustrade, fantastically carved into various shapes and figures, encompassed the outside of the platform. Within this, there was a wide gallery, that encompassed the entire circuit of the building. An inner railing opened into a noble hall, supported by colonnades of lofty pillars: the centre row was at least fifty feet high, and gilded from the summit to within four feet of the base, which was lackered red. In the middle of the hall there was a gilded partition of open latticed work, fifteen or twenty feet high, which divided it into two parts from N. to S. The space between the pillars varied from twelve to sixteen feet; and the number, including those that supported the galleries, appeared not fewer than a hundred, which, as they approached the extremities, diminished in height, the outermost row not exceeding fifteen feet.

"A marble image of Guadma, gilded, and sitting on a golden throne, was placed in the centre of the partition; and in front of the idol, leaning against one of the pillars, we beheld the seredaw (or zarado)

sitting on a satin cushion, encompassed by a circle of rhahaans, from whom he could be no other ways distinguished, than by his preserving an erect position, while the others bent their bodies in an attitude of respect, with their hands joined in a supplicating manner."

On taking leave of the primate, Col. Symes proceeded along a wide road leading to the northward, which soon brought him to an extensive plain, reaching in an uninterrupted level to the foot of a range of mountains ten or twelve miles distant. The soil is a poor clay, and the pasturage very indifferent. At a distance were seen some fields of grain; and they were told, that capacious reservoirs had been constructed with great labour and expense, by order of the emperor, in the vicinity of the mountains, which enabled the inhabitants of the low countries to irrigate the grounds, and render them productive in a season of drought. "Several kioums and villages were scattered over the plain; but," continues Col. S., "when we had advanced about two miles, the religious edifices increased beyond our power to calculate the number.

"The first that we entered was called *Knebany Kioum*, or the kioum of immortality, from the centre of which rose a royal piasath to the height of 150 feet; the roofs were of the customary structure, diminishing in stories. This is the place where the embalmed bodies of the deceased seredaws are laid in state. The building rests on a terrace of brick, and is not elevated on pillars as the kioums usually are. The hall was very handsome, about seventy feet square; the roof sustained by thirty-six gilded pillars, the central one forty feet in height. Mats were spread in different parts for the repose of the rha-

haans, and on each was placed a hard pillow; there was also a tray containing books on the duties of rhahaans, on religion, and the forms of worship.

"The next kioum that we visited, was the ordinary residence of the seredaw: it far exceeded in size and splendour any that we had before seen, and is perhaps the most magnificent of its kind in the universe. It is constructed entirely of wood, and resembles, in the style of its structure and ornaments, that in which we had an interview with the seredaw, but is much more spacious and lofty. The numerous rows of pillars, some of them sixty feet high, were covered with burnished gilding; and the profuse expenditure of gilding, as well on parts exposed to the weather, as on the inside, cannot fail to impress a stranger with astonishment, although he may not approve of the taste with which it is disposed. This kioum was also divided by a partition. There was a small room on one side, made of gilded boards, which we were told was the bed-chamber of the seredaw. Mats were spread on the outside for the attendant rhahaans. The figure of Guadma was made of copper, and a European girandole of cut glass stood before his throne.

"Leaving this building, we passed through many courts crowded with kioums and smaller temples. Several gigantic images of Rakuss, the Hindoo demon, half beast, half human, made of brass, were shewn as a part of the spoils of Arracan. From these we were conducted to a magnificent temple, which is erecting for the image of Guadma brought from the same country. The idol is made of polished brass, about ten feet high, and sitting in the usual posture, on a pedestal within an arched recess; the walls are gilded and adorned with bits of coloured mirrors disposed with much taste. Peculiar sanctity is ascribed to this

image, and devotees resort from every part of the empire to adore the Arracan Guadma. This temple, with its auxiliary buildings, promises to be the most elegant in the empire. The *chounda*, or place of reception for strangers coming from a distance to offer up their devotions, is also a beautiful specimen of Birman architecture. It comprehends five long galleries separated by colonnades, each consisting of thirty-four pillars, or two hundred and four altogether: the two central rows are about twenty-five feet high, but the external ones do not exceed fourteen feet. They are painted of a deep crimson ground, enlivened by festoons of gold leaf encircling them in a very fanciful and pleasing manner. The ceiling is embellished with a profusion of carved work, executed with great labour and minuteness. The whole length is five hundred and seventy feet, and the breadth of each distinct gallery about twelve feet, the central one, as usual, being rather wider than the others. A low railing extends along the outer pillars, to prevent improper persons and dogs from defiling the place. It is built upon a terrace of brick, elevated three feet from the ground; and the floor is made of *chunam*,—a fine stucco composed of lime, pounded steatites, and oil, forming a hard and smooth surface that shines like marble. Our conductor informed us, that this edifice had been lately erected at the sole expense of the senior *woonjee*."

The new pagoda which Minderajee-praw was erecting at Mheghoon in 1797, appears, from Captain Cox's description, to have been, at least in its design, one of the most singular and imposing edifices in this land of pagodas. It stands on a small natural mound, the sides of which have been cut down and faced with masonry, the terraces being left of the common soil, a

sandy loam mixed with shingle. The first terrace is about fifteen feet above the level of the river in the rainy season. "Immediately within the verge of the first terrace, on either side of the steps, are two colossal figures of lions, or rather sphinxes, couchant. They are of brick masonry, raised on pedestals of the same materials. The height of the figures is fifty-eight (Birman) cubits, and, with their pedestals, sixty cubits, or ninety-five English feet. The body and limbs are of proportionate magnitude. The eyes and teeth are of alabaster;* the eye-ball is thirteen feet in circumference. Six terraces rise one above the other, their parapet walls equidistant, the faces of good brick masonry, with stone spouts, ornamented with sculptured alligators' heads, to carry off the water. On a seventh terrace stands the plinth of the pagoda. Within this plinth, a hollow chamber is left, forming a quadrangle of sixty-one feet, its depth eleven feet, and the walls are nearly thirteen feet thick. The interior of the chamber is plastered with white *chunam*, and decorated with painted flowers and pannelled compartments with trees and flower-pots in them. There are also rows of columns, twenty-nine inches square, and pilasters, to support the leaden beams and terrace with which the whole is to be covered when the dedicated treasures are deposited there; with a number of quadrangular compartments, large and small, from ten feet to four feet five inches square, to contain them: the smaller ones are lined with plates of lead three fourths of an inch thick. The innermost quadrangles are intended for the preservation of the treasures dedicated by his majesty, while the space around them is devoted to the oblations of his courtiers. Opposite each of the smaller compartments, whose depth

* The idol Guadma in the British Museum exhibits a specimen of the alabaster eye.

is equal to that of the larger ones, and which appeared like so many wells, were placed, on small Bengal carpets, little hollow temples, three feet square, with pyramidal roofs ornamented in the Birman style; the interior frame being of painted wood, covered with thin plates of silver, alloyed to about fifty per cent standard; in height, from the base to the pinnacle, seven feet; the eaves ornamented with strings of red coral, about six beads in each, terminated with heart-shaped pieces of common window-glass. Round the solid part of the building and upon the terrace were arranged piles of leaden beams, about five inches square, and of sufficient length to cover the respective chambers, with plates of lead of the same length, fourteen inches broad and three fourths of an inch thick, for the coverings; and besides these, a number of slates of a schistous granite were arranged in readiness to cover the whole. We were told that there was another set of chambers of the same dimensions and structure, charged with treasure, below these: how true this is, I cannot pretend to determine. The invention of lining the chambers with lead for the preservation of the treasures, is an honour claimed by his present majesty, who has great skill in these matters.

"The dedicated treasures were arranged on the platform of a bamboo shade, about seventy feet in length, and thirty broad; they consisted of a great variety of Birman temples and kioums in miniature, covered with plates of fifty per cent. silver, and filled with little images of their idols, from three inches to a foot in height, of the same materials. Besides those in the temples, &c., there were squadrons of others of the same kind and quality arranged on the floor; also many which they said were of solid gold, but, on examination, we found them less valuable; there were also two rows of about a dozen larger images of ala-

baster, from four to two feet in height, well gilded and burnished. Their cast of features and hair were precisely that of the Abyssinian negroes.* There were also several flat caskets of gilt metal, said to contain gold and precious stones, several piles of bricks, slabs of coloured glass, white *chattahs*, and lastly, an apparatus for impregnating water with fixed air. On the opposite side, in another shade, was an idol in a portable temple, with poles for four bearers, which, we were informed, were sufficient when its godship was in good humour; but when displeased, not all the power of the Birman empire could move it. In a separate shade, in a moveable wooden house that travels on wheels, is a print of the foot of Guadma on a slab of marble; the impression is about three feet in length."

A short time before Captain Cox visited Mheghoon, a silver mine had been discovered by a Chinese a little higher up, which was *said* to yield forty per cent, but he did not visit it. There are cliffs of a very fine limestone, of which he obtained specimens.† The hills on the western side of the river, which commence at Chagaing, terminate about sixteen miles above

* Captain Cox remarked, that the four colossal gilded images of Guadma standing on a lotos-flower in one of the principal pagodas at Pah-gahn, have all the crisped hair. The priests pretend, that when Guadma assumed the religious habit, he cut off his hair with his sword, leaving it rugged or furrowed. "The features of a genuine Birman," Captain C. adds, "have a good deal of the Caffre cast."—p. 416.

† Near Chagaing also, Captain Cox noticed a white limestone marble. On some of the spars he found the stones variegated, black, blue, green, and red, mixed with silicious and quartzose pebbles and fragments; also those calcareous stalactites called in India *couker*. The whole range appears to be metalliferous. He met with nothing but iron ore; but silver, copper, and lead, as well as precious stones, are stated to have been obtained from different parts.

Mheghoon, where commences a high plain, rugged, and in general uncultivated, if not unsusceptible of cultivation. Only one considerable village occurs in the interval on the western bank. The eastern range of mountains continues to extend along the river as far as has hitherto been explored. Mr. Burnet, Capt. Cox's interpreter, ascended as high as Keoun-meoun, about forty-six miles above Amarapura. The course of the river is nearly north and south, with a very slight inclination from the east of north to S.W. by S. Monchaboo is about eight miles inland to the west of Keoun-meoun, in lat. 22° 40′ N., long. 96° 20′ E. To the N. of Monchaboo, there is reported to be a lake of very considerable extent, called Nandokando; but no European has hitherto penetrated thus far into the interior.

Of the northern and eastern extremities of Ava, scarcely any thing is known. The town of Bamoo, situated on the Irrawaddy, in lat. 24° N., long. 96° 56′ E., is only twenty miles from the Chinese frontier. Here, as in the days of Marco Polo, there is a *jee*, or mart, attended by the Chinese merchants. The governor of the district informed Col. Symes, that the road from the frontier to Manchegee or Yun-nan, lies over high mountains. He had been twice by this route to Pekin, and was upwards of three months performing the journey. During the last thirty days, he travelled in a boat on canals and rivers.

Above Bamoo, still ascending the valley of the Irrawaddy, is the *Bong* district, reaching to Assam on the north, Yun-nan on the east, and Cassay on the west. The Bong mountains are inhabited by a wild tribe, called by the Cassayers, *Koukies*.*

* For an account of this rude mountain tribe, who are all hunters and warriors, see Asiat. Res., vol. vii. p. 183.

ASSAM

CONSISTS for the most part of a long valley, about seventy miles in average breadth, and nearly 700 miles in length, divided through its whole extent by the Brahmapootra into nearly equal parts. It is situated principally between the 25th and 28th parallels of N. latitude, and between 94° and 99° of E. longitude, and contains probably an area of 60,000 square miles. It is known to be very thinly peopled, owing to the incessant warfare carried on by the petty rajahs against each other.* Seven-eighths of the country are said to be overgrown with jungle, though the soil is extremely fertile; the climate is consequently most pestilential. Owing partly to this circumstance, every attempt to conquer this country had proved abortive, prior to the Birman invasion in 1817. Hossein Shah, nabob of Bengal, once attempted it, but the rainy season intercepted his supplies, and all his army perished. Mahommed Shah, Emperor of Hindostan, invaded Assam with 100,000 cavalry, and was never heard of more. The Emperor Aurungzeb was equally unsuccessful. His general, Mourzum Khan, penetrated as far as Gergong, the capital; but, when the rains began, the Assamese came out from their hiding-places, and harassed the invaders, while sickness broke out, and the flower of the army perished. The rest endeavoured to escape along the narrow causeways which have been formed over the morasses, but few ever reached Bahar. After this expedition, the Mohammedans of Hindostan declared that Assam was inhabited only by infidels, hobgoblins, and devils. Yet, in spite of all obstacles, in

* In 1801, the population was estimated at 493,000 souls.

1817, the Birmans succeeded, under Minderajee-praw, in acquiring entire possession of the country.

The general appearance of Assam is that of a number of irregular, insulated hills, at short distances, clothed with trees and verdure to their very summits, while to the north and east, lofty mountains rise abruptly, like a wall, to the height of from 5 to 6000 feet above the adjacent plains. On the S.W., a less elevated range separates it from Sylhet, and, extending southward through Cachar, forms the bold and lofty sweep of the Anou-pec-tou-miou. The western mountains, and part of those to the north, are inhabited by a fierce race consisting of two tribes, the *Abors* and the *Meshmees*, of whom little is known. The latter extend down to the eastern hills, and mix with the *Sing-fos*. These formerly consisted of twelve tribes; and about forty years ago, the poverty of their native soil, and the fertility of the plains of Assam, induced the Sing-fos to settle in the plains, which they cultivated by means of Assamese captives, whom they carried off from the southward. At the commencement of the late campaign, there are supposed to have been about 15,000 of these Assamese vassals held in bondage: the greater part have been already liberated by the British.* In these Sing-fos, we may recognise a Birman tribe subjecting a native race of Carayns.† From similar beginnings, doubtless, arose the empire of Ava.

The mountainous country extending from Sylhet to the plains of Assam, and from about half way between Laour and Doorgapore eastward to Cachar, is inhabited by the people called Cossyahs (or Cassayers),

* Asiat. Journ., vol. xxi. p. 495.

† In the word *Sing*, we have evidently the distinguishing appellation of the warrior caste. See p. 97.

but who are said to denominate themselves *Khyee*. They are described as a handsome, muscular race, active and martial; they always go armed, in general with a bow and arrows, a long sword, and a large shield. Their language is said to differ entirely from that of the Garrows, Cacharrees, and other surrounding tribes, who speak various dialects of an original common tongue; and they are distinguished from them by their physiognomy, not having that peculiar conformation of the eye-lid which forms the characteristic feature of those tribes, in common with the Indo-Chinese and Chinese nations. In religion, they are to a certain extent Hindoos: their laws of inheritance are similar to those of the Nairs, estates and governments descending to the sister's son. Their most powerful rajahs are those of Chyram, Sooloong, and Jyntah.* These Cassayers of the mountains, however, can hardly be the same race that are usually known under that name, inhabiting the district called Meckley, who in Bengal go by the name of Muggaloos, but who are said to call themselves *Moitay*.† The Cassayers of

* See Narrative of a Journey from Sylhet to Assam, by Mr. David Scott, Asiat. Journ., vol. xix. p. 259.

† Cospoor is generally considered as the capital of Cachar, or Cosari, which is made to lie between Assam on the north, Tipperah and Sylhet on the west, and Cassay on the east and south; but its dimensions, we are told, are uncertain. (See HAMILTON'S *Gazetteer*.) The fact appears to be, that Cachar, Cosari, Cassay, and Kathee, are the same word differently articulated. Cospoor (Caspura) is evidently the town of the Cassays, with which Cacharrees must be considered as synonymous. The true distinction is between the mountaineers (*Khyee*), and the equestrian tribes (*Moi-tay*). A water communication is said to exist between Cachar (Cassay) and Assam. In 1774, Oundaboo, the general of Shembuan, marched against the rajah of Cachar (Cospoor), whose country is described as to the N.W. of Munnipore. "In his advance, he overcame Anoup Singh, prince of a country called Muggeloo, and advanced within three days' march of Cospoor. Here he was opposed by the

Munnipora, to whom the Birmans are said to give the name of *Kathee*, are horsemen and gunsmiths, and, like the Assamese, people of the plains. Munnipora (the town of jewels), situated, according to the maps, in lat. 24° 20′ N., long. 94° 30′ E., appears to stand on one of the heads of the Kiayn-duem river, in the midst of a district liable to inundation in the rainy season.* It was captured by the Birmans in 1774. An intercourse subsists between this town and Assam, and the road would seem to be passable at some periods for cavalry; although our troops have found great difficulty in approaching it from Cachar. A few months, however, will clear up the uncertainty which at present hangs over the topography of these regions.†

confederate rajahs of Cospoor and Gossain; and his troops being attacked by the hill fever, his army was dispersed and destroyed." A second expedition was more successful, and the Cachar rajah averted the invasion, when the army had reached the pass of Inchamutty, by consenting to pay, besides a sum of money, an annual tribute of a maiden of the royal blood, and a tree with the roots bound in the native clay. Col. Symes, in 1795, witnessed the arrival at Amarapura of this degrading tribute. In like manner, Xerxes demanded that the Greeks should prove their submission by sending to him earth and water in token of vassalage.

* From April to December, the whole country is said to be one entire pool.—*Asiat. Journ.*, vol. xx. p. 484.

† In 1794, the British detachment which went to Gergong, saw there a body of cavalry which had arrived from Munnipore. By what route they had reached Assam, does not appear to have been ascertained. According to the report of a Mr. Mathews, between Doodputly in Cachar and Munnipore, there are no fewer than seven distinct ranges of hills to be traversed; and the pathway is described as leading, in some places, up rocks almost perpendicular. The first range, a continuation of the Garrows, is inhabited by the Nagahs, who are described as living in a state of rudeness bordering on savage life; they are perfectly naked, dwell in small villages strongly stockaded, and subsist chiefly on swine's flesh, as the hills afford little soil susceptible of cultivation.—*Asiat. Journ.*, vol. xx.

The vegetable and animal productions of Assam are nearly the same as those of Bengal, which country it resembles in its physical aspect and its multitude of rivers. In its mineral treasures, however, it is far richer, almost all the smaller streams being auriferous. In the number of its rivers it exceeds every other country of equal extent.* Including the Brahmapootra and its two great branches, the Dehing and the Looichiel, sixty-one have been ascertained to exist, of which thirty-four flow from the northern, and twenty-four from the southern mountains. The latter are never rapid. The inundation commences from the northern rivers, filling both the Brahmapootra and the southern rivers, so that the water has no considerable current till May or June. In May, the inundations are usually at their height; and on their subsiding, the most luxuriant vegetation bursts forth. The source of the Brahmapootra (or Burrampooter) has never yet been explored. Recent accounts, however, in contradiction to the received theory, place its primary source not far from those of the Irrawaddy, which is represented as flowing down the opposite side of the same mountain to the plains of the Bor Khangty country, and running nearly south to Ava.†

p. 484. In the vicinity of the Garrows (or Garudas), according to Dr. Leyden, there is a tribe called *Hajin*, who worship the tiger, and offer human flesh to their carnivorous idol. This ferocious race, as well as the Nagahs, seems to bear a resemblance to the Papuas and Haraforas of the Andaman Islands, Sumatra, and Borneo.—See Dr. LEYDEN'S *Dissertation on the Indo-Chinese Nations. Asiat. Res.*, vol. x. pp. 217, 220, 272.

* Many of these rivers are remarkable for their extremely sinuous course. The Dekrung, though it flows through a tract of only 25 miles, has a winding course equal to 100 miles before it falls into the Brahmapootra. This river is particularly famous for the quality as well as quantity of its gold.

† Asiat. Journ., vol. xxi. p. 491.

Other statements make the Irrawaddy communicate with a branch of the Brahmapootra. This would seem to sanction the old notion that prevailed when Count Buffon wrote, of "a lake *Champé*, giving rise to the two great rivers which water Assam and Pegu."

The whole of Assam is now in full possession of the British. On the 1st of February, 1825, the fort of Rungpore, which commands the capital, surrendered to the British forces under Lieut.-col. Richards; and all the Birmans, in pursuance of the terms of capitulation, subsequently evacuated the Assamese territory.

To the south of Bamoo, extending in fact along the western shores of the Thaluayn-meet, from where it enters Birmah from Yun-nan, to the city of Junsalaen (Yun-saluain ?), on the frontiers of Martaban, is the mountainous region called Mrelap-shan. In these mountains are found the sapphire and ruby mines: they are stated to be also rich in the precious metals. The principal ruby mines are near the town of Momeit, in lat. 23°, and at Mogouk-kiap-pyaya, some leagues further south. At Boduayn, a considerable place to the south-eastward of Momeit, not far from the Chinese frontier, are mines of gold and silver. They are chiefly worked by Chinese, under the crown. Extensive tracts in this quarter are covered with vast forests of the *læpac*, or tea-tree. Great part of this district formerly belonged to the Chinese, and was wrested from them, in 1767, by Shembuan-praw.*

* See p. 43. Col. Francklin says: "The whole produce of the ruby mines, (in which sapphires, topazes, emeralds, and garnets are found jumbled together,) does not amount to more than 30,000 tecals per annum; at least, what are permitted to be sold, the most valuable being appropriated to the king, and locked up in his treasury. Mining, every where a dangerous speculation, is here particularly so: the Chinese and Shans are in general the adventurers." Neither Col. Symes nor Capt. Cox, however, saw any

Throughout this region of forests, various tribes of Carayns, nominally tributary to Birmah, maintain substantially their independence under their native *chobwahs* or chieftains. On the eastern side of the Thaluayn is the country of the Lowa-yayn and Yunshan, formerly comprehended in Siam, into which no modern European traveller is known to have penetrated.

It only remains briefly to notice the maritime province of

ARRACAN.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Arracan was the seat of a powerful monarchy, and the Roman Catholics had established a mission in the capital. Towards the close of the last century, as stated in our historical sketch, it was annexed by conquest to the Birman empire. In 1825, it yielded to the arms of the British. The capital is the only place, apparently, of much importance or interest; and of this we are only able to give an imperfect description from the details furnished by the periodical press.

"The city of Arracan presents a very peculiar ap-

emeralds in Birmah. All precious stones go under the same name, being distinguished only as blue, violet, or yellow rubies. Tavernier, speaking of the rubies of Pegu, says: "Among all the stones that are there found, you shall hardly see one of three or four carats that is absolutely clean, by reason that the king strictly enjoins his subjects not to export them out of his dominions; besides that he keeps to himself all the clean stones that are found. So that I have got very considerably in my travels, by carrying rubies out of Europe into Asia; which makes me very much suspect the relation of Vincent Le Blanc, who reports that he saw in the king's palace rubies as big as eggs."—*Travels*, part ii. b. 2, c. 16. Among the imperial titles of Minderajee-praw, one was, Proprietor of all kinds of precious stones, of the mines of rubies, agate, gold, silver, amber, &c. &c.

pearance. It is built upon a plain, or it may be called a valley, about four miles in circumference, of a quadrangular form, and entirely surrounded with hills, some of which are 500 feet high. The plain itself is hard and rocky; it is intersected by divers *nullahs* and streams, which occasionally join each other and fall into the river. Some of them rush with violence through chasms and fissures in the rock, and one flows directly through the city, which is thus divided into two parts, connected by means of strong and clumsy wooden bridges. This stream ebbs and flows with the tide, and at high water, boats are able to navigate it. These nullahs are off-shoots, as it were, of a stream which separates from the great river *Mahatti*, and traverses the plain in which the city stands. As the site of the city is thus pervaded by water, it is overflowed during the rains; consequently, the houses are raised upon piles, or strong posts of timber. These houses, or rather huts, are miserable structures, little more than four feet from the ground, composed of bamboos or timber, thatched with straw or mats, and only one story high. They are ranged with considerable regularity in streets: the principal street is on each side of the stream which runs through the city. The number of houses is nearly 19,000. Reckoning five persons to a house, the number of inhabitants in Arracan, before its capture by our troops, must have been about 95,000; and this estimate is said to be below the truth. Many of the houses (perhaps nearly half) are now unroofed or damaged, and some are burned. A considerable space was obliged to be cleared, to allow of commodious buildings for the accommodation of our troops during the wet season. Although many of the inhabitants have returned, the native population of the city does not now exceed 20,000, a

large proportion of whom are priests, who were almost the only residents when our army entered the place, which presented a singular spectacle, from its marks of recent populousness, and its then stillness and aspect of desolation.

" The most curious object within the city, is the ancient fort (the only building of durable materials in the place), which is surrounded with three quadrangular concentric walls, each about twenty feet high, and of considerable thickness. They are formed of large stones, put together with great labour, and are evidently of some antiquity. Those parts which are decayed, have been repaired by pieces of timber being inserted in the interstices. The outer wall is partly natural, and of considerable extent. The inner space is the citadel, where resided the governor, the public officers, &c.; and here also were situated the public granaries. The distance between the walls varies in different places; sometimes being about 100 feet, and sometimes not half so much. Upon the whole, this remnant of the power of the ancient kingdom of Arracan is highly deserving of attention.

" The heights which surround the city are covered with pagodas, the gilded spires of which, shooting up from every pinnacle around, and glittering in the sun, contribute greatly to the singular and picturesque appearance of the place. Upwards of sixty of these temples, the shapes of which are various, can be counted at once: each contains an image of Gaudama. Many of these buildings disclose subterranean passages, which deserve exploring. The architecture of the temples in this country is curious. Although the style has no pretensions to real taste, it is not unsightly; and some of the porticoes of the better sort of

pagodas are handsome. There is a profusion of gilding and painting in most of them: even marble is often covered with gold leaf. Sometimes a deception is practised, as in English architecture, where humble stucco assumes the character of a more costly material: wooden pillars are occasionally coated with a sort of composition or cement, which gives them the appearance of dark marble. Independently of the fort, the temples are the only stone or *pucka* buildings about Arracan; and without them, this capital of an extensive province, once an independent state, would only deserve the name of a large but very beggarly village."

The following paragraph is from the diary of Dr. Tytler, now in Arracan:—

"The *Baboo Deeong* is one of the most remarkable hills included within the boundaries of this extraordinary city. It is situated in a direction nearly due west from the entrance where the army gained admission, subsequently to the escalade which was so gallantly executed by the troops under the command of Brigadier Richards; and is surmounted by four pagodas, dedicated to the worship of Gaudma, Saca-moonee, Simoonee, Maha-moonee, or Buddha. Leading to those edifices are several flights of steps ascending the eastern face of the hill, which are ornamented with colossal figures of deformed giants, composed of brickwork, and plastered with *chunam*, of an uncouth shape, brandishing clubs in their hands; and what is extremely remarkable, figures of the Egyptian sphinx present themselves close to the temples, and which are so constructed as to exhibit an acute triangle; two lions' bodies being conjoined to a single female head, placed at the sharp angle of the building. The Baboo

Deeong hill is about 100 feet in height, and is composed of strata of schistus: it is completely surrounded with water even when the tide is ebb.

"Surrounding the outer wall of one of the principal and most ancient of the Arracan temples, is observed amongst the weeds and jungle, which in many places obscure those interesting relics, a series of very surprising mutilated sculptures, placed in interstices resembling embrasures, constructed in the ruined wall enclosing the court of the temple. Upon one of those stones is sculptured the Tauric man, or Bucephalus Siva, the Mithra of the Persians, or, in other words, the sun in Taurus. Another distinctly exhibits the Sphinx, consisting of the bust of a woman attached to the body and feet of a lion, or the solar luminary having passed Leo and entered Virgo. The dragon's head and tail, shewn in the headless volume of an immense snake's body, are conspicuous upon another stone in the series. Another contains a groupe apparently comprising the crow and Sagittarius, and representing a man aiming with an arrow at an evident figure of a raven. Another exhibits a woman seemingly in the act of striking a sleeping man with a stone; which representation I take to form an allusion to the sun leaving Virgo, (under the figure of a man slain by a woman, and perhaps mixed up with a perversion of the historical fact of Jael and Sisera,) and entering Libra, the first of the lower or southern signs, and thus, slain by Virgo, or the woman, becoming *dead* and *cold* to the inhabitants of the *northern* hemisphere. I imagine the whole of the sculptures which are cut on both sides of those stones (a sort of dark, friable sandstone) to afford representations of the constellations, and thus to exhibit the remains of a very ancient and curious zodiac, differing totally, in some

respects, from any with which we are acquainted, and emitting a brilliant ray upon the antiquities of the western world; for, between the hieroglyphics of Ava and Egypt, a striking analogy is particularly remarked by Symes, and every day's discoveries tend to confirm the fact."*

"In point of magnitude," says a writer in *The Scotsman in the East*, "the monuments of Arracan are unequalled by any hitherto explored by me, and in some particulars differ essentially from the remains of former magnificence I have examined, either on the continent of India, or on the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Similar to those of Java, they consist of *octagonal* temples, surrounded with bell-shaped fanes, but, unlike them, are less decorated with sculpture, and are distinguished by stupendous arches, vaults, and arched galleries, which, I had thought, existed only in the imagination of poets and novelists. There exist here the ruins of nearly three edifices, which consist of circular galleries, arches, and vaults, built of brick and stone, strong, cemented with mortar, and of the most massy construction. These subterraneous passages (for they consist of excavations in rocky masses of the hills) contain not fewer, probably, than *ten thousand images* of Buddha, varying in size from not less than fifteen or twenty feet high to an inch. Many of them are decapitated, which I attribute to the Mussulmans in their irruption into this province, as I have discovered a portion of an Arabic inscription near one of the entrances of the principal temple. In that extraordinary edifice, of which a portion is ornamented with various sculptures, (among which we are enabled to discern the Ganesa Garuda and Nag Sing

* Asiat. Journ., April 1826, p. 512.

of Hindoo mythology,) is contained the *sacred foot*, consisting of a large slab of grey schist, about 3 feet 10 inches long, and 3 feet broad, on which appears a rude representation of five mis-shapen toes and the side of a foot. Close behind this was a smaller, which I secured. These passages contain double, triple, and quadruple rows of fanes and niches, each containing a large figure of Buddha, accompanied with prodigious numbers of smaller dimensions.

"Near the entrance is an inscription in ancient Deva-Nagri character, upon a large slab of sand-stone, the letters of which are remarkably distinct, and the writing legible throughout, so far as has yet been cleared. The square courts in front of these buildings exhibit numerous traces of tesselated pavements, or mosaic work, of brick and stone; and some of the temples contain metallic images of Buddha, so large that the nail of his finger, in one instance, measures upwards of half a foot! The metal of which these stupendous idols are composed, seems an alloy resembling the *tutenague*, or white copper, so commonly made use of India. The bells in front of the pagoda are remarkably fine. One in particular is of immense size, and entirely covered with inscriptions in the Birman language." *

Arracan is situated in lat. 20° 40′ N., long. 93° 5′ E. The city stands about two tides' journey from the sea, on the west side of the Arracan river, which here expands to a noble sheet of water, although it has but a short course, rising in the hills to the N.E. The harbour, however, cannot be approached without hazard during the south-west monsoon, on account of

* Asiat. Journ., vol. xx. p. 695. The Rukheng is the more ancient and primitive dialect of the Birman, and the character is very similar.—See *Asiat. Res.*, vol. x. p. 222.

rocks and sands off its entrance. The climate has been reported to be salubrious, but the occupation of the city by the British troops was attended by a frightful mortality, and the stench of the forests after the rains have subsided, is described as most pestiferous.* Fowls of the finest breed, deer, and game of all kinds abound in the neighbourhood. Large herds of elephants inhabit the forests. The crops of grain appear to be abundant, if we may judge from the stores accumulated in the capital: about half a million *maunds* of paddy were found deposited in the fort of Arracan at the time of its capture by the British. The number of villages in Arracan Proper is about eighty.

The principal exports are bees' wax and ivory, brought from the inland country; salt, produced on the coast; rice, grown on the contiguous islands, which are highly fertile; small horses; lead, tin, and the precious metals. A considerable intercourse is carried on with the provinces of Bengal, especially Chittagong; and a general coasting-trade was maintained along this shore, during the north-west monsoon, from the ports of Henzawuddy and Martaban, to Chittagong, Dacca, and Calcutta. From forty to fifty boats of 500 *maunds* (of 80 lbs.) each, were annually fitted out at Arracan by merchants from Amarapura and

* According to a register published in the East India Gazette, the fall of rain at Arracan in the month of July, was nearly 60 inches: in August, it was rather more than 43½. A great deal had fallen previously in the months of April, May, and June. The rainy season in most parts of the tropics, yields from 100 to 115 inches of water; at Bombay, 106 inches. In the West of England, the mean quantity of rain that falls annually, is only 57 inches. The greatest height of the thermometer in July was 89°: in August, it rose to 94°. The *minimum* in these months was 77°. The weather in March also is usually very sultry, the thermometer frequently rising above 95° at noon, with a dry, hot wind, as at the commencement of the hot season in the upper provinces of India.

Chagaing, for the Bengal trade: * the cargo of each boat might amount to 4000 rupees, chiefly in silver bullion. One half of them regularly returned laden with red betel-nut, chiefly from Luckipoor, where the merchants farmed the plantations of this article.

The acquisition of Arracan must be considered as of immense importance. It gives us the undisputed possession of the whole coast of the Bay of Bengal, including a range of valuable harbours, and confers facilities for extending our commerce, which may be deemed alone sufficient to counterbalance the charges of the late war.

The once powerful monarchies of Magadha, Pegu, and Assam, have passed away; that of Siam is dwindled to the shadow of its ancient greatness; and now the Birman empire, which had swallowed up those rival states, and, like a mighty serpent gorged with its prey, was rendered powerless by its voracity, lies bleeding and dismembered. Deprived of the maritime provinces of Arracan, Mergui, and Tavoy, the sovereign of Ava can no longer lay claim to the title of lord of the waters: and it matters little what becomes of the white elephant. Buddhism may be considered as having already received its death blow. In Ceylon, it is fast giving way before the progress of education and the exertions of the missionaries, and the sacred language has, for the first time, been made to speak the oracles of God. Buddhic priests have been transformed into Christian clergymen, and Birmah may hereafter be indebted to that island which she has long regarded as the mother-land of her laws, literature, and reli-

* In the advance of the British forces to Prome, a large convoy of at least 400 bullocks, laden with commodities, was met proceeding to Arracan; and a deputation was sent to inquire of the British commander, whether the road was open for them.

gion, for missionaries of a purer faith. In the meantime, the results of the patient and exemplary labours of the American missionaries must not be lightly estimated. As pioneers in the work of civilization, they have done incalculable service. The number of professed converts may be inconsiderable,* but it is evident that they have done much towards undermining the prejudices of the natives, and wakening a spirit of intelligent inquiry among the higher orders. The impression of the superiority of the British in arts and arms, which our conquests cannot fail to produce, will not a little favour any attempts to impart to them the blessing of Christian instruction; while the more intimate commercial intercourse which promises to be carried on between British India and the Indo-Chinese nations, will inevitably lead to the most beneficial results. In Birmah, there is no intolerant sacerdotal caste to intercept the diffusion of knowledge; there, no shoodras are condemned to eternal mental bondage; nor is woman there reduced to a cipher or a slave. The machinery of instruction seems ready prepared in the national institutions, and the *zayats* may hereafter serve the same purpose as the Jewish synagogues in the Apostolic age. The costly war into which the British have been reluctantly forced, and which has shaken the Birman empire to its foundations, will, we doubt not, prove a benefit to that country, which it has laid open to the progress of knowledge and the

* In 1825, the first native Christian church established at Rangoon, consisted of eighteen baptised converts. Mr. Hough had retired to Serampore, where he was engaged in superintending the printing of Dr. Judson's revised translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew in the Birman language. The Serampore missionaries, it seems, have already established stations in Arracan, which bids fair to be a most important sphere of exertion and channel of communication.—*Miss. Reg.* Feb. 1826, p. 76.

spirit of enterprise; nor will an extension of the British territory and a crore of rupees be the only compensation gained by the dear-bought triumph of our arms. Its commercial and its moral results must be infinitely more important.*

* While these sheets have been passing through the press, despatches have been received, announcing the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Honourable Company and the Burmese Government, of which the terms are to the following effect:—"The four provinces of Arracan, and the provinces of Mergui, Tavoy, and Zea to be ceded in perpetuity to the Honourable Company, and the Burmese Government engage to pay the Honourable Company one crore of rupees by instalments. The provinces or kingdoms of Assam, Cachar, Zeatung (Sittong, Zeet-taung, Chitoung), and Munnipore, to be placed under princes to be named by the British Government. Residents, with an escort of fifty men, to be at each court. British ships to be admitted into Burmese ports, to land their cargoes free of duty, not to unship their rudders or land their guns. Burmese ships to have the same privilege in British ports. No person to be molested for their opinions or conduct during the war. The Siamese nation to be included in the peace." Dated Jan. 3, 1826.

END OF BIRMAH.

SIAM

SIAM.

[A kingdom lying between lat. 12° and 18° N., and long. 99° and 104° E.; bounded on the N. and W. by Birmah;* on the E. by Cambodia and Anam; on the S. by the Gulf of Siam.]

THE kingdom of Siam ranked at one period, in wealth and importance, at the head of the Indo-Chinese states. Though considerably reduced in its geographical limits, within the last fifty years, by the encroachments of the Birmans, it still extends over a vast and highly valuable tract of country, comprising the shores of the Gulf of Siam, and the grand valley of the Meinam. The name under which it is known, is said to be of Malay origin, and signifies black; an appellation probably derived from the colour of its rich alluvial soil.† The Siamese call themselves *T'hay* (or *Tai*), that is, Free-men or Franks. They are divided

* The northern boundaries of Siam appear not to be ascertained. In Hamilton's Gazetteer, Siam is stated to lie principally between the parallels of 10° and 15°; while Mr. Crawfurd makes it extend as far southward as lat. 7°, and its Malayan tributaries to 3°. To the northward, he says, the extreme confines of the Siamese territory extend, as far as could be learned, to lat. 25°.—*Asiat. Jour.* vol. xix. p. 12. The boundary of Siam Proper, however, has been understood to be a river that flows from the westward into the Meinam between lat. 17° and 18°.

† Plutarch informs us, that the priests of Isis called their country *Chemia*, Black, (evidently the same word as *Syama*,) from its rich, black soil. And it will appear that this is not the only remarkable coincidence between the valley of Egypt and that of "the Siamese Nile." The Peguans pronounce the word Tsiam. Sayammay or Chiamay is probably derived from the same word.

into two distinct tribes; the *T'hay J'hay*, or Great Tai, who inhabit the country between the Meinam and the Meikong, and the *Thay Noë*, or Little Tai, who, for the most part, inhabit the western bank of the Meinam, extending to the frontiers of Birmah, and who are at present the ruling race in Siam.* The former are the more ancient race; and they are the people once famous for their learning and the power of their empire. The records of their dynasty are supposed still to exist. The annals of the latter race are said to detail, with much minuteness and great exaggeration, the events which have happened in Siam and the adjacent states during the last 1000 years. They also, with less precision, go back 400 years earlier, to the building of the city *Maha Nakhon*. Their astronomical era, however, is said to correspond to A.D. 638.†

HISTORY OF SIAM.

WARS with Pegu and usurpations of the throne constitute the only leading features of Siamese history subsequently to the discovery of the country. In 1568, Chaumigren, king of Pegu, invaded Siam, and after scenes of carnage, its monarch became his tributary. On his death in 1583, the king of Siam, as well as the kings of Ava and Tonghoo revolted; and about 1600, after a series of desolating wars, succeeded in establishing their independence.‡ Early in the seven-

* Leyden. As. Res. vol. x. p. 241.

† See p. 104. M. Malte Brun, without stating his authority, says, that their first king began his reign about A.D. 756.

‡ "The Kingdom of Siam," says Le Blanc, "was subject to continual revolutions, till Bramaa, king of Pegu," (who is stated to have been the son of the conqueror Chaumigren,) "took occa-

teenth century, Rajah Hapi, or the black king, subdued the countries of Cambodia, Laos, Tenasserim, and several other states; but these conquests were not long retained, owing to the civil wars which ensued. Chaw Naraya, who ascended the throne in 1657, dissatisfied, as it should seem, with the conduct of his own priests, gave great encouragement to both Christians and Mohammedans to settle in his kingdom. It was in his reign that a series of romantic adventures placed an Ionian Greek at the head of the administration of an Indo-Chinese kingdom.

Constantine Phalcon, a native of Cephalonia, of a noble Venetian family, but reduced to poverty, being compelled to seek his fortune in foreign lands, came to England in the year 1660, where his talents soon recommended him to employment. He was sent out to India, whence, having entered the service of a respectable merchant of the name of White, he passed into Siam. He gradually acquired property sufficient to freight some ships, but disasters attended his course, and he was at length wrecked on the coast of Malabar, and lost every thing except about 2,000 crowns. Here, however, by one of those strange turns of fortune which sometimes make history read like fiction, he fell in with a fellow-sufferer, who proved to be no less important a personage than an ambassador from the king of Siam to the shah of Persia. Phalcon, being able to speak Siamese, offered his services to convey back the envoy to Siam, which were gladly accepted; and the grateful noble recommended him so warmly to his master, that

sion to besiege Odiaa" (Yuthia or Yoodra); "but leaving his life in the siege, his successor demolished the town, and obtained the white elephant. Since then, Siam hath revenged herself upon Pegu."

the Greek soon became the favourite, and, in effect, the prime minister of the sovereign.

Such was the state of things when, in 1685, a French embassy, attended by six Jesuits and a body of French soldiers, arrived at Bankok, the capital, to convert the king of Siam to the Christian faith, and lay the foundations of a Gallic-Indian empire. With the view of carrying into effect his ulterior designs, Phalcon had opened a trade with France; and under the pretext of protecting the navigation of the Gulf of Siam against the Dutch, he procured the introduction of a French garrison into the strong ports of Bankok and Mergui. He secured the warm support of the Jesuits by renouncing the Protestant for the Popish faith; and so great was the ascendancy he had obtained over the mind of Chaw Naraya, that, at his instigation, more than three hundred nobles were put to death, to clear the way for his ambitious plans. By these atrocious measures, Phalcon could not fail to render himself the object of universal hatred to the Siamese, who saw with indignation their seminaries filled with foreign teachers, and their cities with European troops. A dangerous illness which attacked the king at Lou-oo, his favourite hunting-seat, to the north of Yuthia, enabled them to mature their plans for ridding themselves of the foreigners. At the head of the conspiracy was a foster-brother of Chaw Naraya's, named Oc-pra Pecherachas, or Pitrachas; an individual whose professed zeal for the national faith secured the attachment of all the *talapoins* or priests, and he is said to have been at the same time highly popular. Phalcon, having received intelligence of his designs, immediately sent orders to the French commander at Bankok to advance with a strong detachment to Lou-oo; but, on reaching Yuthia, through

which it was necessary to pass, the French found the gates shut and the country in arms. Pitrachas was already in possession of the palace, and at the head of an army; and the wretched adventurer fell, without a struggle, into the hands of his enemy. After enduring dreadful tortures, he was beheaded. The adopted son and declared heir of Chaw Naraya was the next victim: he was put into a scarlet sack, and beaten to death with clubs of sandal wood.* The brothers of the king shared the same fate; and on the day following their execution, disease saved the usurper the additional crime of removing by violent means the unhappy monarch himself: he expired in the thirty-second year of his reign.

The Jesuits and the French troops, it may easily be conceived, would not be very desirous to prolong their residence in a country where they had now neither allies nor protectors. They were glad to come to an arrangement, which provided for their undisturbed retreat and embarkation, but denounced, as the only alternative, the penalty of death. Thus were the crafty schemes of the French monarch rendered abortive, and, as M. Malte Brun expresses it, "the connexion with France was broken off."†

* This inhuman mode of execution was probably adopted to save the shedding of royal blood.

† There can be no doubt that the priests had a principal hand in this rebellion. A report had been spread, that the king had shewn a disposition to embrace the Christian religion. The Jesuits indeed state, that they had no ground to entertain such an expectation, and that Constantine had assured them, that such an idea was wholly out of the question. A speech, however, is attributed to him, in which he expressed his disbelief in the doctrine of metempsychosis, and his belief in one Eternal God. It is difficult to reconcile the representations made as to the enlightened and patriotic character of this prince, with the cruelties of which, at the

Pitrachas, when seated on the throne, is stated to have conducted himself with prudence and lenity. The reign of his successor was marked by two calamitous events. In 1717, he invaded Cambodia with an army of 50,000 men, half of whom perished for want of provisions; and some time after, a season of extraordinary drought, causing, probably, a failure of the annual inundation, led to a famine, by which Siam was to a great extent depopulated. This monarch died in 1748, at an advanced age, and was succeeded by his son Chaw-Oual-Padou, in whose reign took place the first Birman invasion, under the famous Alom-praw. The death of that enterprising chief at that time saved the capital, but in 1767, Shembuan-praw took Yuthia by assault, and made the king of Siam his prisoner.* Peya-tac, the son of a wealthy Chinese by a Siamese woman, who had risen from a humble office in the palace to be governor of the province of Muong-tac, having taken refuge in Chantibond, was soon in a condition to make head against the enemy; and he at length succeeded in expelling the Birmans from the valley of the Meinam. Having declared himself king, he removed the capital to Bankok, which he fortified, and where he built a palace, which is still to be seen. Every second or third year, he was involved in war with his restless and ambitious neighbours, the Birmans, whom he uniformly repulsed; and he not only recovered all the former Siamese territories, but extended them. Appreciating the superior industry of his countrymen, the Chinese, he granted them pecu-

instigation of Constantine, he is said to have been guilty, and which may be thought, after all, to have had as much share in producing the rebellion, as his supposed heterodoxy.

* See p. 30.

liar privileges, as an inducement to settle in his dominions; and they came in such swarms, that a third of the population of Siam is now said to be Chinese. Pe-ya-tac conducted himself for some time with exemplary moderation, and his memory is still honoured for his regard of justice. In the latter part of his reign, however, a sordid avarice took possession of his mind, and impelled him to the commission of several acts of cruelty. The natural consequence was a conspiracy, headed by the father of the late monarch,* who, having put to death the tyrant, took possession of the undisputed throne. He died in 1782.

The first public act of his son and successor was an inauspicious commencement of his reign. He was scarcely seated on the throne, when he put to death his nephew Chaw Pha, with upwards of a hundred nobles, who were supposed to be in his interest. The odium occasioned by this sanguinary proceeding, he contrived to avert by his subsequent good conduct; but he was probably indebted, in no small degree, to incessant wars with the Birmans for the domestic tranquillity of his reign. It is understood that, since Mr. Crawfurd's mission to Siam in 1821, he has been succeeded by his illegitimate son, Chroma Chit, who commenced his reign by allowing a general freedom of trade to both his subjects and foreigners, except in the articles of fire-arms, opium, and a few other royal monopolies.

As the greater part of our information respecting the present state of Siam is derived from the published accounts of the mission, from the Governor-general of India to the court of Bankok, in 1821, we shall now

* The monarch who was reigning in 1822, at the time of Mr. Crawfurd's mission.

proceed to give, in connexion with a narrative of that mission, a description of the capital.*

On the 21st of November, 1821, the "Agent," Mr. Crawford, with the other gentlemen attached to the mission, (the object of which was to open a friendly intercourse for the purpose of trade between the two countries,) embarked at Calcutta, and on the 21st of March following, they cast anchor off the coast of Siam. They had to send for a pilot to Packnam, † a village at the mouth of the river; and it was not till the 25th, that they attempted to cross the bar. They succeeded in clearing the sand-bank, but the ship stuck in a bar of mud, on which, at ebb tide, there are only six feet water. Towards evening, as the tide rose, the vessel got afloat again; and after passing two or three short reaches, they cast anchor opposite to Packnam. At its mouth, the river, which forms an angle with the entrance to the harbour, is about a mile and a half in breadth; it diminishes to about three quarters of a mile at Packnam, but is very deep: the banks are low and wooded. At this village, near a Buddhic monastery, there is a battery consisting of ten or twelve iron guns, mounted on decayed carriages, half sunk into the earth, and unserviceable. The houses extend in a straggling line for several miles along the banks, and there are some handsome temples. As they ascended the river, the banks still continued very low, but, being thickly planted with the *attap*, they had rather a picturesque appearance. In the back-

* See "The Mission to Siam and Hué. From the Journal of the late George Finlayson, Esq., Surgeon and Naturalist to the Mission. With a Memoir by Sir T. S. Raffles, F.R.S." London, 1826. Also, Asiat. Jour., vol. xix. p. 12.

† This word, of frequent occurrence in Siam as the name of a place, apparently signifies the mouth of a river.

ground, the betel-palm was seen growing in great abundance,—it is supposed spontaneously. Besides these, the jungle consisted of various species of calamus, bamboo, and long grass. Further up, extensive plains opened to view, occupying the left bank of the river, now between eight and ten feet above the level of the stream. In the rainy season, these plains are covered by the inundation to the depth of two or three feet, and are therefore well adapted for the cultivation of rice. Between them and the river, there is a narrow strip of jungle, and small houses or huts, built on piles, are interspersed along the bank, amid extensive plantations of areca-palm and plantain, with a few cocoa-nut trees. The opposite bank is covered with jungle.* The banks are tolerably steep, with very deep water, from thirty to sixty feet near their edge; the mud stiff and plastic. At night they were molested by mosquitoes.

As they approached Bankok, the next morning, the river assumed a very lively aspect. Canoes and small covered boats were plying in all directions. "The market hour was now approaching, and all seemed life and activity. Here, one or more of the priests of Buddha were guiding their little canoe on its diurnal eleemosynary excursion: there, an old woman hawked betel, plantains, or pumpkins. Here, you saw canoes laden with cocoa-nuts: there, groupes of natives were proceeding from house to house on their various occupations. But the most singular feature in the busy scene was the appearance of the houses, floating on the water, in rows about eight, ten, or more, in depth from the bank. This novel appearance was peculiarly

* Mr Finlayson noticed here, the adjutant and several species of *falco*, a beautiful species of pigeon, and the blue jay of Bengal.

neat and striking. The houses were built of boards, of a neat oblong form, and towards the river were provided with a covered platform, on which were displayed numerous articles of merchandise, fruit, rice, meat, &c. This was, in fact, a floating bazar, in which all the various products of China and of the country were exposed for sale. At either end, the houses were bound to long bamboos driven into the river. They are thus enabled to move from place to place, according as convenience may demand. Every house is furnished with a small canoe, in which they visit and go from place to place to transact business. Almost all those collected in this quarter seem to be occupied by merchants, many of them very petty no doubt, and by tradespeople, as shoe-makers, tailors, &c. The latter occupations are followed almost exclusively by the Chinese. The houses are in general very small, consisting of a principal centre room, and one or two small ones, the centre being open in front, for the display of their wares. The houses are from twenty to thirty feet in length, and about half that space in breadth. They consist of a single stage, the floor raised above the water about a foot, and the roof thatched with palm-leaves. At low water, when the stream is rapid, there appears to be but little business done in these shops. Their proprietors are then to be seen lolling or sleeping in front of their warehouses, or otherwise enjoying themselves at their ease. At all hours of the day, however, many boats are passing and repassing. They are so light and sharp in their form, that they mount rapidly against the stream. They are rowed with paddles, of which the long canoes have often eight or ten on each side. The number of Chinese appears to be very considerable; they display the same activity and industry here that they do

wherever they are to be found. Their boats are generally larger, and rowed by longer paddles. They have a sort of cabin, made of basket-work, in the centre, which serves to contain their effects, and answers the purposes of a house. Many of them carry pieces of fresh pork up and down the river for sale."

BANKOK.

THE Mei-nam, at Bankok, is about a quarter of a mile in breadth, not including the space on each side occupied by floating houses; its depth, close to the bank, varies from six to ten fathoms; its current is about three miles an hour. It brings down a large volume of water, containing a considerable proportion of soft mud. The fort and palace of Pe-ya-tac are on the right bank of the river: they have a mean and paltry appearance. The palace of the present king is situated on the left bank, nearly opposite, upon a narrow island between two and three miles in length. "This palace, and indeed almost the whole island, is surrounded with a wall, in some places of considerable height, with indifferent-looking bastions here and there, and numerous gates. The persons attached to the court reside here in wretched huts made of palm-leaves. There is, in fact, but little distinction between this place and other parts of the town, except that you see few Chinese there, and that the shops are of inferior quality. The greater part, however, of the space included by the wall, consists of waste ground, swamps, and fruit-gardens.

"The city is continuous with the palace, extending on both sides of the river to the distance of three or four miles; but it lies principally on the left bank. The town is built entirely of wood; the palaces of the

king, the temples, and the houses of a few chiefs being alone constructed of brick or mud walls. From the great length which it occupies along the banks of the river, it might be supposed to be a place of vast extent; this, however, is not the case. The Siamese may be said to be aquatic in their disposition. The houses rarely extend more than one or two hundred yards from the bank of the river; and by far the greater number of them are floating on bamboo rafts, secured close to the bank. The houses that are not so floated, are built on posts driven into the mud, and raised above the bank; a precaution rendered necessary both by the diurnal tides and by the annual inundation. To every house, whether floating or not, there is attached a boat, generally very small, for the use of the family. There is little travelling but what is performed by water; and hence the arms both of the women and the men acquire a large size from the constant habit of rowing.

"The few streets that Bankok boasts, are passable on foot only in dry weather; the principal shops, however, and the most valuable merchandise, are found along the river in the floating houses, occupied almost exclusively by Chinese. The greatest uniformity prevails in the appearance of the houses. A handsome spire here and there serves to enliven the view; and these are the only ornaments which can be said to produce this effect, for the singular architecture displayed in the construction of the temples and palaces, can hardly be considered in this light.

"The floating-houses, like every other building in the place, consist of one floor only. The houses generally have a neat appearance; they are, for the most part, thatched with palm-leaves, but sometimes with

tiles. They are divided into several small apartments, of which the Chinese always allot the central one for the reception of their household gods. The shops, forming one side of the house, being shut up at night, are converted into sleeping apartments. The whole is disposed with the greatest economy of space; even the narrow verandahs in front, on which are usually disposed jars of water, pots with herbs and plants, bundles of firewood, &c. They have become so habituated to this sort of aquatic life, as scarcely to experience any inconvenience from it. The walls and floors of the houses are formed of boards; and considering the nature of the climate, such buildings afford very comfortable shelter. The houses of the common people are equally wretched in appearance with those of a common bazar in India. Those occupied by the Chinese are in general neater and more comfortable. The latter people are not only the principal merchants, but the only artificers in the place. The most common trades are those of tinsmith, blacksmith, and currier. The manufacture of tin vessels is very considerable, and the utensils, being polished bright, and often of very handsome forms, give an air of extreme neatness to the shops in which they are displayed. Were it not for the very extraordinary junction of the trade of currier, such places might readily be mistaken for silversmiths' shops.

"The palaces are buildings of inconsiderable size, in the Chinese style, covered with a diminishing series of three or four tiled roofs, sometimes terminated by a small spire; they are more remarkable for singularity than beauty. The palace of the king is covered with tin tiles. Many of the temples cover a large extent of ground: they are placed in the most elevated and best

situations, surrounded with brick walls or bamboo hedges, and the enclosure contains numerous rows of buildings, disposed in straight lines. They consist of one spacious and, in general, lofty hall, with narrow but numerous doors and windows. Both the exterior and interior are studded over with a profusion of minute and singular ornaments of the most varied description. It is on the ends, and not on the sides of the exterior of the building, that the greatest care has been bestowed in the disposition of the ornaments. A profusion of gilding, bits of looking-glass, China basins of various colours, stuck into the plaster, are amongst the most common materials. The floor of the temple is elevated several feet above the ground, and generally boarded or paved, and covered with coarse mats. The wildest stories of Hindoo theology figure on the walls. Sometimes, the painter's hand, by accident, perhaps, more than design, has portrayed human passions with a degree of spirit and of truth worthy of better subjects.* At one end of the temple, a sort of altar is raised, on which is placed the principal figure of Buddha, surrounded by innumerable smaller ones, and by those of priests; and here and there is disposed the figure of a deceased king, distinguished by his tall, conical cap, peculiar physiognomy, and rich costume. The figures of Buddha have a cast of the Tartar countenance, particularly the eye of that race. It will scarcely be credited how numerous are the images of Buddha in the temples. They are disposed with unsparing profusion on the altar, of all sizes, from one inch to thirty feet in height. In the

* Here, for the first time, Mr. Finlayson observed obscene paintings in a temple dedicated to Buddha. "In Ceylon, they would have been deemed altogether profane."

outer courts of the temple, they are disposed in still greater number.*.....The expense in *gilding* alone (for every image is gilt) must be great.

" The arrangement observed in the *Wăăt-thay-cham-ponn*, may be given as an instance of what occurs in the rest. This consists of a number of temples, *pra-cha-dis*, and buildings allotted for the accommodation of priests, enclosed in an ample square, rather more than a quarter of a mile on each side. The principal temples are further surrounded by a piazza, open only towards the temple, and about twelve or fifteen feet in breadth, and well paved. Against the back wall, a stout platform of masonry extends round the temple, on which are placed gilded figures of Buddha, for the most part considerably larger than the human size, and so close to each other as to leave no vacant place on the platform. Of these statues, the greater number are made of cast iron; others are made of brass, others of wood or of clay, and all with careful uniformity. Several hundreds of such images are thus seen at one glance of the eye. In other and less spacious passages, minor figures, chiefly of clay or wood, are heaped together in endless numbers. They would appear to accumulate so fast, that it seems probable, the priests are at times reduced to the necessity of demolishing hosts of them. The apartments allotted for the accommodation of the priests are clean, neat, substantial, and comfortable, without ornament or superfluity. The pra-cha-di of this temple is the handsomest of the kind in Bankok, and is deserving of notice on account of its architectural beauty.

" The pra-cha-di,† called, by the Buddhists of

* See page 255.

† Mr. Finlayson interprets this word, " the roof of the pra or lord." Sir Thomas Raffles suggests, that both in their character as a

Ceylon, *dagoba*, is a solid building of masonry, without aperture or inlet of any sort, however large it may be. It is generally built in the neighbourhood of some temple, but is not itself an object or a place of worship, being always distinct from the temple itself. In its origin, it would appear to have been sepulchral, and destined to commemorate either the death of Buddha, or his translation into heaven. Even at the present time, these ornamental buildings are thought to contain some relic of Buddha. This one in particular makes a light and handsome appearance: the lower part consists of a series of dodecahedral terraces, diminishing gradually to nearly one half of the whole heighth, where they are succeeded by a handsome spire, fluted longitudinally, and ornamented with numerous circular mouldings. The minor ornaments are numerous, and towards the summit there is a small globe of glass. The total height would appear to be about 250 feet from the ground. Minor edifices of this sort are common in every temple. They are in general raised upon a base of twelve sides, but sometimes of eighteen."

Mr. Finlayson describes a temple which they visited, at a short distance from the hall of audience,—a pyramidal structure, its point terminating in a slender spire about 200 feet high. The interior is a lofty chamber, nearly fifty feet square, paved with stones. In the centre were placed, on irregular stages, countless images of Buddha, intermixed with bits of looking-glass, scraps of gilded paper, and Chinese paintings: the whole was surmounted with a figure of Buddha, about a foot and a half high, of some sort of stone,—

sepulchral shrine, and in their form, the pyramid and the dagoba seem to coincide.

Mr. Finlayson supposes, Chinese figure-stone, or heliotrope. There was nothing in the shape of an altar. The strangers were followed into the temple by a crowd of idlers, whose noisy indecorum shewed little reverence for the place. A paved arcade surrounds the temple, the walls of which are covered with rude paintings of subjects taken from the Ramayana. In the same enclosure there is a small handsome building, also of a pyramidal form, in which are deposited the royal collection of sacred books. A flight of steps leads to it, which, as well as the floor, is covered with plates of tin. The books, which appear to be not very numerous, are contained in a cabinet ornamented with small pieces of mother-of-pearl. At each of the principal gates of this enclosure, stand gigantic earthen images, of grotesque form, with clubs in their hands; and at each angle of the temple, are brass figures of a nondescript animal, somewhat resembling a lion. Besides these, there are other figures of clay, paltry in appearance and absurd in design. Altogether, in the style of their architecture, sculpture, painting, and decoration, the Siamese appeared to Mr. Finlayson to be far behind the rude inhabitants of Ceylon.

The description given of the royal levee, at which the Agent of the Governor-general was presented to his majesty of Siam, exhibits the same ceremonials, but on a far less magnificent scale, that are observed at the court of Ava.* The reception given to Mr.

* The hall was lofty and about 60 feet in length, supported by wooden pillars, ten on each side, painted spirally red and dark green. The ceiling and walls were also painted with wreaths and festoons in various colours. Some small and paltry mirrors were disposed on the walls; glass lustres and wall-shades were hung in the centre; and to the middle of each pillar was attached a lantern, not much better than our stable lanterns. The floor was carpeted. A large and handsome cloth curtain, covered with tinsel or gold

Crawfurd was pointedly disrespectful. Indeed, it was afterwards distinctly intimated to him, that the mission had been received by the king as a deputation from a provincial government. Unfortunately, this gentleman arrived in the country totally unacquainted with the manners of the people and the etiquette of the court; and he unwittingly laid himself open to this contemptuous treatment, by entering into negotiations with persons of no authority, and trusting to verbal communications carried on by means of a low and artful fellow, a Malay. With singular indiscretion, also, he gave up the Governor-general's letter to an officer of subordinate rank, and he submitted to be lodged in a species of out-house. No person of rank waited upon him; and even the Portuguese consul excused himself, on the pretence that Mr. Crawfurd had not yet been presented at court; yet, he consented to visit the minister and Prince Chroma-chit, on which occasion his own interpreters were excluded. When at length they were admitted to an audience, his majesty appeared without his crown; a few only of the presents from the Governor-general were exhibited, and no notice whatever was taken of the letter of the noble marquess. On leaving the hall, they were compelled to retrace their steps barefoot through muddy paths; and for a royal present, they each re-

leaf, hung before the arched niche in which was placed the throne, raised about twelve feet above the floor. The appearance of the king strongly reminded Mr. Finlayson of an image of Buddha, and the breathless silence of the prostrate multitude corresponded to the idea of religious worship. Indeed, Buddha himself does not receive such reverential homage from his votaries. When the king rose to go, all the people raised a shout, and turning on their knees, touched with both hands the earth and their forehead alternately. This shout of adoration recalls the abject adulation offered by the Tyrians to Herod, as recorded, Acts, xii. 22.

ceived a paltry Chinese umbrella, which might have been purchased in the bazar for a rupee. All this might have been expected from the known character and customs of the Indo-Chinese courts; and indeed, the treatment which Col. Symes met with, and more especially Capt. Cox, at Amarapura, might have put Mr. Crawfurd upon his guard against degrading concessions in the first instance. A mercantile agent would naturally be looked upon in a very contemptuous light by these haughty courts, and by the Portuguese and Malay traders with any but friendly feelings. Mr. Crawfurd's mission failed in every respect. They were received with coldness, treated with contempt, and dismissed with indifference.

They had been at Bankok about a month, when it so happened that a Cochin-Chinese embassy arrived at Packnam; and now, they had the mortification of beholding how the court of Siam was accustomed to receive the recognised representative of an equal state. Notice of his arrival having been transmitted to the court, the chief of Packnam was ordered to entertain the ambassador, while preparations were made for conducting him in due form to the capital. The festivities lasted for several days, consisting of scenic representations, musical entertainments, and gymnastic exercises. At the end of a week, all things being ready, he embarked with his train, and proceeded by easy stages up the river. "The scene," says Mr. Finlayson, "was interesting beyond expectation; it was both beautiful and picturesque. The rapidity with which the boats and barges moved, the order and regularity with which innumerable rowers raised and depressed their paddles, guided by the shrill notes of a song that might well be deemed barbarous, together with the singular and barbaric forms, the

brilliant colours, the gilded canopies of the boats, the strange and gaudy attire of the men, the loud and reiterated acclamations of innumerable spectators,—gave to the transient scene an effect not easily described.

"It was now, for the first time, that we had an opportunity of seeing those singular and highly-ornamented royal barges which had attracted the attention of M. Chaumont and his suite, ambassador to Siam from the court of Louis XIV. The description given of them by Loubére, in his *Histoire de Siam*, will, with very little alteration, apply to those now in use. They are in general from sixty to eighty feet, or more, in length, about four in breadth, and raised about two feet in the middle from the water, the bow and stern rising boldly to a considerable height. They are highly ornamented with curious and not inelegant devices, all of which are neatly carved on the wood and gilt. The form is that of some monstrous or imaginary animal. In the centre there is erected a canopy, generally well gilt, and hung with silken curtains, or cloth interwoven with gold tissue. The space under the canopy is calculated to contain but one or two persons, the rest of the boat being entirely occupied by the rowers, often to the number of forty or fifty.

"The procession moved in the following order: Four long boats in front, with numerous rowers, dressed in red jackets, and wearing tall conical caps of the same colour. These boats were covered with a light awning of mats. Six richly-ornamented boats, with gilded canopies, in the form of a dome, and richly carved. In these were the assistants and suite of the ambassador. Each boat carried two small brass swivels in front: the men were dressed as in the

former. About forty rowers were in each boat. A very handsome, richly-ornamented barge, with a gilt canopy of a conical shape, and rich curtains, in which was the ambassador, bearing the letter from the king of Cochin-China. Four or six boats similar to those in front.

"In the course of a few days after his arrival at Bankok, he was admitted to an audience of the king, without going through those forms which had been pointed out as necessary to be observed by the Agent to the Governor-general. The Cochin-Chinese ambassador neither visited the Prince Chroma-Chit, nor his deputy the Pra-Klapg, Suri-Wong, before he had obtained an audience of the king.

"The ambassador was carried to the palace by his own followers in a palanquin, preceded by a number of armed men. He got out of his vehicle at the inner gate, and walking up to the hall of audience without laying aside his shoes, took his seat in the place allotted to him, taking his own interpreter along with him."*

* M. de Chaumont, the ambassador from Louis XIV. in 1685, made still higher terms for the mission, insisting upon keeping on their shoes, contrary to all oriental etiquette, and also upon delivering the letter into the king's own hands, instead of entrusting it to one of the officers. The ambassador, having entered and found the king seated, made three bows in the course of his advance; then began his speech, after two or three words of which, he put on his hat, and delivered the rest sitting and covered. He then rose to give the letter; but it appeared to him that the king's position was much higher than had been stipulated, or than would admit of his delivering the letter without stretching his person in a manner unsuitable to his dignity. He therefore formed the bold resolution not to lift the letter higher than himself. Constantine, the minister, who was lying on his hands and feet, implored him to raise his arm; but the ambassador was deaf; and at last the king, *laughing*, stooped and took the gold box in which the letter was contained. He then conversed for about an hour with great affability,

The chief pride of the court of Siam still consists in its elephants; but a white elephant is no longer so great a rarity as to claim to be worshipped as a divine phenomenon, an object of contention between rival powers. Instead of one white elephant, and that an old and sorry one, which the French mission saw, attended by a hundred servants, his Siamese majesty now possesses no fewer than *five*. This, however, is regarded as a most singularly auspicious and extraordinary circumstance. A white elephant is still reckoned above all value, and a subject can perform no service more gratifying to the monarch than that of securing one. All elephants, as in Birmah, are the sacred property of the crown.

"The appellation white, however," says Mr. Finlayson, "as applied to the elephant, must be received with some degree of limitation: the animal is in fact an occasional variety, of less frequent occurrence indeed, but in every respect analogous to what occurs in other orders of animals, and, amongst the rest, in the human species. They are, correctly speaking, albinos, and are possessed of all the peculiarities of that abnormal production; but of these *white* elephants, it was remarkable that the organ of sight was, to all appearance, natural and sound, in no way intolerant of light, readily accommodating itself to the different degrees of light and shade, and capable of being steadily directed to objects at the will of the

and made many inquiries about the affairs of France. All the mandarins in the hall remained flat with their faces to the ground, so long as the king was present. In Siam, every man is doomed to crawl before his superior. The servant crawls before the master, the master before the grandee, the grandee before the prince; and thus, the greatest men are doomed to take their turn of groveling. In Siam, as in Birmah, it is unlawful to speak of the king *by name*, and wives never pronounce the names of their lords.

animal; in short, similar in all respects to that of the common elephant, with the exception of the iris, which was of a pure white colour. In this respect, they resembled all the quadrupedal albinos that I had hitherto seen, as those among horses, cows, rabbits. This circumstance I should scarcely have thought worth the noticing, were it not that I shall have occasion to mention in the sequel an instance of an animal of the albino kind, possessed of the peculiar eye of the human albino. In one or two of the elephants, the colour was strictly white, and in all of them, the iris was of that colour, as well as the margins of the eye-lids; in the rest, the colour had a cast of pink in it. The hairs upon the body were for the most part yellowish, but much more scanty, finer, and shorter than in other elephants; the strong hairs of the tail were darker, but still of a yellowish colour. In none did the colour and texture of the skin appear entirely healthy. In some, the cuticular texture of the legs was interspersed with glandular knobs, which gave a deformed appearance to these members. In others, the skin of the body was uncommonly dry, while the natural wrinkles were unusually large, secreted an acrid-like fluid, and seemed ready to burst out into disease. These beasts were all of small size, but in excellent condition; and one of them was even handsome. They were treated with the greatest attention, each having several keepers attached to him. Fresh-cut grass was placed in abundance by their side; they stood on a small boarded platform, kept clean; a white cloth was spread before them; and while we were present, they were fed with sliced sugar-cane, and bunches of plantains.*

* When the King of Pegu was at the zenith of his power, the undisputed Lord of the White Elephant, the sacred animals, we are

" In the same place we observed rather a fine-looking elephant, but a small one, which appeared to me to be a greater object of curiosity than any of the others. This animal was covered all over with black spots, about the size of a pea, upon a white base. It is not unusual to observe a partial degree of this spotted appearance in the elephant of Bengal, as on the forehead and trunk of the animal; but in this instance, the skin was entirely covered with them.

" The greatest regard is entertained in Siam for the white elephant. He who discovers one, is regarded as the most fortunate of mortals. The event is of that importance, that it may be said to constitute an

told, were served in vessels of vermilion; musical instruments preceded their steps when they went forth to take exercise or to drink; and when they came up from the stream, a royal attendant washed their feet in a golden basin! In Hamilton's description of Hindostan, there is an account of the household establishment of the white elephant belonging to the Emperor of Birmah, which goes even beyond this in absurdity. The sacred animal had his regular cabinet, composed of a *woongee*, a *woondock*, a *serogee*, a *nalchaan*, and various subordinate officers. Presents of muslins, chintzes, and silks, were regularly made to him by all foreign ambassadors. His residence, it is said, " is contiguous to the royal palace, with which it is connected by a long, open gallery, supported by numerous wooden pillars, at the further end of which a curtain of black velvet, embossed with gold, conceals the august animal from the eyes of the vulgar; and before this curtain the offerings intended for him are displayed. His dwelling is a lofty hall, covered with splendid gilding both inside and out, and supported by sixty-four pillars, half of which are elegantly gilded. To two of these his fore feet are fixed by silver chains, while his hind ones are secured by links of a baser material. His bed consists of a thick mattrass covered with blue cloth, over which another of a softer composition is spread, covered with crimson silk. His trappings are very magnificent, being gold, studded with large diamonds, pearls, sapphires, rubies, and other precious stones. His betel-box, spitting-basin, ancle-rings, and the vessel out of which he feeds, are likewise all of gold, inlaid with precious stones; and his attendants and guards amount to one thousand persons."

era in the annals of the nation. The fortunate discoverer is rewarded with a crown of silver, and with a grant of land equal in extent to the space of country at which the elephants' cry may be heard. He and his family, to the third generation, are exempted from all sorts of servitude, and their land from taxation.

"The next and only other animals that we saw here, are certainly of very rare occurrence, and objects of great curiosity. These were two white monkeys, perfect albinos in every respect. They are about the size of a small dog, furnished with a tail about as long as the body. They are thickly covered with fur, which is as white as snow, or that of the whitest rabbit. The lips, eyelids, and feet are distinguished by the inanimate whiteness of the skin noticed in the human albino; while the general appearance of the iris, the eye, and even the countenance, the intolerance of the light, the unsettled air they assumed, and the grimace they affected, afforded so many points of resemblance between them and that unhappy variety of our species, as rendered the sight disgusting and humiliating. One who had seen a perfect albino of the human species, would find it impossible to separate the impression of his appearance from that of the animals now before us. These had but little of the vivacity or mischievous disposition for which this tribe is so remarkable. All their movements, all their attitudes, had for their apparent object the lessening of the effect of light and glare, towards which they always turn their backs. Their eye-brows seemed pursed up and contracted, the pupils were of a light rose-colour, the irides of a very pale cast of blue. One was very old, and had but few teeth in his head. His lips were besides remarkably thick, and apparently diseased. The other was much younger.

"It did not appear that they were held in any degree of veneration by the Siamese: we learned that they were placed here from superstitious motives, with the object, as they said, of preventing evil spirits from killing the white elephants."*

There are no data which enable us to estimate the population of Bankok. At least one half are supposed to be Chinese; the remainder consist of Siamese, native Christians,† Birmans, Peguans, Malays, and Laos, — probably the same people as the Tai-yay, or Northern Siamese. These different classes occupy distinct portions of the town, and associate only with their countrymen. The population of the kingdom of Siam was computed, in 1750, to amount to something short of two millions of adults, which would give a population of between three and four millions; but no dependence can be placed on the estimate. Since then, Siam has been deprived of a very large and important portion of territory. On the other hand, the

* About two years before, the king was stated to have had in his possession, an albino of the deer kind; and albinos among buffaloes are, Mr. Finlayson says, not uncommon in Siam or in the Malay Islands. "How far the habit is developed by peculiarity of climate, it is difficult to determine. The geographical limits within which this variety occurs with unwonted frequency, are not very extensive." All the elephants which he saw here, were smaller than the Ceylon elephant, but of handsomer shape; their tusks were also shorter, and less curved. The royal tiger is very commonly to be met with in the interior; the black tiger is by no means rare; and the leopard is common. The bones of the tiger, to which medical virtues are ascribed, are, as well as skins, a considerable article of trade with China.

† Chiefly the descendants of Portuguese settlers, a degraded and despised class, who are found throughout the coasts of Hindostan and Indo-China, but who, as interpreters, form a valuable link of communication. They speak Portuguese, in general, with ease and fluency, and may be considered as forming a caste or nation almost as distinct as the Armenians or Jews.

eastern province of Chantibond, acquired from Cambodia, is supposed to contain nearly a million; but others reckon it under half that number.

Before we take leave of the capital, we shall gather up a few additional scattered notices relating to the national customs and physical character.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Mr. Finlayson describes the Siamese physiognomy as characterised by a remarkably large face, the forehead very broad, prominent on each side, and the hairy scalp descending unusually low, so as to cover in some the whole of the temples; the cheek-bones are large, wide, and prominent; but the most remarkable peculiarity is the extraordinary size of the back part of the lower jaw, which has almost the effect, on a careless inspection, of a swelling of the parotid gland. A similar appearance is often observable in Malays. The eyes are small and oblique; the mouth is large; the lips thick; the beard scanty; the hair thick, coarse, lank, and uniformly black, and both sexes wear it cut so short behind, as only to reach the tops of the ears, but leave a short tuft on the head, which they comb backward. The people generally go naked from the waist upwards, sometimes throwing a piece of cloth over the shoulders. The younger women fasten a short piece of cloth round the chest, leaving the shoulders and arms bare. From the loins to the knee, they wrap round them a piece of coloured cloth, generally blue, over which the better sort wear a piece of Chinese crape, or a shawl. Both the head and the feet are generally bare. Those who use papouches, or slippers, invariably lay them aside on entering their dwellings, and never wear them in the presence of

their superiors or of the priests. The mandarins wear, besides the loin-cloth, (called by the Portuguese *pagne*, from the Latin *pannus*,) which is generally black, a muslin shirt or vest, and, on days of ceremony, a high conical cap, somewhat resembling the king's; only that his is encircled with jewellery, while their respective rank is indicated by circles of gold, silver, or vermilion.

"The skin of the Siamese is of a lighter colour than in the generality of Asiatics to the west of the Ganges, by far the greater number being of a yellow complexion; a colour which, in the higher ranks, and particularly among women and children, they take pleasure in heightening by the use of a bright yellow wash or cosmetic, so that their bodies are often rendered of a golden colour. The texture of the skin is remarkably smooth, soft, and shining."*

The Siamese women are represented by M. Loubére as both cleanly and modest. They are fond to excess of the bath, using it repeatedly in the twenty-four hours, and they are generally excellent swimmers, but they never lay aside the *pagne*. They never make a visit of ceremony without a previous ablution. They use perfumes, and apply a paste to their lips, which increases their natural pallidness, in order, it may be presumed, to set off their blackened teeth.

The food of the Siamese consists chiefly of rice, which is eaten with a substance called *balachong*, "a strange compound of things savoury and loathsome, but in such general use, that no one thinks of eating without some portion of it." Their religion, as in the

* This fondness for a golden complexion is not peculiar to the Indo-Chinese. Van Egmont tells us, that the Greek ladies at Smyrna, on high occassions, used to *gild* their faces, which was considered as rendering them irresistibly charming.

case of the Birmans, does not restrain them from animal food, provided that they are guiltless of having killed the animal. They are more choice in their food, however, and less indulgent of their appetites, than the Chinese inhabitants, who are described as *gourmands*.

Indolence is one of the most prominent traits in the character of the Siamese, and the ease with which they can procure the necessaries of life, contributes to foster this habit.* Their chief amusement is gambling, of which they are immoderately fond; they will even stake their wives and children. Both priests and laymen may often be seen squatted on the pavement of a pagoda, playing at chess or some game of chance, before the very shrine of the idol. They are also excessively addicted to smoking. They are very fond of dramatic representations, founded chiefly on the exploits of fabulous and mythological personages, and have the credit of being the best performers among the Indo-Chinese nations. Bull-races, cock-fights, and battles of wild beasts, wrestling, rope-dancing, and fire-works, are also enumerated among the national amusements. The Siamese are moreover a very

* M. Loubére draws the following portrait of a Siamese life: "When the six months' service to the king is expired, it belongs to their wife or mother to maintain them. They apply to no business, as they practice no particular profession. A Siamese works not but for the prince; he neither walks nor hunts; in short, he does nothing but sit or lie, eating, playing, smoking, and sleeping. His wife will wake him at seven in the morning, and serve him with rice and fish; he will fall asleep hereupon, and at noon he will eat again; and will sup at the end of the day. Between these two last meals will be his day: conversation or play consumes the rest. The women plough, and sell and buy. Notwithstanding this unequal yoke on the female sex," he adds, "the Siamese love their wives and children exceedingly, and it appears that they are greatly beloved by them."—p. 50.

musical people. "Even persons of rank," says Mr. Finlayson, "think it no disparagement to acquire a proficiency in the art. Their music is for the most part extremely lively, and more pleasing to the ear of a European, than the want of proficiency in the more useful arts of civilised life would lead him to expect of such a nation. Whence this proficiency has arisen, it may be somewhat difficult to explain; more especially as the character of their music partakes but little of that eccentricity of genius and apparent heaviness of mind and imagination, for which they are, in other respects, so remarkable. We have no means of ascertaining what is of domestic origin, or how much they may be indebted to foreign intercourse for the improvement of their music. On inquiry, we were told that the principal instruments were of Birman, Peguan, or Chinese origin, and that much of the music had been borrowed from the two first-mentioned nations, particularly from Pegu. "It is somewhat singular that these nations consider the Siamese as superior in musical skill, and attribute to them the invention of the principal instruments, as may be seen in Col. Symes's account of those countries.

"It might be supposed that the Siamese had borrowed their music from the same source that they have their religion, the softness, the playful sweetness and simplicity of the former seeming to harmonise in some degree with the humane tenets, the strict morality, and apparent innocence of the latter. The prominent and leading character, however, of the music, appears to be common to the Malays and other inhabitants of the Indian islands, as well as to the whole of the Indo-Chinese nations.

"My friend Captain Dangerfield, himself an adept in musical science, remarks, that the music of the

Siamese differs from that of all barbarous tribes, in being played upon a different key — on that, if I understand him right, which characterises the pathetic music of certain European nations. There is certainly no harsh or disagreeable sound, no sudden or unexpected transition, no grating sharpness in their music. Its principal character is that of being soft, lively, sweet, and cheerful, to a degree which seemed to us quite surprising. They have arrived beyond the point of being pleased with mere sound: the musician aimed at far higher views, that of interesting the feelings, awakening thought, or exciting the passions. Accordingly, they have their different kinds of music, to which they have recourse according as they wish to produce one or other of these effects.

"Their pieces of music are very numerous. A performer of some notoriety, who exhibited before us, stated that he knew 150 tunes. This man brought with him two instruments, the one a wind, the other a stringed instrument. The former, called *klani*, resembled a flageolet, as well in form as in the tones, which, however, were fuller, softer, and louder, than those of that instrument. His manner of blowing on it resembled that of a person using the blow-pipe. He was thus enabled to keep up an uninterrupted series of notes. The other, a more curious, as well as more agreeable instrument, is called *tuk-kay*, from its fancied resemblance to a lizard, though, in point of form, to me it appears to approach nearer to that of a Chinese junk. It is about three feet long, has a hollow body, and three large sounding holes on the back, which is of a rounded form. It is composed of pieces of hard wood, inlaid with mother-of-pearl. Three strings, one of brass wire, the others of silk, supported on

small bits of wood, extend from one end of the instrument to the other, and are tuned by means of long pegs. The performer, pressing his left hand on the cords, strikes them at proper distances with the forefinger of the right. There is another instrument, called *khong-nong*, the music of which is also very pleasant. It consists of a series of small cymbals of different sizes, suspended horizontally in a bamboo frame, forming a large segment of a circle. It is sometimes so large, that the performer may sit within the circle of the instrument, his back being then turned to the vacant space. The tones of this instrument are very pleasing. It is usually accompanied by the instrument called *ran-nan*; this is formed of flat bars of wood, about a foot in length, and an inch in breadth, placed by the side of each other, and disposed so as to form an arch, the convexity of which is downwards. Both this and the last-mentioned instrument are struck with a light piece of wood, or a small mallet. In conclusion, we may observe, that there is a very remarkable difference between the character of their vocal and of their instrumental music, the former being as plaintive and melancholy, as the latter is lively and playful."

The Siamese or T'hay language contains a great variety of compositions. Their poems and songs are numerous, as are their *cheritrás* or romantic fictions, which, in their general characteristics, resemble those of the Birman, Rukheng, and Malaya tribes.* Many of the Siamese princes have been celebrated for their poetical powers. Their books of medicine are reckoned

* Dr. Leyden has given the titles of forty-one of the most popular *cheritras*. The *Rama-kien* seems, he says, to be a version of the Ramayana, and the greater part are obviously derived from the Sanscrit through the Pali.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. x. p. 248.

of considerable antiquity, and their laws are celebrated all over the East. Their medical practice, however, is behind even that of the Birmans; and their literature is, apparently, altogether exotic. Both in science and in poetry, we are told, those who affect learning and elegance of composition, sprinkle their style copiously with a mixture of Pali.

The language of Siam is considered by Dr. Leyden as an original one. It is, he says, "more purely monosyllabic than the languages of Birmah, Arracan, and Pegu, and is certainly connected in some degree with the Chinese dialects, especially the mandarin or court language, with which its numerals, as well as some other terms, coincide." In its construction, its intonations, and its modes of expression, it coincides much more closely with the Chinese dialects than with those of Birmah; and the words which it has borrowed from the Pali or Magadha, (the sacred language of the votaries of Buddha) are much more contracted and disguised than in the other vernacular idioms.* The Siamese calendar differs little from that of the Chinese. Mr. Finlayson says, indeed, that it is very doubtful if they could construct one without the assistance of a Chinese calendar, which they procure regularly from Pekin. Their era, answering to A.D. 638, also appears to be derived from China.

Their customs approximate to those both of India and China. Polygamy is tolerated. The monarchs have sometimes espoused their own sisters. Women enjoy far less freedom and consideration in Siam, than they do in Birmah. The wife is not allowed to eat with her husband, nor even to sail in the same boat. She must attend no public amusements, but confine

* Asiat. Res. vol. x. p. 244.

herself to her domestic duties. All the heaviest labour devolves on the females. Their treatment of the dead varies according to the rank of the deceased. The corpses of the poor are unceremoniously thrown into the river. Infants under the age of dentition, and women who have died before delivery, are interred in a superficial grave, — a peculiarity connected with some obscure superstition. With these exceptions, the practice of burning the dead extends to all classes. This is often performed very imperfectly, and the partially consumed bones are left to bleach on the plain, or to be devoured by beasts. In some instances, it is deemed meritorious, before burning the corpse, to distribute the fleshy parts among the beasts of the field and the birds of the air. In other cases, the body is sometimes embalmed before it is burned. This appears to be a relic of a very ancient practice, in use, probably, prior to the introduction of the custom of incineration. The actual state of the art of embalming is characteristic, Mr. Finlayson says, of that general ignorance of the ornamental as well as of the useful arts of civilised life, which is displayed by the modern Siamese.

The criminal punishments, as among the Birmans, are most barbarous. Trial by ordeal is very frequently had recourse to: of this there are various kinds,— walking over hot irons, ordeal by water, and by combat with tigers. Adultery is now punishable only by fine. Debtors are very severely treated, being for the most part reduced to slavery. All males in Siam are enrolled from infancy, and are liable, on becoming adults, to be called on for military service, without pay, during six months of the year. The king has no standing army except his personal guards, who are chiefly Tâtars, but the whole nation is thus formed

into a militia. Here, as in the Birman empire, it is striking to observe the analogy which some of their institutions present to the old feudal tenures and military service of Europe in the eleventh century. No Siamese can wear arms without special permission; but a knife, as in Spain, is in universal use, not being considered as a weapon.*

We should now proceed to the topographical description of the country, but for this we have scarcely any materials. The interior of Siam is for the most part land untravelled by Europeans. It is remarkable, that while the Siamese found no cities or towns except on the borders of their rivers, they form no settlements on their maritime coasts, which are uniformly deserted, and, for at least a day's journey from shore, are destitute of any habitation,—whether through fear of piratical invaders, or from any other cause, does not clearly appear.

Respecting Yuthia, the ancient capital, we have only the vague accounts of the missionaries and older travellers. Tavernier, referring, apparently, to the same city under the name of Siam, says: "Siam, the capital city, where the king keeps his court, is walled about, being about three of our leagues in circuit: it is situated on an island, the river running quite round it, and might easily be brought into every street in the town, if the king would but lay out as much money on that design, as he spends in temples and idols." Kæmpfer states, that the temples are

* The city of Campang-pet (walls of diamond) is celebrated for its mines, which yield excellent steel. Yet, iron is little used. Their boats have only wooden anchors; pegs of bamboo are used for nails in the construction of their houses; and they have neither pins, nails, nor iron tools. There are also mines of tin and lead.

more elegant than the churches are in Germany. In the eastern part of the city were two squares, surrounded with walls, and separated by a canal, containing numerous monasteries, colonnades, and temples. In a plain to the north-west of the city, stood the *Puka-thon*, a pyramid erected to commemorate a famous victory gained over the king of Pegu. Father Gervaise states, that the foreigners' quarter was full of brick houses, and that the parts occupied by the natives contained handsome paved streets.*

Louvok, another populous town on the great river, (supposed to be the Loeach of Marco Polo,) is probably Lou-oo, the favourite residence of Chaw Naraya. Above the capital also, we find mentioned, Porseloc, the chief town of an ancient principality of that name, famous for its dye-woods and valuable gums.† The names of other towns are given by Loubére as occurring on the Mei-nam between Yuthia and Metak, which is stated to be the frontier town of the Tay-noï, beyond which the country belongs to the Great Tays. From Bankok to Yuthia, the banks of the Mei-nam are believed to be populous. "Lower down, they are mere deserts, swarming with monkeys, phosphoric flies, and mosquitoes."‡

* By the Birmans, the city of Siam is known under the name of Dwarawuddy; the proper native name is See-y-thaa. See p. 6. It is said to stand in lat. 14° 5′ N., long. 100° 25′ E. Although of great extent, it now contains but a small population.—HAMILTON'S *Gazetteer*.

† Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 386. On the frontier of Pegu, there is said to be a considerable town called Cambouri, the seat of a great commerce in eagle-wood, ivory, and rhinoceros' horns, and from this place comes the finest varnish. Ligor, a town on the western coast of the Gulf of Siam, in lat. 8° 30′, gives name to a province still in the possession of the Siamese, which yields a very pure tin called *calin*.

‡ Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 383.

About ninety miles N. of the frontier of Lower Siam, in lat. 20° 30′, according to Loubére, is Chiamay or Jamahây, the capital of a state called Yangoma. Thus far, the Mei-nam is said to be navigable by boats. This is apparently the province of Yun-shan; or possibly, the Yuns may be inhabitants of the *shan*, or mountainous region, bordering on the country of Chiamay or Saymmay, where there is said to be a lake two hundred miles in extent, bounded by vast forests and impassable marshes.* In this lake, according to Mendez Pinto, the Mei-nam has its rise; and Father Gervaise places its source, on hearsay evidence, in a great lake in the country of Laos, which must be in this direction. Kæmpfer states, however, that the Mei-nam was believed to have its source in the mountains of Tibet. † He describes it as dividing itself into three arms, one of which flows through Cambodia, another through Siam, and a third through Pegu, into the sea. That the Mei-nam and the Mei-kong mingle their waters by the Anan-myeet, seems to be ascertained; and another branch of the Mei-nam, called the *Bomeik-myeet*, flowing westward, may perhaps find its way into the Thaluayn. ‡ We have already suggested that possibly, in the rainy season, the waters of these great rivers may unite to form a periodical inland sea,

* See p. 6, *note*.

† M. Loubére also considers the story of its origin in a lake as doubtful, "by reason it is so small at its entrance into the kingdom of Siam, that, for about fifty leagues, it carries only little boats capable of holding no more than four or five persons at most. At the city of Laconcevan (the mountain of heaven), the Meinam receives another considerable river, which also comes from the north, and is likewise called Meinam, a name common to all great rivers." —LOUBERE, fol. p. 4. May not *this* river proceed from a lake? Or perhaps, the lake is southward of their confluence.

‡ The authors of the Universal History, on the authority of M. Loubére and the journal of two Chinese, speak of the junction

similar to that which is produced by the expansion of the great South American rivers in the centre of Paraguay. But time will resolve these conjectures.

The Mei-nam, or mother-water, is a name not restricted to the river of Siam; a circumstance which contributes not a little to perplex the geography of these regions. That which we now speak of, seems, however, pre-eminently entitled to the appellation: it is certainly one of the most considerable in eastern Asia. The inundation takes place in September. In December, the waters decline. It differs from the Ganges, in swelling first in its upper part, owing its inundations principally to the rains which fall among the mountains. The inundation, as has been already mentioned, is most remarkable in the centre of the kingdom. The operations of the rice-harvest are conducted (as in Paraguay) chiefly in boats.* The water of the Mei-nam, though muddy, is agreeable and wholesome. The banks are uniformly a rich and deep alluvial soil, in which scarcely a stone or pebble is to be found. The soil of the mountains, which are granite, is dry and barren.

Siam may be considered as an immense valley formed by a double chain of mountains, in some places

of a great river (meaning the Mei-kong) with the Mei-nam. They also mention two other considerable rivers which fall into the great Mei-nam near its mouth. One, on the western side, rises near the city of Kambui, (Cambouri?) and divides into two branches, the more northerly of which joins the Mei-nam a little above Yuthia, while the other branch falls into the sea near Pipila. The river, on the eastern side, has its source a little above the city of Karazema on the frontiers of Laos, and passing by Kanayot and Perion, enters the sea at Banplasoy near the eastern mouth of the Mei-nam.—*Univ. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 254. The Mei-nam falls into the Gulf of Siam by three mouths, but the Packnam branch only is navigable.

* See Mod. Trav. Brazil, vol. ii. p. 127, *note*.

between fourscore and a hundred leagues in breadth, and extending on each side of the gulf in the form of a horse-shoe. The western range of mountains which stretch down through the peninsula of Malacca, have, from the gulf, a singularly picturesque appearance, thus described by Mr. Finlayson:—

"An extensive low ground, covered with thick woods, stretches along the sea-coast. We could here see abundance of palms growing; the Palmyra appeared to be the most common. Appearances would lead us to infer this low ground to be well inhabited. The lofty mountains in the back ground render this country singularly picturesque. Sam-rayot, signifying three hundred peaks, the name by which the Siamese designate this tract, is expressive of its appearance. The mountain ranges run in the direction of north and south. They are very elevated, extremely rugged on their flanks, as well as summits, projecting into innumerable bold conical peaks. It is perhaps a singular circumstance, considering that the direction of these mountain ranges is from north to south, that they are steepest towards the east, while of mountains so distributed, it has been observed, that the steepest acclivities lie towards the west. Another singular circumstance in the appearance of these mountains, is the insulated situation of some of the loftiest peaks, or rather mountains. Three of the latter are perfectly conical, lofty, and very steep, and their position is perfectly insular, miles intervening between them and the mountain ranges from which they stand detached. They are situated upon the flat apparently alluvial ground already mentioned. The greater hardness of the granitic mass in these, will hardly account for this circumstance."

The eastern shores of the Gulf are bordered by innumerable groupes of islands, composed, for the most part, of mountainous masses, and all of them are of considerable elevation. They are all covered with vegetation, and have a picturesque aspect; but it does not appear that any of them have ever been occupied. "The want of a constant supply of water must ever be a principal objection; while their steep forms and scanty soil forbid every attempt at cultivation. In many, the summits are rounded; in others, peaked and rugged. In fact," continues Mr. Finlayson, "we here appear to have ascended the tops of a range of mountains, in structure partaking of the nature of rocks both of the primitive and the secondary kind. The direction of this partly submerged range is like that on the peninsula of Malacca, from north to south, bending a little from east to west. The breadth of the range is considerable. The islands form a continuous narrow belt extending along the coast, in this respect somewhat similar to those on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal. There, however, we observe a stupendous parallel chain of mountains, extending from one extremity of the peninsula to the other; whilst here, the most remarkable circumstance is the extreme lowness of the continental land. It is an extensive alluvion, on a level with the sea, on which we look in vain for hill or elevation of any sort. At the distance of a few miles, the trees only, and not the ground, are visible from the deck, whilst the islands, many of them rising above 1000 feet, are to be seen many miles off. The occurrence of granite in this, the first of the series, was rather unexpected. This granite presents several varieties. It is less perfectly crystalised, and more granular, than that we found on the western coast

of the peninsula of Malacca. Many of the specimens contain hornblende; and on the summit of the hill, there is a red granite, which breaks into brick-like fragments. The lower granite is uncommonly hard, and breaks with much difficulty."*

At the head of the gulf, a mountainous country divides the valley of Siam from Cambodia. This is the province of Chantibond, which originally belonged to the kingdom of Cambodia, but, on the partition of that beautiful country, was seized upon by the Cochin Chinese, and at length was annexed, by Pe-ya-tac, to the empire of Siam, of which it is stated to constitute one of the richest and most valuable provinces. Mr. Finlayson describes it as "singularly beautiful and picturesque, diversified by lofty mountains, extensive forests, and fertile valleys and plains. The passage thence to Cambodia is of short distance, a ridge of mountains dividing the two countries. It possesses a good and convenient harbour, well protected by numerous beautiful islands in front. The river is obstructed in a great measure at its mouth, but affords convenient and safe navigation to small vessels and boats. It once possessed an extensive and profitable

* Mr. Finlayson supposes, that the base, both of the islands and of the bay formed by them, is granite. "Extensive masses," he says, "of a coarse-grained granite, abounding with plates of gray and black mica, in parallel *laminæ*, are to be seen at low water at several points on the shores of the islands. This rock presents a rough, horizontal surface, never ascending into peaks, and rarely rising above high-water mark. On this rock are superposed, collaterally and often alternating with each other, quartz rock and granular limestone, both of them varying in appearance, and containing a considerable proportion of calcareous matter. The direction of the strata is from E. to W., dipping to the north. On the smaller islands, the quartz is intersected by retiform veins of iron ore. Caves of considerable extent occur in the slaty quartz."—See FINLAYSON'S *Mission*, pp. 90, 1; 275—7.

commerce, which has been upon the decline since the place fell into the hands of the Siamese. The produce of the country is annually removed to Bankok, and the commerce with foreign ships is prohibited. The principal productions are pepper, the cultivation of which may be increased almost to an unlimited extent, benzoin, lac, ivory, agila-wood,* rhinoceros' horns, hides of cows, buffaloes, deer, &c., gamboge, some cardamoms, and precious stones, the latter of inferior quality. The forests abound in excellent timber, and afford the best materials for ship-building: accordingly, many junks are built at this place. Many of the islands in front of the port, and particularly that called Bangga-cha, produce abundance of precious stones. The island Sa-ma-ra-yat, to the east of the harbour, is said to produce gold. In the former of these islands, there is a safe and convenient harbour. At a short distance from the coast, there is a very high mountain, called Bomba-soi, commanding an extensive view both of Chantibond and of Cambodia.

"The amount of the population is uncertain,

* The agila-wood of Chantibond is equalled only by that of Cochin China. The odoriferous principle, which gives it value, resides in a black, thick, concrete oil, resembling tar or resin while burning, and it is probably a combination of an essential oil with resin. It is disposed in numerous cells, and gives to the wood a blackish, dotted appearance. As it is found in comparatively few trees, and those only which exhibit signs of decay, it has naturally been supposed to be the effect of disease. Probably, it is occasioned by the puncture of some insect. The Siamese name the substance *nuga-mai*: it is also called *mâi-hoâm*. The consumption of it is considerable, even in Siam; but the greater part is exported to China, where it is used in the service of the temples, and in the incineration of the corpses of persons of distinction. The powder, mixed with a gummy substance, is laid over small sticks, which burn with a slow and smothered flame, giving out a feeble but grateful perfume.

some estimating it at nearly one million, while others reckon it under half that number. It is composed of Chinese, Cochin-Chinese, Cambodians, and Siamese; but by far the greater number are Chinese, in whose hands are all the wealth and the richest products of the country. There are also from two to three hundred native Christians in the place, who, like those in other parts of Siam, are placed under the care of the bishop of Metellopolis, Joseph Florens, a Frenchman. The place is governed by a man of Chinese extraction, appointed by the king of Siam."

To the south of Cape Liant, which bounds on that side the province of Chantibond, the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siam takes a south-easterly direction as far as Cape Cambodia. Two-thirds of this tract, 300 miles in length, are a sandy desert; but here, near the mouth of a deep but narrow river, a small independent state was founded in 1705, by a Chinese merchant named Kiang-si, which for some time prospered under a flourishing trade, presenting the phenomenon of a commercial republic, a Chinese Pisa or Ragusa, at the eastern extremity of Asia.

"Departing," says Le Poivre, "from the peninsula of Malacca, I fell in with a small territory, known, in the maritime charts, by the name of Ponthiamas. Surrounded on all sides with despotism, this charming country, about fifty years ago, was uncultivated and almost destitute of inhabitants. A Chinese merchant who frequented these coasts, being a man of intelligence and genius, resolved on a colonisation of these parts. He hired a number of labourers, partly Chinese and partly from the adjacent states, and so skilfully ingratiated himself with the neighbouring princes, that they assigned him a guard for his protection. In the course of his voyage to Batavia and

the Philippines, he borrowed from the Europeans their art of defence and fortification. With regard to the internal police, he gave the preference to the Chinese. The profits of his commerce soon enabled him to raise ramparts, sink fosses, and provide artillery; these precautions secured him from the surrounding barbarians. He distributed his lands among his labourers, without the least reservation in the shape of fines, duties, or taxes, and he provided his colonists also with all sorts of instruments of husbandry.

"His country became the resort of every industrious man who wished to settle there: his ports were open to all. The woods were cleared; the grounds were sown with rice; canals, cut from the rivers, watered their fields, and plentiful harvests supplied their own wants and afforded means of commerce. The neighbouring states call him king, a title he despises; he pretends to no sovereignty, but that of doing good,—and certainly merits a very noble title, that of friend to mankind. The neighbouring districts, astonished at this abundance, flock to his magazines, which, notwithstanding the great fertility of Cochin China, are the granary of these eastern Asiatic states."*

It were a pity to destroy so pleasing a picture, even if tinged with a little romance. It is clear, that a lucrative commerce was established here; but its prosperity must have been of short continuance, as, in 1720, Hamilton found the city in ruins. It had been taken and plundered in 1717, by the Siamese. It was then a place of considerable trade, and it is said, that not less than 200 tons of ivory, ready for exportation, were destroyed.

* Pennant's Outlines of the Globe, vol. iii. p. 52.

The river on which the town of Ponthiamas is seated, communicates, in the season of inundation, with the Meikong, by which means commodities are brought to this mouth, instead of the Cambodia branch, which is said to be of very troublesome navigation, from the number of low islands and sand banks which obstruct the channel.*

The valley of Cambodia is the last of those vast longitudinal basins into which this region is divided, and here we enter on the confines of the Anamitic empire.

* Probably, the Bassak is referred to. See p. 333, *note.*

END OF SIAM.

ANAM.

ANAM.

[An empire, comprising Tong-kin, Cochin China, Tsiampa, Cambodia, and Laos; extending from lat. 9° to 23°; bounded on the N. by China; on the E. and S. by the Chinese Sea; on the W. by Siam and unknown country.]

THE country of Anam (Aynam, An-nan, or Onam), which originally consisted of Tong-kin,* is recorded to have been at one time comprised, together with Cochin China, Cambodia, and Tsiampa, within the Chinese empire; but, on the Mogul invasion of China in the thirteenth century, the Chinese governors of the southern provinces took the opportunity of setting up the standard of independence. In this manner several distinct kingdoms were created, the sovereigns of which, however, continued for many years to acknowledge a nominal vassalage to the throne of China. Tong-kin is stated to have separated from China in 1368. Its princes gradually assumed a greater degree of independence, and about 1553, are asserted to have subdued Cochin China. The dynasty of Lé ruled the kingdom for many ages with all the wisdom and benignity that despotism can admit of. But one of the

* There is no end to the arbitrary variations introduced in our geographical orthography. In Hamilton's Gazetteer, this word is written Tunquin. In a recent map by Mr. Wild, it is Ton-king. Mr. Barrow writes it Tung-quin; Lieut. White, Tonquin, which is adopted by the Translator of Malte Brun; but we are told that the word is Don-kin, the "Court of the East." There is certainly no good reason for our adopting the French *q*, which answers to our *k*; and it is probable that Tong-kin comes near the true pronunciation.

great officers of the crown, the *shooa* (*chua*, or *shua-rua*), answering, apparently, to the Mahratta peishwas, or the ancient mayors of the palace in France,—having placed himself at the head of the army, succeeded in making the office hereditary, and in reducing the *bova* (*boa*) or king to the shadow of a monarch. The subsequent history of Tong-kin presents only a confused succession of assassinations and revolts, and a perpetual fluctuation of boundaries.

Cochin China, or Southern Anam, is said to be indebted for its present population to an unsuccessful rebellion of a Tongkinese prince against his sovereign, somewhat less than two centuries ago. The insurgents, being totally routed, fled before the victorious troops of the king of Tongkin into Cochin China, then inhabited by the *Lois* or *Laos*, a timid and peaceful race, who, at the approach of these intruders, retired into the mountains of Tsiampa, abandoning their country without a struggle, if we may believe the story, to the Tongkinese fugitives. In a very short time, the latter had spread themselves over the northern section of this fertile country; nor was it many years ere they had penetrated southward as far as the borders of Cambodia, where they built the city of Sai-gon, and subsequently that of Don-nai. In somewhat less than forty years, they had gained possession of the whole of Cochin China, and had made successful inroads into Cambodia. There, however, they were opposed by a more warlike people than the Laos; nor were the Cambodians finally subdued by the Anamese until the reign of the monarch who still occupied the throne in 1820.

The Cochin Chinese kingdom soon became one of the most powerful and prosperous in Eastern Asia. Its fertile soil, its important line of coast, and a mild

government, favoured its rapid improvement; and about the middle of the eighteenth century, it had attained its zenith. "The first six kings of the Tong-kinese race were," we are told, "greatly beloved by their subjects, whom they governed in the manner of the ancient patriarchs, looking upon their people as their children, and by their own example prompting them to habits of simplicity, industry, and frugality. But the subsequent discovery of the gold and silver mines, and the easy and frequent communications which their commerce had opened with the Chinese, were the means of introducing luxury and effeminacy to the court of Anam, and of inflating the minds of its sovereigns, in imitation of the *mighty monarchs* of the *celestial empire*. Their courtiers, finding their interest in flattering them, bestowed the blasphemous epithet of *King of Heaven* upon their infatuated masters, who readily adopted this arrogant title: by edict, its use became general in their own country, and by courtesy, in imitation of the slavish adoration paid to other eastern potentates, was confirmed to them by the politic diplomatists of tributary and less powerful states, who occasionally visited the court. It would be absurd to suppose that the *King of Heaven* could be lodged and attended like the common kings of the earth; and we find Vous-tsoi, the immediate ancestor of the present sovereign, inhabiting, according to the seasons, his winter, summer, and autumnal palaces, and plunging into the greatest luxury and excess. Even the gold mines were not a sufficient resource against this torrent of extravagance; new taxes were levied, new impositions devised; and these exactions were 'wrung from the hard hands of peasants,' by force and tyrannical oppression, as their contributions had now ceased to be voluntary. The prince, sur-

rounded by flattering sycophants, who guarded every avenue to the royal ear, was consequently ignorant of the growing evils which his mal-administration had produced. With astonishing infatuation, he abandoned himself to his pleasures, and his government to his insidious courtiers, who, taking advantage of exemption from punishment, robbed the people, and plunged the nation into an abyss of poverty and distress. This catastrophe was hastened by a general corruption of manners, communicated by the empoisoned streams which flowed from the court and capital, and spread their baneful influence over all ranks and conditions of the people.

"Notwithstanding the errors and defects of this sovereign, he is represented as having been of a mild disposition, and secretly attached to the simple and primitive manners of his ancestors; fond of his subjects, always calling them his children; friendly to the doctrines of Christianity, and treating its ministers with great respect and indulgence."

The natural consequences of this state of things were soon exhibited in a rebellion, followed by a civil war, which for nearly thirty years agitated the country. The details of this revolution are tolerably authentic. In the year 1774, in the 35th year of the reign of Caung-shung, the father of the late King Gia-laong, the rebellion commenced in the city of Quin-hone, the capital of the division of Chang, headed by three brothers. The eldest, whose name was Yinyac, was a wealthy merchant, who carried on an extensive commerce with China and Japan; Long-niang, the second brother, was a general officer, or war-mandarin of high rank; and the third was a priest. Their first care was to get possession of the person of the king, which they effected, and put him to death;

together with all of the royal family who fell into their hands. The city of Saigon, in the province of Don-nai, was supposed to be favourable to the cause of the deposed sovereign; an army was therefore marched against it, the walls were levelled to the ground, and 20,000 of its inhabitants put to the sword.* In their arrangements for the future government of this extensive country, it was determined that Yinyac should possess the southern and central divisions of Chang and Don-nai; Long-niang, that of Hué, bordering on Tongkin; and the youngest brother was to be high-priest of all Cochin China.

Long-niang was soon involved in hostilities with the King of Tongkin, then a tributary to the Emperor of China, and defeated him in battle. The vanquished king fled to Pekin, and Tongkin was overrun by the victorious usurper. Kien-Long sent an army of 100,000 men to replace the King of Tongkin on his throne; but Long-niang so skilfully harassed the Chinese army, laying waste the country in their line of march, that they retired in distress for provisions before they had reached the frontiers of Tongkin. The consequence was a treaty, whereby the Chinese emperor recognised and confirmed Long-niang as sovereign of Cochin China and Tongkin, which were to be held as tributary to the emperor.*

* Mr. Barrow gives a truly curious account of the result of this Chinese expedition. Foo-chang-tong, the commander, was so miserably harrassed in his retreat by the usurper, that no fewer than 50,000 men are said to have perished by famine and the sword, without any general battle having been fought. To prevent inevitable disgrace, he resolved therefore to open a negotiation with the usurper; but Long-niang assumed the tone of a conqueror. Under these circumstances, the Chinese general had recourse to the bold expedient of transmitting to the court of Pekin an account of the unparalleled success of his expedition; the arms of the em-

At the period of the rebellion, there resided at the court of Cochin China a French emissary of the name of Adran, who styled himself the apostolic vicar of Cochin China. Caung-shung had held him in so high esteem as to place under his tuition his only son, the heir to the throne. Adran, on the first burst of the revolt, saw that the only hope of safety was in flight. The king was already in the power of the rebels, but the queen, the young prince, with his wife and infant son, and one sister, by Adran's assistance, effected their escape. They took refuge in a forest, where they lay concealed for several months. When the enemy retired, they made the best of their way to Saigon, where the prince was crowned under the name

peror had been uniformly victorious; but he bore honourable testimony, at the same time, to the valour of the enemy, and to the justice and reasonableness of his pretensions to the throne, which the former possessor had *relinquished;* and dwelt on the universal esteem in which he was held by the people; giving it as his opinion, that Long-niang should be invited to Pekin, to receive the investiture of the Tongkin crown, and suggesting that a mandarinate would amply satisfy the dispossessed Tongkinese prince. The whole scheme succeeded, and an invitation in due form was sent down to Long-niang to proceed to Pekin. This wary general, however, thinking it might be a trick of the viceroy to get possession of his person, remained in doubt as to what course he ought to pursue. On consulting one of his confidential generals, it was concluded between them, that this officer should proceed to the capital of China as his representative, and personate the new king of Tongkin and Cochin China. He was received at the court of Pekin with all due honours, loaded with the usual presents, and confirmed in his title to the united kingdoms, which were in future to be considered as tributary to the emperor of China. On the return of this mock king to Hué, Long-niang was greatly puzzled how to act. But seeing that the affair could not long remain a secret with so many living witnesses, he caused his friend and the whole of his suite to be put to death, as the surest and perhaps the only means of preventing the trick which he had so successfully played on the emperor of China from being discovered. This event happened in 1779.—BARROW, p. 254.

of his father, Caung-shung. Some efforts were made, under Adran's direction, to re-establish him on his throne; but, after many unsuccessful attempts, the king was obliged to leave his country and take refuge in Siam, where he was hospitably received. In the meantime, Adran, to whom, at his earnest solicitation, he had intrusted his son, embarked for Pondicherry, and thence sailed for France, where he arrived with his royal charge in 1787. The young prince was presented at court, and treated with every mark of respect; and the project of the missionary was so highly approved, that, in the course of a few months, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was drawn up and concluded between Louis XVI. and the king of Cochin China, (signed on the part of the latter by the young prince,) by which his most Christian majesty engaged to lend Caung-shung effectual assistance in recovering his throne. Adran was created bishop of Cochin China, and honoured with the appointment of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

Matters being thus concluded, Adran and his charge again set sail for Pondicherry. From the Mauritius, a powerful armament was to have been sent out; but untoward events* retarded its operations

* The untoward circumstances alluded to, are detailed by Mr. Barrow. At the time of the bishop's arrival at Pondicherry, Madame de Vienne, a celebrated beauty, was the mistress of Conway, the governor, and had obtained an absolute ascendancy over him. Piqued at Adran's refusal to visit her, and still more enraged at some expressions which he was reported to have used in reprobation of the general's licentiousness, she resolved to have her revenge by frustrating the expedition. She managed so well to rouse Conway's jealousy of Adran, that he despatched a fast-sailing vessel to the Mauritius, with directions to suspend the armament till further orders should be received from Versailles. "Had not this event taken place," remarks Mr. Barrow, "it is difficult to say what the consequences of such a treaty might have been to our

until the French revolution finally put a stop to the expedition.

Adran, however, was not to be deterred from his undertaking. He had carried with him from France, several officers, who were to have held appointments under the government. With some of these as volunteers, the bishop and the young prince embarked on board a merchant-vessel for Cape St. James. On reaching the coast, they learned that the king, availing himself of dissensions among the brother usurpers, had repossessed himself of Saigon, where Adran and his charge joined him in 1790. The greater part of the first year was occupied in fortifying Saigon, in recruiting and disciplining an army, and in collecting and equipping a fleet. In the following year, the usurper Long-niang died at Hué, leaving a son twelve years of age, to succeed him on the throne of Tongkin and Hué. The ratification of his title to the kingdom of Tongkin by the emperor, had been the cause of hostilities between the two brothers, in which Yinyac had been constantly worsted, and his dominions contracted. In 1792, Caung-shung attacked the fleet of Yinyac in the harbour of Quinhone, and either captured or destroyed the greater part. Yinyac did not long survive this defeat, and his son, Tai-saun, succeeded to his government.

In the year 1796, Caung-shung resolved to attack the capital by land. Tai-saun was enabled to bring against him an army of a hundred thousand men; but the king, supported by his French officers, completely routed it with a very inferior force, and gained possession of the whole as far as Turon Bay.

Indian possessions and to the trade of the East India company with China; but it is sufficiently evident that it had for its object the destruction of both."—*Voyage to Cochin China*, p. 266.

Bishop Adran had, in the mean time, become the oracle and guide of the king. "Under his auspices, the country was greatly improved; and during a short peace, previous to the final termination of the war, he established a manufactory of saltpetre, opened roads, cut canals, held out rewards for the propagation of the silk-worm, caused large tracts of land to be cleared for the cultivation of the sugar-cane, established manufactories for the preparation of pitch, tar, rosin, &c.; opened mines of iron, and constructed smelting-furnaces and foundries for cannon. Adran translated into the Anam language, a system of European military tactics, for the use of the army. Naval arsenals were established, and a large navy, principally consisting of gun-boats, galleys, &c. was built and equipped. Under his direction, a reformation was effected in the system of jurisprudence; he abolished several species of punishments that were disproportionate to the crimes to which they were annexed; he established public schools, and compelled parents to send their children to them at the age of four years; he drew up commercial regulations, built bridges, caused buoys and sea-marks to be laid down in all the dangerous parts of the coast, and surveys to be made of the principal bays and harbours. The officers of the navy were instructed in naval tactics by Frenchmen; his army was divided into regular regiments; military schools were established, and the officers taught the science of gunnery. Unfortunately for the country, the death of Adran occurred shortly after this; and with him expired many of the wholesome laws, institutions, and regulations established by him."

Adrian died in the year 1800, and was interred at Saigon with all the pomp and ceremonies prescribed

by the Anamese religion. The heir-apparent, his pupil, died shortly after.

The young usurper of Hué, however, still kept possession of that city and part of Tongkin; but in 1802,* Caung-shung, at the head of a formidable armament, dislodged him; and in 1804, he was acknowledged by the emperor of China as the undisputed sovereign of the whole country, the name of which he changed on this occasion from Anam to Viet-nam.

Caung-shung died in February 1820, in the sixty-third year of his age, and was succeeded by his second son, who assumed the title of *Minh-menh* (or *Ming-meng*,—shining providence). The character of this sovereign, who is compared by Mr. Barrow to Peter the Great of Russia, certainly exhibits a very extraordinary combination of talent, energy, and courage. At one time an outcast, forced to flee from the hand of the usurper and the assassin, and to suffer the keenest pangs of adversity, he was nevertheless able, in the course of ten or twelve years, to recover the whole of his possessions, and to extend them by the acquisition of Tongkin. He undoubtedly owed much, however, in every point of view, to the instructions, the talents, and the efficient aid of Àdran, whom he venerated almost to adoration, distinguishing him by an epithet bestowed on Confucius alone,—"the illustrious master."

* In 1800, the military forces of Caung-shung are said to have amounted to 113,000 men; viz. 24 squadrons of buffalo troops, 6000; 16 battalions of elephants (200 animals), 8000; 30 regiments of artillery, 15,000; 24 regiments trained in the European manner, 30,000; infantry with matchlocks, 42,000; guards, trained to European tactics, 12,000; exclusive of a marine amounting to 26,800. Total, 139,800.—BARROW, p. 283.

Mr. Barrow portrays the character of this monarch in glowing colours. "Caung-shung," he says, "is represented to be a complete soldier. He is said to esteem the name of general far more than that of sovereign. At the head of his army, he is cheerful and good-humoured, polite and attentive to all the officers under his command. His memory is so correct that he is said to know by name the greater part of his army. He takes uncommon pleasure in conversing with his soldiers, and in talking over their adventures and exploits. He makes particular inquiries after their wives and children, whether the latter go regularly to school, how they mean to dispose of them when grown up; and, in short, enters with a degree of interest into a minute detail of their domestic concerns.

"His conduct to foreigners is affable. To the French officers in his service he pays the most marked attention, and treats them with the greatest politeness, familiarity, and good humour. On all his hunting excursions and other parties of pleasure, one of these officers is always invited to attend.* He openly declares his great veneration for the doctrines of Christianity, and tolerates this religion, and, indeed, all others in his dominions. He observes a most scrupulous regard to the maxims of filial piety, as laid down in the works of Confucius; and humbles himself in the presence of his mother, who is still living, as a child before its master. With the works of the

* "Though no apparent alteration took place in his conduct towards the French officers, yet, the French character is said to have suffered greatly in his estimation from the moment he was made acquainted with the outrageous and inhuman treatment which the unfortunate family experienced from a licentious and savage rabble."

most eminent Chinese authors, he is well acquainted; and through the translations into the Chinese character of the *Encyclopédie* by the bishop Adran, he has acquired no inconsiderable knowledge of European arts and sciences, among which he is most attached to such as relate to navigation and ship-building. It is stated, on what appears to be good authority, that, in order to obtain a thorough knowledge of the practice as well as the theory of European naval architecture, he purchased a Portuguese vessel for the sole purpose of taking it to pieces, plank by plank, with his own hands, fitting in a new piece of similar shape and dimensions to the old one he removed, till every beam, timber, knee, and plank had been replaced by new ones of his own construction, and the ship thus completely renovated.

"The energy of his mind is not less vigorous than the activity of his corporal faculties. He is represented, in fact, as the mainspring of every movement that takes place in his extensive and flourishing kingdom. Intendant of the ports and arsenals, master-shipwright of the dock-yard, and chief engineer of all his works, nothing is attempted to be undertaken without his advice and instructions. In the former, not a nail is driven without first consulting him, nor a gun mounted in the latter but by his orders. He not only enters into the most minute detail by drawing up instructions, but actually sees them executed himself."

In his diet, he was singularly temperate, not taking Chinese wine or any kind of spirituous liquors, and contenting himself with a very small portion of animal food. A little fish, rice, vegetables, and fruit, with tea and light pastry, constituted the chief articles of his diet. Like a true Chinese, descended, as he boasted,

from the imperial family of Ming, he always ate alone, not permitting either his wife or any part of his family to sit down at the same table with himself. His mode of life was most methodical. He rose at six, and bathed; at seven, held a levee of mandarins; then proceeded to the naval arsenal, to inspect the works; between twelve and one took his first meal, consisting of a little boiled rice and dried fish; at two, retired to take what might be called his siesta; at five, gave audience to naval and military officers and heads of departments; at midnight, supped and passed an hour with his family, and between two and three retired to his bed. In stature, he was somewhat above the middle size, his features regular and agreeable, his complexion ruddy and sunburnt. Such was Caung-shung II., one of the most extraordinary personages, assuredly, that ever occupied an Asiatic throne.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

THE Anamese empire, according to its present limits, extends from Cambodia Point, in lat. 8° 40′ to the northern confines of Tongkin, which reach within a very few miles of the Tropic, and from long. 105° to 109° 24′ E. From Cape Avarella, its easternmost point, it extends westward about a hundred and fifty miles, but its average breadth is about a hundred. It comprises the following grand divisions:—

		Lat.	Lat.
1.	The Kingdom of Tongkin, lying between	23° 30′	and 17° 30′ N.
2.	The Province of Hué,	17° 30′	and 15°
3.	——— Chang,	15°	and 12°
4.	——— Donnai,	12°	and 8° 40′

These grand divisions are subdivided into districts, the present names and limits of which are not ascertained with any accuracy. Hué and Chang would

seem to include nearly the whole of Cochin China Proper;* while Don-nai comprises the little state of Tsiampa and the conquered parts of Cambodia.† The city of Hué is the present capital of the empire.

Within these limits there appear to be no fewer than five considerable rivers; namely, the Sang-koi, or river of Tongkin, that of Hué, that of Sai-gon, the Mei-kong, and the river of Ponthiamas. The river of Tongkin, on which Kescho the capital is situated, at the distance of 120 miles from its mouths, has its source in the Chinese province of Yun-nan: traversing the kingdom in a south-easterly direction, it fertilises a great tract of country, and falls into the Bay of Tongkin in about lat. 20°. Owing to the sand-bank which obstructs the entrance, it is not now navigable for vessels of more than 200 tons burden. Cochin China Proper has no navigable river of any magnitude. The river of Hué has but a very short course—and, although broad, being but shallow, is not of extensive utility as regards navigation. Its estuary, however, forms a fine harbour, and, in the south-west monsoon, ships of 200 tons burden may enter and quit

* "The Japanese call the country westward of China, *Cotchin Djina*, and the Europeans have followed them."—MALTE BRUN, vol. iii. p. 272. The Chinese call Cochin China Proper, Tchan-tching; Tongkin is known to them under the name of Nyan-nan, and Tsiampa is called Tchin-la.—MARSDEN'S *Marco Polo*, note 1,164.

† The northern division of Cochin China is stated to comprise the province of Dinhkhat (Dingoë), Kwangbin (or Quambin), a mountainous district, Dinhwi, and Hué. The southern comprises, besides Chang (or Kyam), which skirts the Bay of Turon, the provinces of Don-nai, Nyat-lang, Quan-hia (or Kwangsia), Quin-nong (Kwin-yong, Quinhone, Quinam), containing the ancient capital of the same name, situated on the bay of Shin-shen, Fuyen (Foy or Phayn), and Ran-ran. Tongkin is also subdivided into eleven provinces.

it in safety. In the opposite monsoon, it is almost inaccessible. "In regard to harbours, Cochin China is singularly fortunate. Within the six degrees and a half of latitude which intervene between Cape St. James and the Bay of Turon, there are no fewer than nine of the finest harbours in the world, accessible with every wind, safe to approach, and affording the most complete protection." *

There is no shore which suffers more perceptible encroachments from the sea, than that of Cochin China. M. Poivre found that, between the years 1744 and 1749, it had gained 190 feet.† A range of mountains stretches down in a line parallel with the coast. The rocks in the southern provinces are unstratified masses, generally granite, and sometimes with perpendicular fissures. Cape St. James, which is the first land made on coming from the south, (lat. 10° 16′ 41″, N., long. 107° 45′ E.‡,) is the extremity of a ridge of hills about 300 feet in height, forming the left bank of the Sai-gon river. It is seen at a great distance. The land on the opposite side of the river is extremely low,‖ and an extensive sand-bank lies before it, stretching for several miles. A few miles within this point is a fine, spacious, semi-circular bay, called the Bay of Cocoa-nuts. The rocks are granite and syenite, intersected with small veins of rich iron ore.§ Into this bay, the Gagn-jai, the Cai-mep, and other small

* Asiat. Jour. vol. xix. p. 122.

† The general appearance of the coast of Tongkin indicates a retrogression of the sea.

‡ White, p. 58. M. Dyot made it 10° 15′ 48″ N. lat. and 107° 5′ 51″ E. long.

‖ A mud flat commences from Cambodia Point, and gradually increases in breadth till it terminates at the mouth of the Donnai river, where it extends into the sea about four leagues.

§ Finlayson, p. 295.

rivers fall. It is not considered as very safe in the S.W. monsoon, though the ground is good, but in the opposite season, the harbour is excellent.

The coast of Cochin China, from Cape St. James to Turon Bay, is singularly bold and picturesque. A continuous chain of lofty mountains stretches in the direction of the coast, (that is S.E. and N.W.) throughout this tract, at a very short distance from the shores, which are in general abrupt, bold, and precipitous, or begirt with a narrow sandy beach. "The ranges of hills are numerous, and for the most part are seen to rise above each other in gradual succession as they recede from the sea. Their abrupt, acuminated, and ridgy forms, their sterile summits, their steep flanks, leave little room to doubt that the greater part, and the whole of the western half of these mountains, are granitic. Near to the middle of the chain, they become less bold and less elevated, while their forms are rounded at top. With this change, increased fertility of the soil and a country better adapted for the support of man come into view. Here, human industry struggles against the inequality of the soil. Numerous fields are observed to occupy the sides of the hills, and a vast fleet of boats plying in the open sea, indicates the existence of a numerous population. Some of the islands along the coast are also cultivated in a similar manner." The bay of Turon is completely land-locked, and were its entrance as easy as its interior is safe, it would be justly numbered among the best of harbours.

From Turon to Hué, a passage of about twenty hours, the coast still preserves its rugged, bold, and picturesque character. The chain of mountains is continued; the ridges bear the same forms and direc-

tion, but increase in altitude, and the granitic peaks become more acuminated. The coast now wears a more sterile aspect; no signs of vegetation enliven the sandy shores, and the whole country is evidently granitic. But in the middle of the river of Hué-Hane, three miles up, there is an island of sand, from the centre of which rises a large and magnificent alabaster rock, which in several places is perforated quite across. It is called the hill of apes.*

Cochin China includes two distinct regions, the mountains and the plains. The former enjoy a steady, temperate climate, but prove insalubrious to foreigners, owing, it has been supposed, to the quality of the waters. Here are found the savage tribes called *Moys* or *Kemoys*, who are said to worship the sun. The mountains contain some iron mines, which are worked; pure gold is also found, and silver has recently been discovered. But their principal riches consist in their forests, which yield rose-wood, iron-wood (*syderoxylon*), sapan and sandal wood, eagle-wood (*agallochum*), ebony, and *calambac* (*aloëxylum verum*), the most precious of all, on account of the aromatic resin which it yields; also, the tree yielding the gum lac (*croton lacciferum*), various species of dragon's-blood-tree (*dracona ferrea*), the tallow-tree, the teak-tree, and the stately *poon* (*callophyllum*), which furnishes excellent ships' masts; besides cedars, mimosas, walnuts, and (in Cambodia)

* Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 374. This must be, we apprehend, the range of marble rocks which Mr. Crawfurd met with in his return overland from Hué to the bay of Turon, near the city of Faifo. He represents them as rising almost perpendicularly from the low sand-hills to an elevation of from 3 to 400 feet, without a hill or a mountain within twenty miles of them. They abound, he adds, in *splendid caves*, containing temples and images in honour of Buddha.

most of the timber trees of India.* The mountains abound with tigers and monkeys. Tsiampa, Malte Brun remarks, is more the country of tigers and of elephants than of men.

The plains are exposed to an insupportable degree of heat in the months of June, July, and August, except in the places which are refreshed by the sea-breezes.† In September, October, and November, the plentiful rains, which fall exclusively in the mountains, swell the numberless rivers with which the country is intersected: in an instant, all the plain is inundated, and the villages, and even the houses, are so many islets. Boats are navigated over the fields and hedges, and the children in small barks go out to fish for the mice, which cling to the branches of the trees. This is the season of inland commerce; large fairs, and popular fêtes; but the cattle are sometimes drowned, and are picked up by the first who finds them. These inundations recur every fifteen or twenty days, and last for three or four. From December to February, the rains are less violent and frequent, but are accompanied with cold winds from the northern mountains. On the coasts, the north-easterly monsoon prevails from May to October, and the south-westerly during the remainder of the year.

The low lands in Cochin China produce rice, arecanut, betel, tobacco, indigo, a coarse cinnamon (preferred, however, by the Chinese to that of Ceylon), pepper, cardamoms, cotton, silk, and sugar. Most of

* Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 375. Barrow, p. 345.

† From the beginning of May till the end of August, the thermometer, at Hué, varies from 70° to 90° Fahr. In July and August, it sometimes rises as high as 110°; but this is rarely the case. From September till the end of April, it is from 55° to 75°.

the tropical fruits are produced in great abundance. The inundated lands generally produce two crops of rice, one of which is reaped in April, the other in May, besides which there is the mountain rice. Maize, millet, several kinds of beans, and pompions are also raised; and wax, honey, ivory, gold dust, and aguila-wood are brought down by the mountaineers. The islands abound in the edible nests of the salangan swallow (*hirundo esculenta*), which are in so much request among the epicures of China. The Cochin Chinese have a small breed of horses; also, mules, asses, goats, and plenty of poultry.

The chain of mountains which encircles Cochin China, reaches so nearly to the Tongkin Gulf, on the northern frontier, as to leave only a narrow defile, which, during the separation of the two kingdoms, was closed by a strong wall. Another ridge, extending eastward, separates Tongkin into two unequal divisions, (the northern being considerably the larger,) and a prolongation of the same ridge is said to separate Laos from Lactho. Another lateral branch of the same plateau separates Tongkin from China. The passes are here also closed with walls, one side of which is guarded by Chinese soldiers, and the other by Tongkinese. This frontier is represented as almost impenetrable. The mountains are very lofty, and rise into sharp peaks. The soil is sandy, gypseous, and ferruginous. That of the plains is in general rich, light, and marshy, watered by numberless streams, and of boundless fertility. The productions are nearly the same as those of Cochin China.* Mulberry-trees are

* Mr. Crawfurd says that Tongkin is the only part of the empire which furnishes the metals. The iron of Tongkin, he says, supplies the whole kingdom, except Saigon, which is furnished by Siam. Gold and silver mines are also found here.

plentiful; also, the cocoa-nut and other palms, and an inferior sort of tea-plant; but the chief article of cultivation is rice. The grape does not come to maturity. There are neither sheep nor asses, nor hares, but deer of all kinds, goats, hogs, and poultry abound. The horses are a contemptible breed. The buffalo is used for agricultural purposes. The rhinoceros is occasionally discovered, and elephants are very numerous; also tigers, some diminutive bears, and monkeys of every description. The mountainous parts are much infested with rats, and the whole country swarms with vermin, reptiles, and insects, venomous and harmless.

The population of Tongkin is said to be much greater than in any other part of the Anamese empire, notwithstanding that it suffered so severely during the civil wars. Recent accounts (but little dependence can be placed on them) carry the computation as high as eighteen millions, while that of Cochin China is stated by the missionaries at only six millions. It is, however, unquestionably, the most populous and the richest province of the empire. Owing to the redundant population, vast numbers labour under the most extreme indigence; and it is computed, that one-tenth of the inhabitants of Lower Tongkin live constantly on the water. The mountains bordering on China, called Kaubang, are inhabited by the Quan-to, an ancient race, (as the name imports,) who regard themselves as the original possessors of the country, and consider the Anamese as intruders. Their language is said to be essentially different from the Anam, (called *Juan* by the Siamese and Malays,) which appears to be an original monosyllabical language.*

* The Anamese employ several sounds, in particular *b*, *d*, and *r*, which are incapable of being pronounced by a Chinese.

Our chief guides in the topographical description of such parts of the empire as have been visited by modern travellers, will be Mr. Barrow, who visited Cochin China in 1793; Lieut. White, of the United States navy, who made a voyage to Saigon in 1819; and Mr. Finlayson, who attended Mr. Crawfurd in his mission to the court of Hué in 1822.

VOYAGE UP THE DON-NAI RIVER.

THE reader has already been conducted from the Gulf of Siam to the mouth of the Don-nai or Saigon river, which appears to bear in fact the same relation to the Mei-kong or Cambodia river, that the Rangoon river does to the Irrawaddy.* Including its meanderings, it is a distance of nearly sixty miles from Cape St. James to the city of Sai-gon. After passing Dai-jang point and the opposite village of Canjeo, the river gradually contracts to the breadth of half a mile, till, at about nine miles up, it expands into a large sheet of water, bearing the appearance of a capacious estuary, its surface rippled by the conflicting currents of the numerous streams which here flow into the Don-nai. This is Nga-bay, called by the Portuguese

* The river of Cambodia (by the Malays written *Camboetsja*, and pronounced *Camboetja*) "falls into the sea by three mouths; that of Sai-gong, which, according to the missionaries, is more particularly called the river of Cambodia; one called the Japanese river, from being frequented by the junks of Japan; (the proper name is the *Bassak*;) and a third, the *Mat-siam*, which the Dutch have called the *Onbequame*, or the Inconvenient. The tides extend a great way up this river; and it is said that a great lake or inland sea is connected with these mouths. The inundations take place in June. The beds of the two western channels are full of low islands and sand-banks, which render them unfit for being navigated by large vessels."—MALTE BRUN, vol. iii. p. 381. Lieut. White says, that the Anamese call Cambodia *Cou-maigne*.

Sete Bocas (seven mouths), from the fact of so many entrances to the different rivers being visible from a certain point, "presenting long vistas fringed with foliage of different shades of verdure, like so many radii from a centre." The scene is described as highly beautiful. While crossing this noble basin, Lieut. White's attention was attracted by a curious and unexplained phenomenon. "Our ears," he says, "were saluted by a variety of sounds, resembling the deep bass of an organ, accompanied by the hollow guttural chant of the bull frog, and the tones which imagination would give to an enormous Jew's harp. This combination produced a thrilling sensation on the nerves, and, as we thought, a tremulous motion in the vessel. On going into the cabin, I found the noise, which I soon ascertained proceeded from the bottom of the vessel, increased to a full and uninterrupted chorus. The sensations it produced, were similar to those of a torpedo or electric eel; but, whether these feelings were caused by the concussion of sound, or by actual vibrations in the body of the vessel, I could neither then nor since determine. In a few moments, the sounds, which had commenced near the stern of the vessel, became general throughout the whole length of the bottom. Our linguist informed us, that our admiration was caused by a shoal of fish, of a flat oval form, like a flounder, which, by a certain conformation of the mouth, possesses the power of adhesion to other objects in a wonderful degree; and that they are peculiar to the Seven Mouths. Whether the noises were produced by any peculiar construction of the sonorific organs, or by spasmodic vibrations of the body, he was ignorant. Very shortly, after leaving the basin, a sensible diminution was perceived in the number of our musical fellow-voyagers;

and before we had proceeded a mile, they were no more heard."

The stream now contracts to the breadth of about two furlongs, and the current is very rapid; the general depth is from eight to fifteen fathoms in the middle, and from three to nine close to the bank; the bottom a soft ooze throughout. "The principal precaution necessary in navigating the Don-nai," Lieut. White remarks, "is, to have boats a-head of the ship, to tow in calm or light winds, to prevent her being drawn into the mouths of the numerous streams which communicate with it, and to assist in guiding her among the various intersecting currents thereby produced." No variation, thus far, is observable in the features of the country. Nothing beyond the banks of the river is visible from the deck, but from the mast-head might be perceived to the eastward, the rugged promontory of Cape St. James, and the lofty mountain of Baria, towering high above the dark line of unbounded forests which, in every other direction, mingled with the horizon. Thousands of monkeys and birds of the most beautiful plumage are the tenants of the woods. At night, the mosquitoes were found intolerable. About twelve miles above the mouth of the principal branch of the Dong-thrang river, and about half-way between Canjeo and Saigon, is the only dangerous shoal in the Don-nai river; it is composed of hard coral rocks, which stretch out from the eastern bank about half way across the river for the distance of more than a mile, having three feet water on it at the lowest ebb.* It is the haunt of innumerable alligators. Beyond this shoal,

* Of this nature, probably, are the cataracts which the Dutch envoy Wusthof met with in the upper part of the Mei-kong.

another large branch of the river joins the main stream. A short distance higher up, the prospect expands, and presents, on the left, another stream equally capacious with the Don-nai itself, called the river of Soirap. In front, and separated from it by the distance of a mile, is seen the majestic *Rio Grande*, (as the Portuguese have named it,) of which the Soirap is a branch. The latter is shallow and unnavigable for ships. Being very rapid, and forming an oblique angle with the great river, it produces strong and dangerous eddies in this part, and has formed a mud-bank on the eastern side of the main stream. Within a short distance of the city, scattered cottages and patches of cultivated ground, fishing-boats, and a distant forest of masts, gave the first indications of human habitations which they had observed during the whole voyage from Canjeo, except a few huts on one spot where a few acres had been cleared of jungle. The banks are mostly covered with mangrove. *

SAIGON.

THE city of Sai-gon, the capital of the province of Don-nai (or Tsiampa), is one of the most important and flourishing places in the empire. Here the late king constructed a naval arsenal. There are, in fact, two cities here, "each of them," Mr. Finlayson says, "as large as the capital of Siam." They are above a

* Mr. Finlayson, alluding, perhaps, to the same spot, says: "We observed no cultivation until we were within twenty or thirty miles of the town." He ascended the river in a barge. They continued to row all night, and reached Saigon in fifteen hours. The fishing-boats frequently make a passage from the sea to Saigon in one tide. The American vessel was between six and seven days in accomplishing the navigation.

mile apart. That which is more recently built, is called Bingeh; the other is Saigon. Lieut. White gives the following description of both towns as they appeared in 1819:—

"The city of Saigon is situated on a point formed by a confluence of two branches of the Donnai river, and occupies about six miles of the north bank. The population is dense near the river, but scattered at a short distance from it. The houses are built principally of wood, thatched with palm-leaves or rice-straw, and are of one story; some few are of brick, and covered with tiles. Those of the higher classes have hanging chambers, built under the roof-tree, about ten feet wide, extending the whole length of the building, with wooden gratings on each side for air, to which they ascend by ladders; they are surrounded with a court, with a gate towards the street. The dwellings of the poor are situated in the streets, and generally present a miserable appearance. The streets are regularly laid out, generally intersecting each other at right angles, and some of them are quite spacious.*

In the western part of the city, are two Chinese pagodas; and they have a great number of these temples in various parts of the city. In a central situation is a Christian church, over which two Italian missionaries preside, who have several disciples and

* Mr. Finlayson says: "The houses are large, very wide, and for the climate very comfortable. The roof is tiled, and supported on handsome large pillars, of a heavy, durable black wood called *sao*. The walls are formed of mud, enclosed in frames of bamboo, and plastered. The floor is boarded, and elevated several feet from the ground. The houses are placed close to each other, disposed in straight lines, along spacious and well-aired streets, or on the banks of canals. The plan of the streets is superior to that of many European capitals."—p. 304.

many converts. The number of Christians in Cochin China is 70,000; of which number, according to the viceroy and the missionaries, the division of Don-nai contains 16,000; they are all Roman Catholics. The city of Saigon is said to contain 180,000 inhabitants, of which about 10,000 are Chinese.

"Equidistant from the extremities of the city, near the bank of the river, are the magazines of rice; which is a regal monopoly, the exportation being prohibited on pain of decapitation. The ground is occupied in the northern part of the city, for the space of two miles, by about three-fifths of a mile square, as a repository for the dead. This immense cemetery is filled with tombs, built, like those of the Chinese, in the form of a horse shoe: its borders are planted, as are many of the streets in the suburbs, with the palmaria-tree. In the north-eastern part of the city, on the banks of a deep creek, are the navy-yard and naval arsenal. This establishment does more honour to the Anamese than any other object in their country; indeed, it may vie with many of the naval establishments in Europe. The ship timber and planks excelled any thing I had ever seen.* There were about 150 galleys, of most beautiful construction, hauled up under sheds; they were from 40 to 100 feet long, some of them mounting sixteen guns of three pounds calibre; others mounted four or six guns each, of from four to twelve pounds calibre; all of brass, and most beautiful pieces. There were also about forty galleys

* One plank which Lieutenant White measured, was 109 feet long, more than four inches thick, and perfectly square to the top, where it was two feet wide; it was sawed out of the trunk of a teak-tree, which here attains a most extraordinary magnitude. It is not unusual to see trees that would make a natural main-mast for a line of battle ship, clear of knots.

afloat, most of them decorated with gilding and carved work, presenting a very animated and pleasing spectacle.

" The city of Saigon was formerly confined to the western extremity of its present site. The part now called old Saigon, bears much greater marks of antiquity, and exhibits a superior style of architecture. Some of the streets are paved with flags; and the quays, of stone and brick-work, extend nearly a mile along the river. Since the civil wars have terminated, the tide of population has flowed rapidly to the eastward, till it has produced one continued city, which has spread itself on the opposite bank of the streams on which it is situated, and surrounds the citadel and naval arsenal. From the western part of the city, a river or canal has been recently cut, to the distance of twenty-three English miles, connecting with the Meikong, by which a free water communication is opened with Cambodia. This canal is twelve feet deep throughout, and about 80 feet wide. It was cut through immense forests and morasses, in the short space of six weeks: twenty-six thousand men were employed night and day, by turns, in this stupendous undertaking, and 7000 lives were sacrificed by fatigue and consequent disease. The banks of this canal are already planted with the palmaria-tree, which is a great favourite with the Anamese.

" The site of the citadel of Saigon is the first elevated land which occurs in the river, after leaving Cape St. James, and this is about 60 feet above the level of the river: it was formerly a natural conical mound, covered with wood. The grandfather of the present monarch caused the top to be taken off and levelled, and a deep moat to be sunk, surrounding the whole, which was supplied with water from the river

by means of a canal; it is most admirably situated for defence, and would be capable of standing a long siege against even an European army.*

"The surrounding country is irriguous, and the city is intersected in various parts by creeks, over which are thrown bridges, each being a single plank of immense magnitude. Saigon is within a few miles of the head of the ship-navigation of the river Don-nai; it is there interrupted by shoals and sand-banks, but is navigable for small craft for a great distance inland. This is also the case with the stream washing the southern borders of the city, which, with the new river, connects the Cambodia and Don-nai rivers."

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

In their description of the appearance and character of the natives, the American lieutenant and the British surgeon are unaccountably at variance. The former speaks of "men, women, children, swine, and mangy dogs, equally filthy and miserable in appearance." The women, he describes as "coarse, dingy, and devoid of decency;" and the "rude curiosity" of the crowd by which they were annoyed, they were frequently obliged to chastise with their canes. "The young females of Cochin China," he says, "are frequently handsome, and some even beautiful, before their teeth, tongue, gums, and lips become stained

* "This fortress is furnished with a regular glacis, a wet ditch, and a high rampart, and commands the whole country. It is of a square form, and each side is about half a mile in extent. It is in an unfinished state, no embrasures being made, nor cannon mounted on the rampart. The zig-zag is very short, the passage into the gate straight; the gates are handsome, and ornamented in the Chinese style." Finlayson, p. 312. The fortifications of Saigon were constructed in 1790, by Colonel Victor Oliver.

with their detestable masticatory; the children of both sexes, however, begin this practice at a very early age. They are by nature finely formed; but their symmetrical proportions are distorted and disguised by their dirty habits: * a woman at thirty is an object of disgust, and, at forty, is absolutely hideous." Their traders are charged universally with meanness, fraud, and villany; and Cochin China is pronounced the least desirable country for mercantile adventurers.†

Mr. Finlayson, who would naturally compare the appearance and manners of the people with those of

* In their persons, the Cochin Chinese are, on all hands, admitted to be not a cleanly people. Many of their customs are extremely disgusting. Those ablutions so much practised by all the western Asiatics, are unknown among them; and their dress is not washed from the time it is first put on, till it is no longer fit for use. In their food, they are any thing but nice, eating mice, rats, frogs, worms, and other vermin; and the entrails of pigs, fowls, deer, &c. are broiled and eaten, with no other cleansing than slightly rinsing them. Putrid meat and fish are generally preferred to sweet. Fresh eggs are despised; those that have become to a certain degree putrid, fetch thirty per cent more in the market; and if they contain young ones, they are still more highly esteemed. Among the numerous dishes sent to Mr. Crawfurd by the king, while they were at Hué, were two plates of hatched eggs; containing young that were already fledged; and they were assured that this was meant as a compliment, it being considered as a great delicacy. The Tongkinese are equally gross in their food. Horse-flesh is exposed for sale. Dogs are esteemed a delicacy. Monkeys, grasshoppers, lizards, mountain-rats, and snakes are also eaten. Maybugs deprived of their heads and intestines, and silk-worms fried, are a *bonne-bouche*. Milk, butter, and cheese are their aversion.

† That Lieutenant White, disappointed in his sugar-speculation, viewed every thing with a jaundiced eye, is very evident. "In vain," he says, "does the traveller look for *glazed windows*, so indispensable for the comfort of a European. The clumsy wooden shutters must be thrown open for light!" His expectations seem to have been the more unreasonable, as there are parts of the United States in which this indispensable comfort cannot be enjoyed.

the Siamese, whom he had so recently visited, describes them in much more favourable terms. "The manners of the people" (of Kan-dyu or Cangeo), he says, "were in general polite, I might say refined; they were kind, attentive, and obliging; they courted, rather than shunned our society, and seemed to have less of the weakness or ostentation of natural pride than any of the tribes we had yet met. Their curiosity was naturally excited by the contrast which they could not but draw between themselves and us; but in the gratification of this feeling, or in its expression, was neither coarseness nor absence of good breeding; and the greatest liberty they ventured to assume, was that of simply touching our dress, with the design, I presume, of ascertaining the materials of its texture, they themselves having little notion of any other fit for this purpose than silk, in which all ranks are almost exclusively clothed.

"They are good-natured, polite, attentive, and indulgent to strangers. Their manners are agreeable, and they are, for the most part, found in a lively, playful humour, and strongly disposed to indulge in mirth. They are the gayest of Orientals; yet, the transition from mirth to sorrow and the more hateful and mean passions, seems to cost them nothing; it is as rapid as it is unaccountable, insomuch that to a stranger their conduct appears quite unreasonable as well as fickle. Like the monkey race, their attention is perpetually changing from one object to another. The houses are large and comfortable, constructed in general with mud walls, and roofed with tiles. The palm-leaf is but little used. The interior disposition of the house is somewhat peculiar. About one half forms an open hall, in which they receive visiters, transact business, and, if shopkeepers, dispose their

wares. In the back part of this hall is placed an altar, with other emblems of religion. The private apartments are disposed in recesses behind; these are in the form of square chambers, open on one side only. Their beds are formed of a bench, raised about a foot, and covered with mats.

"The costume of the Cochin Chinese is more convenient than elegant. In both sexes it is much alike, consisting of two or more loose gowns with long sleeves, reaching to the knee, and buttoned close round the neck. Beneath this, they wear a pair of wide pantaloons, and, on occasions of ceremony, persons of distinction throw a large black mantle of flowered silk over the whole. The head is covered with a turban of crape; that of the men is in general black. Over the turbans, females wear a large hat, similar to a basket. Dress is, with all ranks, an object of great attention; even the poorest among them are clothed from head to foot, and the populace thus make a more decent and respectable appearance than other eastern nations."

Again, at Saigon, the crowd conducted themselves with order, decency, and respect, as pleasing as it was novel; a numerous guard of soldiers, however, armed with lances, were then present. All of the people were dressed, the greater part in a very comfortable manner. Their small stature, combined with the rotundity of their face and the liveliness of their features, was very striking. An early visit to the market-places served to confirm the observations which the author had made on the manners of the people. The Cochin Chinese cannot, he says, be considered as in any way handsome; "yet, among the females, there are many that are even handsome as well as remark-

ably fair; and their manners are engaging, without possessing any of that looseness of character which, according to the relation of French travellers, prevails among this people." More regard, however, it is admitted, is paid to decorum than to chastity; at least among the unmarried females, who are liable to no disgrace or stigma in consequence of conduct held infamous in civilised society, and for which, after marriage, they would even there be punishable.

"Here, as in Siam, the more laborious occupations are often performed by women, and the boats upon the river are in general rowed by them. A practice, as ungallant as it is unjust, prevails both here and in Siam; that of making females only to pay for being ferried across rivers, the men passing always free. The reason alleged for the practice is, that the men are all supposed to be employed on the king's service. It is lamentable to observe how large a proportion of the men in this country are employed in occupations that are totally unproductive to the state, as well as subversive of national industry. Every petty mandarin is attended by a multitude of persons."

"Such commodities as are used by the natives, were to be found in great abundance in every bazar. No country, perhaps, produces more betel or areca-nut than this; betel-leaf less abundantly. Fish, salted and fresh; sweet potatoes, of excellent quality; Indian corn; the young shoots of the bamboo, prepared by boiling; rice, in the germinating state; coarse sugar; plantains, oranges, pumeloes, custard-apples, pomegranates, and tobacco were to be had in the greatest quantity. Pork is sold in every bazar, and poultry of an excellent description is very cheap. Alligator's flesh is held in great esteem, and our Chinese inter-

preter states that dog's flesh is sold here. The shops are of convenient size, in which the wares are disposed to the best advantage. One circumstance it was impossible to overlook, as it exhibits a marked difference of taste and manners in this people from that of the nations of India. Articles of European manufacture have, amongst the latter, in many instances, usurped the use of their own; and you can scarcely name any thing of European manufacture which is not to be had in the bazars. Here, with the sole exception of three or four case bottles, of coarse glass, there was no article whatever to be found that bore the least resemblance to any thing European. A different standard of taste prevails. A piece of cotton cloth was scarcely to be seen. Crapes, satins, and silks are alone in use, the greater number of them the manufacture of China or of Tongkin, there being, in fact, little or no manufacturing industry here. The articles which they themselves had made, were not numerous. I may specify the following: handsome and coarse mats, matting for the sails of boats and junks, coarse baskets, gilt and varnished boxes, umbrellas, handsome silk purses, in universal use, and carried both by men and women, iron nails, and a rude species of scissors. Every thing else was imported from the surrounding countries. In exchange, their territory affords rice in abundance, cardamoms, pepper, sugar, ivory, betel, &c. There are a few wealthy Chinese who carry on an extensive trade here; the bulk of the people are miserably poor, and but few amongst them are in a condition to trade but upon the most limited scale. Few of the shops in the bazars appear to contain goods of greater value than might be purchased for forty or sixty dollars, and the greater number are not worth half that sum. It is difficult to conceive that a population so extensive

can exist together in this form, with trade on so small a scale."

Nothing could exceed the civility and hospitality with which Mr. Crawfurd and the other gentlemen who accompanied him were treated both by the mandarins and the people of Saigon; they were entertained with shows and plays, and a fight between a tiger and an elephant was got up for their special amusement. Such a scene would not have been tolerated in the dominions of his majesty the white elephant. The combat was most unequal; the tiger was muzzled, and his claws had been torn out; yet, the first elephant was wounded and put to flight. At length, the tosses which the tiger received at the tusks of his successive antagonists, (their trunks being cautiously rolled up under the chin,) terminated his life. When he was perfectly dead, an elephant was brought up, who, instead of raising him on his tusks, seized him with his trunk and threw him to the distance of thirty feet.

After Mr. Finlayson had visited Turon Bay and the capital, and further intercourse with the natives had brought to light additional traits of character, and given him an opportunity of gaining a more intimate knowledge of their physical form and habits, he thus sums up his observations:—

"In point of stature, the Cochin Chinese are, perhaps, of all the various tribes that belong to this race, the most diminutive. We remarked, that they want the transverse breadth of face of the Malays, the cylindrical form of the cranium, as well as the protuberant and expanded coronoid process of the lower jaw of the Siamese, and the oblique eyes of the Chinese. In common with all of these, they have a scanty, grisly, straggling beard; coarse, lank, black

hair; small, dark eyes; a yellowish complexion; a squat, square form; and stout extremities."*

"The globular form of the cranium, and the orbicular shape of the face, are peculiarly characteristic of the Cochin Chinese. The head projects more backwards than in the Siamese; it is smaller, and more symmetrical in regard to the body, than in the tribes already noticed; and the transverse diameters, both of the occiput and the sinciput, are very nearly equal. The forehead is short and small, the cheeks round, the lower part of the face broad. The whole countenance is, in fact, very nearly round; and this is more particularly striking in the women, who are reckoned beautiful in proportion as they approach this form of face. The eyes are small, dark, and round. They want the tumid, incumbent eyelid of the Chinese; and hence they derive a sprightliness of aspect unknown to the latter. The nose is small, but well formed. The mouth is remarkably large; the lips are prominent, but not thick. The beard is remarkably scanty, yet they cultivate it with the greatest care. There are amongst them those who can number scarcely one dozen of hairs upon the chin, or on the whole of the lower jaw. That on the upper lip is somewhat more abundant. The neck is for the most part short. Before quitting this part of the subject, I may remark, that there is in the form of the head a degree of beauty, and in the expression of the countenance a degree of harmony, sprightliness, intelligence, and good humour, which we

* Of twenty-one persons, taken chiefly from the class of soldiers, the average height was five feet three inches. Few are of a very black complexion. Many of the females, in particular, are stated to be as fair as the generality of the inhabitants of the south of Europe.

should look for in vain either in the Chinese or the Siamese.

" The shape of the body and limbs in the Cochin Chinese, differs but little from that of the tribes already noticed. The chest is short, large, and well expanded; the loins broad; the upper extremities are long, but well formed; the lower are short, and remarkably stout. There is this remarkable difference from the others of the same race, that here the tendency to obesity is of rare occurrence. The limbs, though large, are not swollen with fat. The muscular system is large and well developed, and the leg in particular is almost always large and well formed. The Cochin Chinese, though a laughing, are not a fat people.

" Though living in not merely a mild, but a warm climate, the partiality for dress is universal. There is no one, however mean, but is clothed at least from the head to the knee. Nor is it comfort and convenience alone that they study: they are not above the vanity of valuing themselves on the smartness of their dress, — a failing which often leads them into extravagance. The principal and most expensive article in their dress is the turban. That of the men is made of black crape, that of the women of blue. On occasions of mourning, it is made of white crape.

" A loose jacket, somewhat resembling a large shirt, but with wide sleeves, reaching nearly to the knee, and buttoning on the right side, constitutes the principal covering of the body. Two of these, the under one of white silk, are generally worn, and they increase the number according to their circumstances and the state of the weather. Women wear a dress but little different from this, though lighter, and both wear a pair of wide pantaloons of various colours.

The dress of the poorer class is made of coarse cotton, but this is not very common, coarse silks being more in vogue. Those of China and Tongkin are worn by the more opulent classes. Shoes also are worn only by the wealthy, and are of Chinese manufacture; clogs, in fact, rather than shoes."*

The Tongkinese wear a long robe reaching to the heels, tied with a girdle or sash. Persons of rank have a robe of silk, and a cap of the same material. The lower classes wear the large Cochin Chinese hat. While subject to China, the Tongkinese were compelled to tuck up their hair in token of subjection. On recovering their independence, both sexes adopted the custom of letting it hang over their shoulders; a practice which the close-shaven bonzes, however, discountenance and ridicule.

Mr. Finlayson describes the Cochin Chinese as a nation almost without any religion whatever: "at all events, they derive no moral feeling from this source." Yet, he elsewhere remarks, that "in every house, and every building, whether public or private, even in the slightest temporary sheds, is placed something to remind you of religion, or, to speak more accurately, of the superstitious disposition of the people. And as the emblems of this nature have, for the most part, a brilliant appearance, they produce a striking effect." They have, however, neither religious instructors nor priests. In vain do we look here for the rhahaans of Birmah, or the talapoins of

* The lower orders sometimes wear a jacket made of palm-leaves closely sewed together, having the appearance of a shaggy skin; a hat, between two and three feet in diameter, shaped like a basket, comes down over the shoulders; and, thus protected, they suffer little inconvenience from the rains.

Siam.* Although Fo is an object of worship, the traces of Buddhism are much fainter and more indistinct here, than in the other Indo-Chinese kingdoms. They do not appear to believe in metempsychosis. The better sort; Mr. Finlayson says, affect to follow the precepts of Confucius. The adoration of ancestors seems, however, to be the most prevalent superstition; and this the government is said to foster. The more barbarous rites of the aborigines, who worshipped the elephant, the dog, and the tiger, are not yet extinct.† In general, if religion is ever thought of, "it consists in the ceremony of placing on a rude altar, some bits of meat and a few straws covered with the dust of scented wood; or in scattering to the winds a few scraps of paper covered with gold foil; or in sticking a piece of writing on a post, a door, or a tree."‡ You inquire, in vain, for the motives of

* In Tongkin, however, they have schools in every village, in which children are taught to read and write, but no superior colleges.

† Lieut. White explored a rude hovel, "dedicated to the evil spirit," erected on Dai-jang Point. It contained two apartments. "The entrance to the first room was from the platform, through a large doorway. It was about fifteen feet square. At the further end was a sort of table of hewn planks, on one side of which was seated a small wooden idol, with an elephant's proboscis, not unlike some of the objects of Hindoo worship, but of most rude and disproportionate manufacture. On the other side of the table was the model of a junk, about two and a half feet long; and on the table was placed a brazen censer, and an earthen vessel half filled with ashes, in which were stuck a number of matches, the upper ends of which had been burnt. Several other small images, mostly broken and otherwise mutilated, were lying about in confusion. The back room was of smaller dimensions, and contained no object of curiosity. In fact, the whole establishment was in a ruinous state, and appeared to be seldom visited."

‡ In the woods in the suburbs of Saigon, Lieut. White says, hat he frequently saw miniature houses erected on four posts, with

such acts. The objects of their fear are as numerous as they are hideous. One form of superstition is observed by seafaring people; another by those who live on the coast; and a third by those inhabiting agricultural districts.

"In a sequestered spot in the environs of the city," (Saigon,) says Lieut. White, "at the further end of a romantic pathway, amid the foliage of various kinds of beautiful trees, we arrived at the largest pagoda we had yet seen in the country, situated on a small mound, apparently artificial. It was of brick, covered with tile, and in a totally different style from others in the city. It bore traces of great antiquity, which, with its immense proportions, and a certain air of Gothic grandeur and druidical seclusion, were admirably calculated to inspire involuntary awe, and to render it a proper retreat for the most rigid ascetic. An old priest with a grey beard, but not otherwise distinguishable from the laity, accompanied by a young aspirant, advanced a few steps to meet us, and received us with great appearance of cordiality; and, when informed by the linguist that our object was curiosity to see the temple, he readily proceeded to gratify us. In front of the pile were suspended four bells of different sizes and tones, and of the form, and arranged in the manner, heretofore mentioned. We entered by a door near the eastern angle, and were ushered into a small apartment, where were suspended from the walls several articles of clothing, which appeared to be the vestments of the priests. From this, by a side door, we entered a spacious vestibule, separated from the nave of the church by a massy partition of polished wood in pannel work. In

an idol sitting in the interior, and offerings of fruit and cooked dishes placed before it.

this place were three immense drums, mounted on frames, and on a table a small brass idol, with an elephant's proboscis, before which was a brazen censer filled with matches, one end of each of which had been burned. The priest then threw open a large door in the partition, and led the way into the body of the temple. There was no light besides what was admitted through the door by which we had entered, and that was barely sufficient to render 'darkness visible:' our eyes were, however, enabled to penetrate the gloom sufficiently to ascertain that its interior proportions were commensurate with the idea that we had formed from its exterior. Several groupes of idols, of hideous, and some of colossal proportions, were visible through the dim twilight that pervaded the temple, and seemed to render them still more hideous and unearthly. In fact, the recollections of this exhibition are more like the traces of an indistinct and feverish dream, than reality. It would be as futile to attempt any description of the various monstrosities in this pantheon of pagan divinities, as it would be to repeat their several genealogies, histories, exploits, &c., as delivered to us by the priest, through the medium of Polonio. Their divinities, however, were not treated with any great veneration by these guardians of the temple. 'This fellow,' the old priest would say, taking hold of the hoof of an ox on the bust of a man with an elephant's head, 'was famous for his gallantries; and this one, tweaking a tremendous nose on a human head, stuck upon the body of what appeared to be intended for a tiger, 'was celebrated for destroying wild beasts;' and his history of the capricious amours of some of their deities, no longer excited any wonder at the production of these anomalies.

"A more direct engine," continues Mr. Finlayson, "than that of religion itself, has modified, if not formed, the moral character of the people; it is that of an avaricious, illiberal, and despotic government, the effect of which, so sedulously pursued through a course of ages, it is melancholy and revolting to human nature to contemplate. It has involved the whole body of the people in perpetual and insurmountable poverty; it has debased the mind; it has destroyed every generous feeling; it has crushed in the bud the early aspirations of genius; it has cast a blasting influence over every attempt at improvement. Such being the character of the government, it will not appear surprising that the moral character of the people should in many respects be brutalised. What is defective in their character, has been occasioned by perpetual slavery and oppression; yet, notwithstanding all this, they display traits of moral feeling, ingenuity, and acuteness, which, under a liberal government, would seem capable of raising them to an elevated rank amongst nations. But they are perpetually reminded of the slavery under which they exist; the bamboo is constantly at work, and every petty paltry officer, every wretch who can claim precedence over another, is at liberty to inflict lashes on those under him. But the tameness with which they submit to this degrading discipline, alike applicable to the people as to the military, is the most extraordinary circumstance. Their obedience is unlimited, nor do they, by word or by action, manifest the slightest resistance to the arbitrary decisions of their tyrants. It will not appear surprising that this system should render them cunning, timid, deceitful, and regardless of truth; that it should make them conceited, impudent, clamorous, assuming, and tyrannical, where they imagine they can be so with impunity.

Their clamorous boldness is easily seen through, and the least opposition or firmness reduces them to the meanest degree of submission and fawning.

" Such are the more revolting traits in their character; they are in a great measure counterbalanced by a large share of others that are of a more amiable stamp. They are mild, gentle, and inoffensive in their character, beyond most nations. Though addicted to theft, the crime of murder is almost unknown amongst them.* To strangers, they are affable, kind, and attentive; and in their conduct, they display a degree of genuine politeness and urbanity quite unknown to the bulk of the people in other parts of India. They are, besides, lively and good-humoured, playful and obliging. Towards each other, their conduct is mild and unassuming; but the omission of accustomed forms or ceremonies, the commission of the slightest fault, imaginary or real, is followed by immediate punishment. The bamboo is the universal antidote against all their failings.

" The Cochin Chinese are more industrious than we should be apt to suspect, considering the oppressive nature of the government. Where the government interferes but little, as in the fisheries on the coast, their industry is indeed very conspicuous, and there seems every reason to believe that, were they freed from oppression, they would be equally so in other branches. They are capable of supporting a large share of fatigue; and the quantum of daily labour, as for instance in the operation of rowing, or of running, is in general very considerable. But the greatest obstacle to the development of industry proceeds from the oppressive

* Licutenant White says, that murders are now by no means unfrequent, especially by poison.

nature of the military system, by which about two-thirds of the male population are compelled to serve as soldiers, at a low and inadequate rate of pay. Of all the grievances they labour under, it would appear that they consider this the most oppressive. It not only takes from agriculture and other occupations, the hands necessary for such labours, but by the idle habits which the military service generates in the men, it renders them unfit to return to that condition of life. The consequence of this system may easily be conjectured, though not perhaps to the full extent. Almost all kinds of labour are performed by women, whom it is not unusual to see guiding the plough and sowing the seed. Besides, the labour of women is paid for at an equal rate with that of the men. The daily wages for either is one *mas* and their food, or two *mas*, without it. Another great evil arising out of the military system of levy, consists in the destruction of family connexions and ties. From the age of seventeen to twenty, a selection of the youth is made for military service, from which there is no retiring until age or infirmity has rendered them incapable of further service. It is true that, from time to time, they are allowed to return to their homes on leave of absence; but it is to be feared that a temporary residence of this nature affords a feeble barrier to the unsocial tendency of the system."

In the administration of justice, the utmost venality prevails. All capital crimes, except adultery, are punished by decollation. In that case, the parties are bound together, back to back, and thrown off a bridge into the river. Theft, though a capital crime, is universally prevalent. Yet, the police is conducted on "an excellent plan," one of the most respectable inhabitants being made responsible for the good order

of every street. Riots and disturbances are consequently very rare. Minor crimes are punished by imprisonment, flagellation, and the *caungue*. Polygamy and concubinage are universal, and are under no restriction; but a man "seldom takes *more* than three wives, one of which is always paramount: the children of all are equally legitimate. The marriage-festival lasts, according to the rank and means of the parties, from three to nine days. Their colour for mourning is white. In their funerals and funereal fêtes, their magnificent coffins, the superstitious selection of particular spots for interment, and the festivals in honour of ancestors, the Anamese copy the Chinese, or perhaps discover an original affinity to that nation. Their dress, too, bears a general resemblance to that of the Chinese, prior to the Tâtar invasion. Like the Chinese, they have no real coin, except the brass (or *tutenague*) money called *sepecs* (*sapuca*), rather smaller than an English shilling, and very brittle: 60 sepecs make one *mace*, and 10 *mace* (600 sepecs) one *quan* or *khwan*. Both these are imaginary money. In 1764, a *quan* exchanged against a Spanish dollar, or two rupees. The value of 21 Spanish dollars in *sepecs* of tutenague, weighs 150 lbs. This currency, therefore, is most incommodious. Ingots of gold and silver, however, are the more common medium of exchange: their value as money is determined by an impression stamped upon them. Their weights have the same denomination as in China. The *cattee* is equal to a pound and a half English, and 100 *cattees* make a *picul* of 150 lbs. Their bushel is equal to 39 quarts.

We have thus brought together the substance of the information we possess relative to the Anamese, in this place, because most of the observations were collected at Saigon. From their vicinity to China, and the in-

timate connexion that has at different periods subsisted between the two countries, the Chinese character, as well as literature, has been extensively introduced; and whatever strongly-marked features of dissimilarity may originally have existed, have been softened down or effaced. The Chinese scattered about the kingdom, maintain, indeed, a distinctive character. "These industrious and enterprising people," says Mr. Finlayson, "are the butchers, the tailors, the confectioners, and the pedlars of Cochin China; they are met with in every bazar and in every street, with their elastic pole carried across their shoulders, at each end of which is suspended a basket filled with their various commodities;* they are also the bankers and money-changers, and a great part of the circulating medium of the country passes through their hands." But the superior industry of the Chinese, both in Cochin China and in Siam, is partly accounted for by their exemption from the military conscription. In Cochin China, every man is a soldier, and even the commercial and mercantile operations, as well as all the native manufactures, are carried on by the women: they are the husbandmen, the mariners, and the merchants. Political causes have thus had a powerful influence on the national character. Nor do the Chinese differ more widely from the Anamese in the particulars referred to, than, in Spain, the Galician differs from the Murcian, or than tribes of the same family are often found to be distinguished in habits, dialect, and character.

The proper Anam written character is said greatly to resemble the Siamese. The language, in its construction, approaches nearer also to the Thay (or

* Some of them are itinerant cooks, who carry in this way various dishes ready-dressed for the table.

Siamese) and the Malayu, than it does to the Chinese, although its vocabulary has borrowed more from the latter language, and bears little resemblance to that of Siam. In common with other monosyllabic languages, its essential poverty renders it necessary to use the primary monosyllables in a varying signification, determined solely by the accent; and a diversity of dialect is produced merely by a difference of accentuation. Thus, Dr. Leyden has given a list of sixteen languages spoken in China, the *Khunn*, or mandarin language, varying considerably from the *Kong-tong*, or language of Canton.* Whether the Anam may not be included among them, it is at present impossible to ascertain: he was inclined to consider it as wholly distinct and original.

We must now hasten to complete, so far as our materials will enable us, our topographical description.

From Saigon, Mr. Crawfurd proceeded to Turon Bay, which receives the waters of a river on which is situated the city of Fai-Foh, once the centre of the commerce of Cochin China.†

* Asiat. Res. vol. x. p. 267. Mr. Barrow declares that scarcely two provinces in China have the same colloquial language.

† "On arriving at Faifo, we were surprised to find the recent ruins of a large city, the streets laid out on a regular plan, paved with flat stone, and well-built brick houses on each side. But, alas! there was now little more remaining than the outward walls, within which, in a few places, you might behold a wretch who formerly was the possessor of a palace, sheltering himself from the weather in a miserable hut of straw and bamboos. Of the few edifices left entire, one was a wooden bridge built upon piles, over a narrow arm of the river, with a tiled roof. The temples and their wooden gods were no further molested than by being robbed of their bells, which, I understood the present usurper, with the purpose of coining them into money. The course of the river from Turon to Faifo was a little to the eastward of South." (The voyage occupied fourteen hours.)—CHAPMAN'S *Voyage to Cochin China*, 1770. *Asiatic Journ.* vol. iv. p. 15.

COCHIN CHINESE SHIPPING ON THE RIVER TAYSO.

TURON.

This magnificent bay, which resembles a fine, tranquil lake, is surrounded almost entirely with bold and lofty hills, clothed with wood to their very summit. Compared, however, with the more luxuriant vegetation of the southern provinces, the aspect of the country is sterile, and the general effect, Mr. Finlayson describes as falling short of his expectation. Extensive sandy beaches surround the shore, except where they are rendered more bold by the projection of granitic rocks. In point of scenery, he says, it is greatly inferior to that of Trincomalee, to which the absence of cultivated land and the deficiency of human habitations assimilate it. Here and there, on the shores of the bay, are to be found the huts of a few wretched creatures who live by fishing; but neither the betel, nor the cocoa-nut, nor a palm of any description is to be seen, nor, except a few acres of rice-ground, any signs of agriculture. Every thing indicates an ungrateful soil. Yet, the great extent of the circular basin, the serrated tops of the mountain ridges, partially enveloped in mists, the number of Chinese junks and other boats that are always to be seen sailing to and fro, and the bold forms of a few rocks, confer upon this harbour a peculiar interest.*

* See the plate. Before the harbour, on a low peninsula, is a large mass of brown marble rocks, resembling, at a distance, a heap of ruins; and on the point is a remarkable rock, bearing a strong resemblance to a lion couchant, as if about to spring into the sea; and what renders the illusion more complete, the head, at the seat of the eye, is perforated. Turon Bay is in lat 16° 7′ N. The peninsular promontory of Turon (or Hansan), together with Callao Island, was the price demanded by France, in the treaty negotiated by Bishop Adran, for her assistance. This peninsula, Mr. Barrow observes, is to Cochin China, "what Gibraltar is to

Vast numbers of boats were seen plying off the coast in the open sea, indicating the existence of a numerous population. "These boats are in shape similar to those of the Malays, but are differently rigged, having a large square-shaped sail in the middle, and one, somewhat similar, at each end; at a distance they look like small ships. Several hundreds of them are sometimes in sight, all under sail. With scarcely a rag of clothes to cover them, without either house or home, other than that which their frail bark, covered with a sorry matting, affords, with a scanty supply of poor, and perhaps unwholesome food; in this way does a numerous, but wretched population lead a life of misery. The more barbarous of the *Orang Laut* are not more squalid or more wretched, than many of the fishing tribes that occupy the coasts of Cochin China. The facility with which subsistence, though a miserable one, is to be procured in this occupation, will account for the great numbers that are engaged in fishing. It requires no funds, and but little industry, to put a family in the way of providing for itself. Hence, every boat is for the most part the residence of a single family; and as the source from which they derive their subsistence it inexhaustible, there appears to be no limit to the increase of marriages amongst them. A man of ordinary industry is capable of construct-

Spain, with this difference in favour of the former, that, to its impregnability, it adds the important advantage of a convenient and well-sheltered port and harbour. On the peninsula is a sufficient extent of level surface for a small town, with a naval arsenal and magazines of every description; the whole capable of being rendered perfectly defensible by a handful of men. The small island of Callao, about thirty miles south of Turon Bay, completely commands the entrance to the river and city of Faifoe, the ancient mart for foreign commerce."—BARROW, p. 335.

ing, with his own hands, the machinery and materials necessary for the existence of himself and family. Of these, the boat is the principal and an indispensable part; and here we observe a much cheaper and easier mode of constructing them than is generally adopted throughout these seas. The practice of hollowing out single trees must be painful, tedious, and difficult. The Cochin Chinese have substituted in its stead a sort of basket-work, of very close texture, of which they form both the bottom and the greater part of the sides of the boat. This close basket-work, or matting, is made of split rattans, and being stretched upon the frame, is well covered with pitch. The upper work is, however, formed of one or two planks, and the boat is further strengthened by a deck of the same materials. In the centre, there is a small space covered with matting, the sole accommodation of the occupiers; bamboos serve for masts; the bark of trees is made into tackling; a few mats, sewed together, are the only sails; all of which, as well as fishing-nets and lines, are made by every man for his own use. Thus equipped, they launch into the deep, carrying with them all that they possess, and wander from bay to bay in quest of a subsistence, which their squalid and wretched forms would lead us to believe to be precarious and inadequate. Though, for the most part, under the shelter of a bold and rocky coast, they are to be found at times far out at sea. The night and their idle time are invariably spent under the shade of trees, or on some sandy beach. Here they indolently saunter away their time, till necessity again calls for exertion. Their share of toil may be considered moderate, the structure of their boats being such as to admit of their sailing with all winds, and in every direction."

The village of Turon lies nearly three miles from

the usual place of anchorage. The approach is through an extensive shallow bank, guarded by a respectable fort. The houses appeared neat and clean, but there is little or no culture of any sort; the bazar is an indifferent one.

Two narrow barges, containing forty rowers each, but with very paltry accommodations, were sent from Hué, to convey the British Agent to the capital. It appears to have been the object of the Cochin Chinese government, to strip the mission from the Governor-general as much as possible of an imposing, or even a respectable appearance, that they might treat it accordingly; owing, at least in part, to his not being the bearer of any letter from the British monarch, but only from a viceroy.

HUÉ.

THE mouth of the river of Hué (or Hoa) is narrowed by extensive sand-banks. After passing the bar, on which there are between sixteen and eighteen feet at high water, you seem to have entered a vast fresh-water lake, and to be completely excluded from the sea. The scenery now becomes very interesting. Islands covered with cultivation are visible at a distance; several vast rivers appear to pour their waters into one basin; and thousands of boats are seen returning from or proceeding to sea. The city is about nine miles up the river, in lat. 16° 45′ N., long. 106° 32′ E. Here we must again avail ourselves of Mr. Finlayson's Narrative.

"The river is so much divided by islands of various dimensions, and so intersects the country in every way, that it is difficult to state more of its course, than its general direction, which is from west to east.

In ascending the river to the Mandarin's, we soon quitted the branch which we first occupied, and turning to the right, entered a fine and wide canal, partly natural and partly artificial. This canal surrounds three sides of the capital, and, at both extremities, joins the great river, which lies in front of the fourth. The canal is about forty or fifty yards wide at its lowest part, where we entered; it becomes narrower as you ascend, and, at the upper extremity, it is little more than eighteen or twenty yards across. It is maintained in perfect order. The sides are regularly sloped, and supported by embankments where requisite. Its depth would appear to be, in most parts, about eight feet. It affords the double advantage of an outward defence of the place, — for which it was doubtless originally intended, as it bounds the glacis throughout its course, — and of water-conveyance to the various parts of an extensive city.

"We had seen little more than the bare walls of our habitation since our arrival. The most beautiful and luxuriant scenery now burst upon our view; and we soon agreed, that the banks of the river of Hué present the most beautiful and interesting scenery of any river we had seen in Asia. Its beauties, however, are the gifts of nature, more than of art. A vast expanse of water, conveyed by a magnificent river through a fertile valley, not so wide but that the eye can compass its several parts; ridges of lofty and bold mountains in the distance; the cocoa-nut, the areca, the banana, the sugar-cane; hedges of bamboos that wave their elegant tops in the air; and rows of that beautiful plant, the hibiscus;—are the principal materials which, grouped in various forms, delight the eye. From this, we must not separate the not less interesting prospect of numerous and apparently comfortable

villages. In these, the most remarkable circumstance is the neatness and cleanliness of the houses of the natives, and the cheerful, contented, and lively disposition of the people. The houses of the better sort are substantial and large, covered with tiles, the walls being partly made of brick and mortar, and partly of wood. Besides, they shew considerable taste in adorning their grounds and little gardens with flowers and ornamental trees.

"Though we were in the immediate vicinity of a large city, few people were to be seen: these were at work in the fields, collecting weeds from the canal, or passing on the roads. We were still more surprised to find so few boats upon the river; and of junks, we saw no more than three or four....As soon as we had entered the canal, we found ourselves in front of one face of the fort. The term fort, however, is apt to convey erroneous notions of this place: it is, in fact, a fortified city; and if the French had compared it with such places as Delhi and Agra, instead of Fort William, the comparison had been more just. The fortifications are, without question, of a most extraordinary nature, whether considered in the magnitude of extent, the boldness of design, the perseverance in execution, or the strength which they display. The fort appears to be built with the greatest regularity, and according to the principles of European fortification. It is of quadrangular form; each side appeared to us to be at least a mile and a half in length.* The rampart is about thirty feet high, and cased with brick and mortar. The bastions project but little, containing from five to eight embrasures, and are placed

* The French mandarins told them, that the length of each side was 1,187 toises, and that the walls would contain 800 pieces of cannon.

at a great distance from each other. The walls are in excellent order. We could not distinctly see whether there was a ditch at the foot of the wall, but were told that there is. The glacis extends to the canal, and is about 200 yards in breadth. An enemy on the opposite side of the canal would, in many parts, find shelter in the brushwood and hedges, and even villages, within reach of the guns of the fort, and thence would find the means of attacking the place with little exposure of his men. But it is not to be expected, that such places should be capable of much resistance. They may serve as a temporary defence against a sudden alarm, and against a tumultuary attack from irregular troops; but a handful of brave and enterprising men would soon possess themselves of the place. The gates are ornamented in the Chinese style, but the approaches are calculated for the purpose of defence. There appeared no reason to doubt that we were brought by this circuitous route, in order that we might see the extent of the fortifications."

Subsequently, they were permitted to see the interior. "On entering the gate, we turned to the right, and passed along the rampart. As much care has been bestowed on the construction of the interior as of the exterior. The place is laid out in quadrangles; the roads are wide and convenient; and a navigable canal, which leads to the granaries and magazines, passes through the place. The town, if it may be so called, is rather paltry: the greater part of the ground appears to be laid out in ill-cultivated gardens, attached to miserable, but probably only temporary huts. The bazars have an appearance of poverty; yet, the regularity of the streets gives an air of great neatness to the place, and the view both of the country and the town, from the rampart, is very fine. After passing for more than a

mile along the rampart, we were conducted to the public granaries, consisting of a vast number of well-built, substantial storehouses. The greatest attention has been bestowed upon every thing, and the powder-magazines are erected in the midst of tanks.

"The palace of the king is surrounded on every side with handsome and well-built rows of barracks. These were uncommonly clean, and very complete in their structure, and would lose little in comparison with the best we have in England.....The citadel is a small quadrangular building, with strong and lofty walls, close to the palace, not calculated to excite any peculiar interest."

Of the palace itself, they could see nothing, except on passing one or two of the gates, so completely is it concealed by the barracks. The display of iron and brass guns of all sorts and sizes, of mortars and ammunition, in the artillery department, was truly surprising. "It was easy to perceive," Mr. Finlayson says, "that the genius which had directed every thing was French, and that the master-mind which had created such great works, no longer presided over them."

The principal bazar at Hué consists of a spacious street about a mile in length, with shops on either side —some of them paltry huts made of palm-leaves; the rest more substantially built of wood, with tiled or thatched roofs. The poverty of the shops was here very striking, and altogether, Hué and its inhabitants appeared to great disadvantage in comparison with the capital of Don-nai. There are few Chinese among the population, which is stated to amount to 30,000 souls. During the violent rains to which this part of Cochin China is subject, the town is liable to be speedily inundated; and people are seen moving about the street

in boats, where, but the day before, they had passed on dry ground.

Our limits restrict us from entering into further details. Mr. Crawfurd could not succeed in obtaining an audience of the king of Cochin China. He was told, that his business being entirely of a commercial nature, it altogether precluded the possibility of his being admitted to the royal presence; that it was an affair for the cognizance of his ministers; that had he been the envoy of the king of England, or of any other king, he would have been presented at court; but that in his case, it was as if the governor of Saigon had sent an envoy to the imperial court. The presents of the Governor-general were politely declined by his majesty, and the mission was dismissed, not without evident manifestations of displeasure or contempt.*

Before many years, the British nation and the court and good people of Hué will be better acquainted with each other. His majesty has condescendingly promised to accept of whatever presents may be agreeable to him, *next time*, paying for the same. Who can tell but that, in a few years, we may have a British factory at Turon, steam-boats plying on the Saigon river, or even ascending the unknown course of the Mei-kong, and that a joint-stock company may be formed to work the gold mines of Tongkin!

* Mr. Crawfurd had suffered the letter from the Governor-general to be opened by the governor of Saigon, which evidently gave great offence. In 1804, Mr. Roberts, an envoy from the Governor-general, had been honourably received, and obtained two audiences of the king.

END OF ANAM.

ERRATA.

Page 73, line 14, *for* Brimans *read* Birmans.
95, line 5, *for* Binnah *read* Birmah.

J. MOYES, TEMPLE PRINTING OFFICE, BOUVERIE STREET

Map
PERSIA,
THE MODERN TRAVELLER
KHORASAN
KERMAN
INDIAN
OCEAN
Longitude East of Ross Greenwich

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE TWELFTH.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

PERSIA.

[A region of Western Asia, lying between lat. 25° and 40° N. and long. 45° and 70° E. Bounded, N. by the Russian empire, the Caspian Sea, and Independent Tatary; E. by the Indus and the mountains of Coosh; S. by the Arabian Sea; W. by Kourdistan, the Shat-el-Arab, and the Persian Gulf.]

THE name of Persia, adopted by modern geographers from the Greeks, originally designated only the south-western province of that vast region which is now known under this appellation. The ancient Parsistan (or country of the Parsees), which the Greeks softened into Persis, still bears the name of Pharsistan or Fars.* This province, which is sometimes distinguished as Persia Proper, is the finest part of the empire, and contains Persepolis and Shiraz, the ancient and one of the modern capitals. The more ancient name of Persia is supposed to have been Elam; but the Elam of the Hebrew Scriptures appears to have bordered upon the basin of the Euphrates, comprising the mountainous regions of Khuzistan and Louristan, from which descended that hardy and warlike race who subsequently extended their conquests southward and eastward over

* The פרס (paras or peres) of Scripture might be read Pharas or Fars. It is supposed to be derived from a word signifying horseman.—See CALMET.

Susiana and Persis, and the western part of Kerman. To the north of ancient Persia extends the vast province of *Irak-Adjemi*, or Persian Irak, which nearly corresponds to the ancient Media: near its southern extremity is found the city of Isfahan. The Great Salt Desert separates this province from the ancient Parthia and the districts now included under the modern appellation of Khorasan. The western portion only of this territory is included within the present limits of the Persian empire. To the north-east of Khorasan is the ancient Bactriana, now called Balkh, which is separated by the river Jihon or Oxus from the ancient Sogdiana, or *Maûer-en-nahr* (the country beyond the river), now forming, together with Balkh itself, part of the dominions of the sovereign of Bokhara. To the south of Balkh lies the province of Caubul, which, together with Segistan, Zabulistan, and Beloochistan, forms the modern Afghanistan, or country of the

* In Gen. x. 22, Asshur is joined with Elam. "Elam or Elymais is the original seat of the Persians in the mountains of Loristan, before they extended themselves in Persis and Susiana. Xenophon describes them as originally a nation of mountaineers. Elymais or Elam extended its name with its conquests. The same mountains were possessed by the *Cossæi* in later times, and the Persians are sometimes called *Kussii* or *Kissii* by the Greeks."—VINCENT'S *Nearchus*, vol. ii. p. 554. The original appellation seems to be still preserved in the form of Ardelan, (Ard-Elam?) the name of the province lying between Kourdistan and Irak-Ajem. D'Anville says: "The name of Elymais takes in a great extent in Susiana, being as well applied to the northern and mountainous division, as to the maritime parts, which are flat and moorish. But the former is more agreeable to the situation of the *Elymæi*, who are mentioned as having a prince independent both of the Macedonians of Syria and the Parthians." (vol. ii. p. 50.) Malte Brun, on the contrary, confines the appellation to the maritime tract extending to the mouths of the Euphrates, now in the possession of independent Arabs. The fact appears to be, that the whole of Khooristan, including Susiana, was originally comprehended in Elam. That Shushan was in the province of Elam, is certain.—See Dan. viii. 2.

Afghans, whose dominion has extended itself over a considerable portion of Eastern Persia.

The name by which Persia is known to the natives, is Iran, under which denomination the Mohammedan writers include the whole of the vast region south and west of the Oxus; while that of Touran is applied to the countries beyond the Oxus, the boundary, from time immemorial, of Persia and Scythia.* On the Persepolitan monuments, this word occurs in the form of Eriene, which is evidently identical with the Ariane of the Greeks.† Iran has been supposed to have denoted originally the north-eastern region of Persia, as distinguished from Irak and Persia or Fars. In its modern acceptation, at least, it comprehends, like the word Persia, the whole of the region lying between Arabia and India, Tatary, and the Indian Ocean.

* The Turks and Arabs give the name of Adjem to all Persia.

† D'Anville says: "The country which represents the ancient Ariana, is that which the Persians call Khorasan, because of its relative situation towards the rising sun," (vol. ii. p. 61.) The *Choro-Mithrena* of Ptolemy might seem to be an appellation of the same import as Khorasan, but that district is placed in Media. In the earliest dawn of history, we find the country possessed by several independent nations; the Persians in the south; the Arians in the east; the Medes in the centre; while on the north, were the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Cadusians, and other barbarian hordes. The name of the river Arius is supposed to be still preserved in that of the Heri-roud, which passes by Herat, the most considerable city in Khorasan. After all, it may reasonably be doubted, whether the word Iran has any connexion with that of Aria, although in Eriene there seems some resemblance to it. "The authors of the Universal History," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "on what authority I know not, state, that the word Iran is not a general name of Persia, but of a part of that country. This is certainly erroneous. Iran has, from the most ancient times to the present day, been the term by which the Persians call their country; and it includes, in the sense they understand it, all the provinces to the east of the Tigris; Assyria Proper, Media, Parthia, Persia, and Hyrcania or Mazanderan."—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 2. *note.*

In common with all the countries forming the groupe of Western Asia, Persia is characterized by its numerous and arid mountains, its great extent of deserts, and the general dryness of the region, there being few rivers of any length, and scarcely any which find their way to the ocean. The interior of Persia is a highly elevated country, as is proved by the abundance of snow which rests upon the summits of the mountains, although these are, for the most part, of moderate height. It is, in fact, a country of mountains, not forming any continuous range, but extending in all directions, and seemingly heaped together or piled one upon another without order; the whole resting upon a very elevated base.* This plateau joins that of Armenia and Asia Minor on the west, where, on the southern side of the basin of the river Kour, the chain to which Mount Ararat belongs, embraces the province of Adjerbijan, the ancient Atropatene. From this chain, a belt of high limestone mountains goes off towards the east, making a circuit round the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, and leaving between it and that sea a very fertile plain. These are the Hyrcanian mountains of the ancients, the sides of which towards the sea, are described by Strabo as not only steep, but projecting in such a manner that the rivers throw themselves into the sea, forming a liquid arch, under which men could pass on dry ground. In this range, now known under the name of Elborz or Alpons, is the famous defile called the *Pylæ Caspiæ* or Caspian Gates, now called Kawar, about forty miles to the N.E. of

* Persia may be described as an immense dry, salt plain, traversed by ranges of mountains, either independent or connected with the great frontier chains. The streams descending from these form most beautiful and luxuriant valleys, which are, in fact, the only fertile or populous portions of the country.

the city of Tehraun. It consists of an artificial pass, hewn through the solid rock for nearly 200 yards; and for 28 miles the road is so narrow as to admit only a single chariot to pass. It was by this road that Alexander pursued Darius into Parthia. Preserving an easterly course, this vast mountain rampart is continued through the northern part of Khorasan, sending out various ramifications southward; till, passing N. of Mushed, and branching out into the highlands of Hazarah, it stretches S. of Balkh, and is lost in the Paropamisan range N. of Caubul.

The Kourdistan range enters Persia to the south of Lake Ourmia, under the name of Elwund; and its numberless ramifications fill the whole of that part of ancient Media, extending south-eastward to Isfahan. Another chain, known under the name of the mountains of Baktyar or Buktiari, forming a prolongation of the Kourdistan range, stretches from the valley of the Karoon to the plain of Shiraz, at no great distance from the Persian Gulf: then, bending eastward, and running across Kerman, they are supposed to join the chain which separates Segistan from Mekran, the ancient Gedrosia. The latter chain is, finally, connected with the mountains of Sooliman and Wulli, which form the long plateau separating Persia from India.

Of the composition of these various ranges of rock, little is known. They are supposed to consist chiefly of limestone; an observation which is confirmed by the numerous caverns mentioned by ancient writers. Many of the mountains are among the most sterile and wild in the world, being arid rocks without wood or any herbaceous plants. Mount Ararat and the neighbouring chains appear to contain a large quantity of slate. In Mount Zagrus, and the mountains of Adjerbijan, rocks of sandstone are succeeded by lime-

stone and granite, in the same manner as in the mountains of Europe. The Elborz range seems to consist of carbonate and sulphate of lime in the forms of limestone, marble, and alabaster, with numerous blocks of granite lying in different directions. The reefs which border the coast of Mazanderan, are of granite. The shores of the Caspian are liable to frequent and violent shocks of earthquake; and in the year 1721, the country round Tabriz experienced one of the most dreadful visitations of this kind that are recorded in history. Recent examples of earthquake have occurred also in the southernmost chains of Fars and Laristan. Some of the mountains of Irak are said to be volcanic.*

"My father's empire," said the younger Cyrus to Xenophon, "is so large, that people perish with cold at one extremity, while they are suffocated with heat at the other." This description still applies to Persia, which has three distinct climates. The shores of the Caspian, being about sixty feet below the level of the Ocean, are exposed to burning heats in summer; the winter is mild, and an excessive humidity pervades the atmosphere throughout the year. Steel speedily rusts there, and the sallow complexion of the natives indicates the insalubrity of this region. Vegetation is proportionally vigorous. The sugar-cane is cultivated with success in the rich plains of Ghilan and Mazanderan, while the declivities are covered with the acacia, the linden, the oak, and the chestnut, and the summits are crowned with the cedar, the cypress, and other varieties of the pine.

The central plateau presents the second climate, in which excessively hot and dry summers are succeeded by winters equally rigorous. From March till May,

* Malte Brun, vol. ii. pp. 237, 8.

high winds generally prevail, with frequent hail-storms, which are very prejudicial to the vegetation. From May to September, the atmosphere is serene, and a cloud is scarcely to be seen; dews are unknown, but a refreshing breeze comes on at night. From September to November, high winds again prevail; the air is, however, extremely dry. Snow-storms are frequent in winter, but thunder and lightning are very rare. This general character of the climate is subject to local modifications. The mountains of Kourdistan and Adjerbijan derive, from their greater elevation and their forests, a more humid atmosphere, and enjoy a more equal temperature, although the winters are sometimes exceedingly rigorous. The province of Fars also, especially the valley of Shiraz, is exempt from the extremes of heat and cold, the thermometer, in summer, seldom rising higher than 80°, or sinking at night below 62°. The oriental plane, the willow, the poplar, and the medlar-tree there flourish in luxuriance.

In descending towards the shores of the Persian Gulf, the climate and the face of nature undergo a very material change. "From the mouths of the Indus to those of the Karoon and the Euphrates, the narrow tract of arid and level country which lies between the mountains and the sea, bears a greater resemblance, in soil and climate, to Arabia, than to Persia. Though this tract extends in length a distance of more than twenty degrees, it cannot boast of one river that is navigable above a few miles from the Ocean. The appearance of the coast is almost every where the same,—a succession of sandy plains; in viewing which, the eye is occasionally relieved by large plantations of date-trees, and by patches of cultivation that are found near the wells and fresh-

water rivulets which are thinly scattered over this extensive but barren region." * The extreme heat, during four months of the year, is insupportable; and the air is so insalubrious, that strangers who fall sick, seldom recover. The samiel or simoom, though not frequent, sometimes desolates the country, and destroys the traveller.

One of the distinctive characters of the central plateau of Persia, is the great extent of deserts or saline plains. There are five principal ones, *viz.*, 1. the desert of Kara-koum (Black Sand), to the north of Khorasan; 2. the Great Salt Desert,† between Khorasan and Irak-Adjem, 360 miles in length, and 190 in breadth, where the layer of crystallized sea-salt on the surface of the ground is in several places an inch thick; 3. the desert which forms the northern part of the province of Kerman, the *Caramania Deserta* of the ancients; 4. the Great Sandy Desert extending from the banks of the Heirmund to the mountains which divide Seistan from the province of Mekran, a distance of nearly 450 miles;‡ and 5. the desert of Kiab, on the east of the Tigris, which stretches to the north of Shuster (Susa). Altogether, these deserts are calculated to occupy three-tenths of the country. They form part of that remarkable chain of sandy plateaus, which extend from the vast desert of Kobi or Shamo on the north of China,§ across the whole of

* Malcolm's Persia, vol. i. p. 2.

† The Great Salt Desert joins that of Kerman, and these two stretch over an extent of nearly 140,000 square miles.

‡ Sir John Malcolm says, about 400 miles. "Its breadth, from Noosky, a village in Sarawan (a district in Mekran), to Jalk in upper or northern Mekran, is nearly 200 miles."

§ "The word *Gobi*, of which Europeans have made, by corruption, *Cobi*, signifies, in the Mungal tongue, a naked desert. It is equivalent to the *Sha-mo* or *Hhan-hai* of the Chinese. A *steppe*,

Asia, communicating, with little intermission, through Beloochistan, Gedrosia, and Nedjed, with "the great ocean of sand" in Arabia. To the scorching effect of the winds that have passed over these deserts, is attributable the dry and burning climate of the Persian coast, Arabia, and the basin of the Red Sea.

The Persian deserts, so similar in other respects to those of Africa, present also the same description of salt lakes, but of larger size. That of Zerah or Durra, the *Aria Palus* of the ancients, covers an extent of nearly 1100 square miles, and receives the river Heirmend or Helmund, after a course of 400 miles, besides several smaller streams. The great salt lake of Ourmia or Shahee, in Adjerbijan, is about 47 miles long, and half as broad, being about 280 miles in circumference. It receives fourteen rivers of different sizes, yet without any apparent increase of its waters; and its greatest depth does not exceed five or six feet; in some places, scarcely one foot. A range of high mountains, the *Niphates* of the ancients, separates the basin of this lake from that of the Lake Van, which lies to the westward. This lake is very saline, and yields, on evaporation, one-third more of a bitter salt than can be obtained from the waters of the sea. When the rivers which feed it are much swollen, it sometimes rises 30 feet; and from the strata of shells found on the south and north, it appears to have extended further in those directions. Lake Erivan,

or plain covered with herbs, is, in Mungal, *kudah*; in Chinese, *houang*." The Arabic for steppe is *tanufah*, in contradistinction from the words denoting a sandy or naked desert and a plain.—See HUMBOLDT'S *Pers. Narr.* vol. iv. pp. 295, 315. The sandy plains of Mongolia, Persia, and Arabia, are, like the Zahara of Africa, "real deserts," that is, destitute of vegetation, and quite distinct from the steppes of Asia, which, though bare of trees, are covered with grasses.

about 100 miles to the north of it, is about 70 miles in circumference. Near Shiraz is the salt lake Baktegan, which receives the Bendemir and the Kuren. The western side of the great plateau of Tatary is, in like manner, covered with salt lakes having no outlet. The Caspian Sea, which is, in fact, a lake of this description, and the largest in the world, covers an extent of 120,000 square miles. The Sea of Aral, or Lake of Khowaresm, which receives the Jihoon (or Oxus) and the Jaxartes, covers 9600 square miles. Lakes without outlets are thus common throughout central and western Asia.

Owing to the same physical cause, the peculiar configuration of the country, the rivers of Persia are few, and, with one or two exceptions, inconsiderable, depending chiefly upon the mountain torrents; one day overflowing their banks, and the next, sinking to mere rivulets. The Tigris and the Euphrates cannot properly be considered as Persian rivers; nor can we now rank among them the Kour or Cyrus, which once formed the northern boundary towards Georgia, or the Jihoon, which divides Persia from Tatary. The Aras, the ancient Araxes, is the first considerable stream flowing from the west: it rises in the recesses of Caucasus, and, after a long and rapid course, joins the Kour, which then becomes navigable to its mouth in the Caspian. The Kizil-ozen or Sefyd-rood, the ancient Mardus, has also its source in the western mountains: it has a very winding course, flowing through picturesque ravines, and forming a series of cataracts, and at length runs into the Caspian with so much force that the current is perceptible to a considerable distance. The Zeindeh-rood, which rises in the Baktyar mountains, flows by Isfahan, and loses itself in the deserts to the S.E. The waters of this

river are at times so swollen by the melting of the snows and the rains, as to overflow their banks to a great extent. The Bendemir flows from N. to S. between Shiraz and Persepolis, and falls into Lake Baktegan. Of those which join the Shat-el-Arab, the principal is the Kerrah or Hawizza, formed by the Kermanshah river and another smaller stream. This is supposed to be the Choaspes of Herodotus. After flowing by the ruins of Susa, it bends to the west, and contributes to swell the united waters of the Tigris and Euphrates. The centre of Susiana is traversed by the Abzal or Desfoul river, supposed to be the Eulæus, the Ulaï of Daniel: after being joined by the Karoon from the Baktyar mountains, it takes that name, and at length discharges itself by many mouths into the Persian Gulf. The river Zab (the ancient Oroates), which separates Susiana from Persis, after flowing for some time towards the W., bends southward to reach the Gulf. This river is navigable for boats as far as Endian, distant sixteen miles from the sea. The largest river of Khorasan, the Sedzen or Oxhus, after receiving several small streams from the mountains of Mazanderan, forms a marshy lake, and at length reaches the Gulf of Balkan in the Caspian. The Heirmund or Helmund, the Etymander of the ancients, which takes its rise in the mountains of Hazarah to the north of Caubul, flows through Seistan, part of which arid province is fertilized by its streams, and empties itself into the Lake of Zerah. The other inland rivers are, for the most part, like those of Arabia, lost in the deserts, or terminate in salt lagoons.

The elevated plains of central Persia are entirely destitute of trees, being, for the most part, covered with plants which affect a saline soil; but some of

the plains, not yet inundated with sand, still present fertile pastures. The soil is generally a hard clay, which without irrigation is totally unproductive: wherever water can be obtained, however, the vegetation is most luxuriant. Canals are very common in some of the provinces, but, in the frequent civil wars by which Persia has been desolated, these canals have often been destroyed, and a verdant valley has thus been suddenly transformed into a barren waste. Owing in part to the unsettled state of the government, and in part to the oppressive imposts, many fertile districts have been abandoned, and the nomade tribes now lead their flocks over immense tracts once covered with grain.* In the northern provinces, the soil is more fertile, consisting in some places of a fine brown mould, and cultivation is more general. Scarcely a twentieth part of the land, however, is under cultivation. The consequences of drought in this country are dreadful, the failure of the rains being followed by a general famine. Wheat is the chief produce; barley, millet, and oats, are also grown; and rice, the favourite food of the Persians, is cultivated with extreme care in the province of Mazanderan. The gardens of Persia are highly celebrated, and few countries surpass it in the variety and flavour of the fruits. The most esteemed fruits of Europe, such as the fig, the pomegranate, the mulberry, the almond, the

* Khorasan, in particular, which was formerly covered with populous and flourishing cities, and the seat of an extensive trade, is described by Mr. Kinneir as almost entirely laid waste by the continual inroads of the barbarous chiefs who occupy its borders. The southern province of Khouzistan, the best watered part of the empire, is now scarcely distinguishable from the bordering deserts. In the Caspian provinces, which surpass all the others in fertility, the oppression to which the inhabitants are subject, is said to be such as to induce them to long to be united to Russia.

peach, and the apricot, are believed to have been originally brought from Persia. The orange and the lemon are also indigenous, and attain an uncommon size. Khorasan is famous for its melons, of which there are twenty species; the quinces of Isfahan are esteemed the finest in the east; and the vines of Shiraz, Yezd, and Isfahan, are respectively distinguished by their peculiar excellence. The country also produces hemp, tobacco, opium, sesamum, rhubarb, manna, saffron, cotton, turpentine, mastic, various gums, and gall-nuts. The silk-worm is extensively cultivated, and the annual produce is estimated at 20,000 bales of 216 lb. each; the greater part of which is exported to Turkey, India, and Russia.

The horses of Persia are esteemed the finest and handsomest in the East, although in fleetness inferior to the Arabian. They are of different breeds. The Persian soldiers prefer the Turcoman breed, which attain a great size, and possess extraordinary powers of sustaining fatigue: they have been known to perform a journey of 900 miles in eleven successive days.* The camels of Khorasan are not inferior to those of Arabia. Mules, however, are in more general use, and rank in estimation next to the horse, their breed being an object of particular attention. An excellent breed of the ass has been introduced from Arabia. The wild ass is an object of chase, and its flesh is esteemed a delicacy.† The horned cattle are similar to those of Europe. Cows and oxen are kept chiefly

* Upon one of these animals, Kherim Khan is said to have travelled 332 miles in 58 hours.

† It was in hunting this animal, that Baharam the Fifth, surnamed the Gour, perished in the Vale of Oujon, being swallowed up by a marshy pool. Sir R. K. Porter thus describes one which he saw, and in vain endeavoured to overtake. "He appeared to

for the purposes of agriculture and for the supply of the dairy, beef being the food only of the lower classes. Numerous flocks of goats and sheep cover the plains, constituting the wealth of the wandering tribes. The Persian sheep is distinguished by its enormous flat and heart-shaped tail, which often weighs 30 lbs.: this appendage is formed of fat, and furnishes a good dish. The antelope, the hare, the zebra, the fox, and various species of deer,* afford ample amusement to the sportsman. The Persian boar is distinguished by its ferocity. The bear, the lion, and the smaller kind of tiger lurk in the forests and mountains, and the hyena and jackal are found in the provinces of the south. The Caspian cat (*felis chaus*) inhabits the forests bordering upon the Caspian Sea; and there is a distinct species of squirrel peculiar to this country. The tame and wild fowl are much the same as those of Europe. The pigeon and the partridge abound, but the inhabitants have to dispute possession of them with the eagle, the vulture, and the falcon.

Notwithstanding the mountainous character of

me about ten or twelve hands high; the skin smooth, like a deer's, and of a reddish colour; the belly and hinder parts partaking of a silvery grey; his neck was finer than that of a common ass, being longer and bending like a stag's, and his legs beautifully slender: the head and ears seemed large in proportion, and by them I first recognised that the object of my chase was of the ass tribe. The mane was short and black, as was also a tuft which terminated his tail. No line whatever ran along his back, or crossed his shoulders, as is seen on the tame species with us. The prodigious swiftness and peculiar manner with which he fled across the plain, coincided exactly with the description that Xenophon gives of the same animal in Arabia; but, above all, it reminded me of the striking portrait drawn by the author of the book of Job (ch. xxxix. 5—8.)"—PORTER'S *Trav. in Georgia, &c.* vol. i. pp. 459, 60.

* Among the varieties of the deer species is found the pygarg *(cervus pygargus)* or dishon of the Scriptures; called in Persia, *the aha.*

Persia, its mineral productions, so far as known, are not of peculiar value. Salt is, unfortunately, the substance which occurs most plentifully: the ground is every where more or less impregnated with it, and it is thus too common to be an article of trade. A sufficient quantity of copper is drawn from the mountains of Mazanderan and Kerman, to render this metal an article of exportation. In Adjerbijan, there are mines of iron and silver, but the expense of working them has hitherto exceeded the produce, owing, probably, to bad management. The finest silver mine in Western Asia is in Bokhara. Sulphur and nitre are found in the mountain of Demawend. The turquoise, a gem peculiar to Persia, is found in the mountains of Khorasan: the best are obtained from a mine near Nishapore. The northern mountains produce varieties of valuable marble. One of the most useful mineral productions of Persia is the naphtha or bitumen, of which there are two kinds, the white and the black. Of the latter, there are several fountains in Irak Arabi; but the most productive are near, Kerkook. It is employed by the natives as a substitute for pitch, and is also used in lamps, instead of oil. The white naphtha (which is suspected, however, to be altogether a different substance) is found floating like a crust on the surface of the water: it is of a much thicker consistence, resembling tallow rather than pitch, and affords a better light, as well as emits a less disagreeable odour, than the black naphtha. Two fountains of this kind rise near Doulakee in Fars; but the most remarkable are found near Bakou, on the western shore of the Caspian. A liquid black petroleum, of an agreeable odour, flows in small quantity from a mountain in Kerman: this is a royal monopoly, and the mines are carefully sealed and

guarded. Medicinal springs of various descriptions are numerous, but are entirely neglected by the inhabitants. One spring, not far from Maragha, has the most extraordinary petrifying qualities, perhaps, of any in the world: it produces the beautiful transparent stone, commonly called Tabriz marble, which admits of being cut into immense slabs, and takes a good polish, forming a principal ornament in all the buildings of note throughout the country.

Persia must be considered as a country hitherto very imperfectly known, and but partially explored. Indeed, both its physical and its political aspects oppose peculiar obstacles to its being thoroughly investigated. Here are no navigable rivers intersecting the country, and laying open the bosom of its rocks,—no Nile winding its course of wonder and beauty amid the desert,—to transport the traveller without danger or weariness through these burning regions. The roads, such as they are, will not admit of wheel-carriages; the only mode of conveyance and intercourse, therefore, is supplied by the horse, the camel, and the mule. And this is sufficiently precarious. The fiery or piercing climate, the burning plains and snowy summits, the frightful passes infested by numerous hordes of banditti, the want of water, and the difficulty of procuring provisions of any kind, render Persia one of the last countries in which a traveller can afford, or feels disposed to linger,—unless it be in those rare and romantic spots in which nature seems to realize the creations of oriental fable, and to call up an Eden in the midst of the blighted waste. "No man," remarks a recent Traveller, "can enter Persia without remembering, that he is about to tread a land which a long line of native princes covered with cities, and towns, and fertility; a country which even its Grecian con-

querors embellished with the noblest structures, and Roman invaders adorned with bridges, aqueducts, and castles. But, of all these towns, villages, and structures, the work of so many different ages and generations of men, few remain of any kind that are not sunk in ruin, or furrowed with decay. What once were cities, and hamlets, and cultivated fields, are now vast solitudes without house, or hut, or tree, or blade of grass, for many, many miles. Indeed, so frequent are these monotonous tracts, dreary to the eye and dismal to the heart, that the glimpse of a mouldering wall, round some long-abandoned village, seen from afar, or the broken massive arches of a lonely caravanserai, surrendered to the wild animals of the waste,—being memorials that human footsteps once were there, are welcome sights to the weary traveller." *

Still, Persia, unattractive and inhospitable as it may be to the traveller, is the favourite country of the imagination, and, in many respects, one of the most interesting regions in the world. Its early history is lost in fable, but its situation would seem to favour its claims to be considered as the fountain-head of population to the post-diluvian world, the centre from which the various families of man diverged,—the Scythian, the Arab, and the Ethiop, towards the north and east, the north-west, and the south-west. Waiving, however, this recondite subject of inquiry, Persia, the mistress at one time of the eastern world, the subverter of Babylon and Egypt, the restorer of Jerusalem, the invader at first, and then the victim of Greece, and at a later period the haughty and unconquered antagonist of Rome,—the

* Sir R. K. Porter's Travels, vol. ii. p. 68.

theatre upon which have been transacted some of the most remarkable revolutions in history, the cradle and the grave of the mightiest empires, cannot but excite, in the highest degree, a liberal and enlightened curiosity. Even those features of the country which affect the traveller with terror or melancholy, combine with the historic associations, the pomp of oriental costume, and the illusions of romance, to give peculiar interest to the description of Persian scenery and Persian manners. In this country, the cities are few; but then they all are, or have been, capitals. With the single but magnificent exception of Persepolis, its monuments are rarely of high antiquity or peculiar interest: it can boast of no excavations like those of Egypt, Ethiopia, and India, no pyramids like those of Memphis, no temples like those of Greece. But, on the other hand, its living manners and customs are perhaps the most ancient, form the most unchanged representation of antiquity, that is any where to be seen. The Persian monarchy, though "shorn of its beams," crippled and despoiled, is still, in outward shew and circumstance, what it was in the days of Cyrus, and Darius, and Shah Abbas. The modern Persians, too, are, for the most part, what the ancient Persians are described to have been, both in their customs and their general character. The pastoral tribes and mountain hordes are much the same as when Alexander conquered or Xenophon wrote. Thus, while, in Egypt, the intrusive Turk or Mamlouk, the degraded Copt or miserable fellah, excite comparatively no interest, but are dwarfed by the gigantic monuments of remote ages, and hardly appear to belong to the scene where art and nature seem alike eternal, and man is nothing,—in Persia, it is the living scene, with all its faded yet imposing

pageantry, the various tribes and the diversified traits of human character, that chiefly occupy attention; and by these faithful transcripts of former ages it is, that the imagination is transported far back into the past.

A rapid outline of the leading revolutions in Persian history is all that can be attempted, as an introduction to the topographical description. Previously to this, however, it may be acceptable to our readers, to have the following table of the ancient and modern divisions of the country.

KINGDOM OF WESTERN PERSIA.

Mod. Provinces.	*Ancient Provinces.*	*Chief Towns.*
Adjerbijan.*	Media Atropatene.	Tabriz (Tauris). Maragha. Ardabile.
Ghilan.	Country of the *Gelæ*, or *Cadusii*.	Reshd.
Mazanderan.	Country of the *Tapyri*,† and part of Hyrcania.	Balfroosh. Saree. Ashrouf.
Astrabad.‡	Hyrcania Propria.	Astrabad.

* Sometimes written Adzerbijan and Azerbijan; "the Adjerbadjan of the Zenda Vesta, signifying the Country of Fire."

† The hilly part of western Mazanderan is still called Taberistan, derived from a word signifying a wooded mountain.

‡ In Malte Brun, this district is called Djor-djan; and D'Anville remarks, that "the actually existent capital of this country, being *Jorjan* according to our pronunciation, is more correctly *Corcan*; in which we may perceive what, according to the orthography of the ancient writers, is Hurcan or Hyrcania." This permutation of the soft *g* or *j*, and the *gh* or *k*, is very common. In some maps, however, the name of this district is written *Korgan*; and in Arrowsmith's map, prefixed to Fraser's Khorasan, the name of the town, and of the river on which it stands, is written *Gourgaun*; while the district is called, from the chief town, Astrabad. In the latter word, D'Anville supposes that we have a trace of the ancient Sideris; Ester-abad being the city Ester; and "in the oriental phraseology, Sider and Ester are confounded."—D'ANVILLE, vol. ii. p. 66. The river Gourgaun or Khurkan appears to divide Hyrcania propria, or Astrabad, from Dahistan, which Malte Brun erroneously places between Taberistan and Djorjan, making Ashraf and Amol, which are to the west of Astrabad, its chief

Mod. Provinces.	*Ancient Provinces.*	*Chief Towns.*
Irak-Adjemi.	Media Rageiana.	Rhey. Kasbin.
	Media Magna.	Tehraun. Hamadan. Kom. Kashan. Ispahan.
	Parthia.	
Ardelan, or Persian Kourdistan.	Elam or Elymais.	Senneh. Kermaushah.
Looristan.	Country of the *Cossæi* and *Uxii*, or Syro-Media.	
Khouzistan.	Susiana Propria.	Shooster. Desfoul.
Farsistan.	Persis.	Shiraz. Ferouzabad.
Laristan.	Mesambria, or Southern Coast.	Lar. Gomberoon.*
Kerman.	Carmania.	Kerman.
Part of Khorassan.	Parthyene. †	Nishapoor. Mushed.
	Aria.	Yezd. ‡

towns. The country of the *Dahæ* appears to have extended along the eastern coast of the Caspian to the Gulf of Balkan, in which the name of the ancient *Barcanii* is still preserved.

* Or Bender Abbas; a port situated opposite to the island of Ormuz or Hormooz, which was formerly the emporium of the Persian Gulf. Hormooz, the ancient Harmuzia, was a province in the middle ages. The island of Ormuz, once so celebrated, is a bare rock, covered with red and white salt stones, without any water fit for use, and almost bare of vegetation. Yet, commerce formerly made this desert isle a storehouse for the treasures of the East. The Portuguese got possession of it in 1514, and it continued one of the chief seats of their power, till, in 1614, Shah Abbas, assisted by an English squadron, drove them out. It was long totally neglected, but has lately attracted the attention of the English. The largest and most fertile island of the Persian Gulf, is Kismis or Kishmis, the Broct or Vroct of the Portuguese, and the ancient *Oaracta*. It is to the S.W. of Ormuz, and is separated from the continent only by a narrow channel.

† The canton which originally bore the name of Parthiene, had for its capital Nisæa or Parthaunisa, situated beyond the hills of Sahar (the Sariphi of Ptolemy), near the commencement of vast plains well adapted for the Parthian nomades. "This canton, under the kings of Persia and the Syro-Macedonian kings, was subordinate to Hyrcania, and of little consideration. But the conquests of the Parthians extended the name of Parthia to that part of Media situated beyond the Caspian Gates."—D'Anville, vol. ii. p. 68. Nisæa appears to retain its ancient name in the form of Nissa, a considerable ruined town in the strip of rich country called the *Attock* (the skirts, *i. e.* of the hills), or *Dameen-e-Koh*, now in the possession of the Turcoman hordes, who have desolated the whole country. The name of Apavaretica, an ancient

KINGDOM OF CAUBUL, OR EASTERN PERSIA.

Mod. Provinces.	*Ancient Provinces.*	*Chief Towns.*
Part of Khorasan.	Aria.	Heraut. Merve.*
	Margiana.	
Afghanistan.	Country of the *Paropamisadæ.*	Caubul. Candahar. Ghiznee. Furrah.
Seistan.	Sacastiana?	Jellallabad. Dergasp.
	Drangiane.†	Dooshak. Naswarabad.

INDEPENDENT.

Beloochistan. Mekran.	Gedrosia. ‡	Gul. Punjgoor. Tize. Kussurkurd. Pureg. Kedge or Kij.

district, is still preserved in the ruined town of Abaverd, to the N.W. of Nissa, in the same canton.—See FRASER's *Khorasan*, p. 245. The river which waters this district, the Ochus of antiquity, flowed into the Caspian. It was thence, according to D'Anville, that the ancestor of the Ottoman family departed for the banks of the Euphrates. The Ochus is supposed to be the Sedzen. The Nysean plain, so celebrated for its breed of horses, was probably in the Attock.

‡ Yezd is now a separate government. It is sometimes included in Kerman, but appears, from its natural position, Colonel Fraser remarks, to form a part of Khorasan. This province would appear, however, to comprehend part of the ancient Carmania.

* "Merve Shah Jehan, although once a royal city and capital of the country, situated as it is in the midst of a great desert, equally unconnected with this or any other of the surrounding states, however it may once have been attached *to*, can hardly be included *in* Khorasan. Herat, so long its capital city, can never be disjoined from that country in a geographical description of it, however it may be dismembered from it by political circumstances, as has, for a long time past, been the case."—FRASER's *Khorasan*, p. 243. Merve or Merou (Antiochia) is situated in the fertile vale of the Marg-ab (*Margus*), the ancient Margiana, which lay E. of Parthiene, N. of Aria, and W. of Bactriana.

† D'Anville supposes the name Segestan, commonly written Seïstan and Seghistan, to be formed from Sacastiana, the country of the *Sacæ*, "which the enumeration of the Parthian provinces places between the Drangiane and Arachosia." Malte Brun makes Seistan to include Drangiane; and Arachosia or Ar-rhokhadje, he supposes to be a part of Sabulistan in Caubul. Sir John Malcolm says that Seistan is also called Zabulistan, "the ancient name of the province." The ancient geography of these parts is involved in much perplexity and uncertainty.

‡ The maritime part of Mekran is the country of the *Ichthyo-*

HISTORY OF PERSIA.

Sir John Malcolm opens his elaborate and interesting history of Persia with the remark, that "if we desire to be fully informed of a nation's history, we must not reject the fables under which the few traces of its origin are concealed." The Persians are possessed of literary monuments, which, though they have small pretensions to the character of genuine and authentic history, are of the highest value, as imbodying the national traditions, the only way-marks by which we can sometimes guide our course in the pathless region of historical conjecture.

According to all Mohammedan writers, except the Author of the Dabistan, the first monarch of Persia was Kaiomurs, the son of Yessan-Ajum, and grandson of Noah, the founder of the Paishdadian dynasty. This monarch is stated to have reclaimed his subjects from a state of utter barbarism. He was for a long time engaged in a war with the *deevs* or magicians, whom he at length overcame by aid of all the lions, panthers, and tigers in his dominions: after this singular victory, he retired to his capital of Balkh, where he died, and was succeeded by his son Hooshung. These formidable enemies appear, however, to have been subdued only for a time; for

phagi, where the army of Alexander were reduced to such extremities in their attempt to return from India. The Imaum of Muskat has here a sort of ascendancy. The more northerly and easterly parts of Gedrosia are mountainous, and are inhabited by the Belooches and other savage tribes, nominally subject to the king of Caubul, whose dominions extend at present, according to Mr. Elphinstone, from the west of Herat, in long. 62° E., to the eastern boundary of Cashmeer in long. 77° E., and from the mouth of the Indus, in lat. 24° N., to the upper part of the Oxus, in lat. 37° N.

Tahamurs, the son of Hooshung, was surnamed *Deevbund*, the magician-binder, on account of the success with which he prosecuted the war against these deevs, aided by the supernatural wisdom of his vizier Sherasp. A number of them who were taken prisoners, redeemed their lives from Tahamurs, by teaching that monarch to read and write. His successor and nephew is said to have been the famous Jemsheed, the reputed founder of Persepolis, to whom the Persians ascribe the introduction of the solar year, the institution of the festival of *nouroze*, the division of the people into four classes, and many other important reforms. The early part of his reign was highly prosperous; but, towards the close, his impious ambition disgusted his subjects, and his crimes were punished by the loss of his dominions, which were invaded by the Assyrian tyrant Zohauk. The unfortunate Jemsheed fled before the conqueror, by whose agents he was pursued through Seistan, India, and China; and the wanderings of the exiled monarch form one of the most popular subjects of Persian romance. He was at length taken, and sawn asunder. The name of the monster Zohauk, whom the Persian writers represent to have had two snakes growing from his shoulders, is still held in execration. He reigned for a thousand years, and was at length slain in an insurrection occasioned by his cruelty, by Kâwah, a blacksmith of Isfahan; on which Feridoon, a prince of the Paishdadian dynasty, descended from Tahamurs, was raised to the throne. The blacksmith's apron, richly ornamented with jewels, continued to be the royal standard of Persia, under the name of the *Derufsh-e-Kawanee* (the standard of Kâwah), till the Mohammedan conquest.

The virtuous Feridoon had three sons, Selm, Toor,

and Erij, among whom, in his old age, he determined to divide his wide dominions. The elder two were by one mother, the daughter of Zohauk; the latter, by a princess of Iran. To Selm were assigned the western provinces, subsequently called Roum; to Toor, Tatary and part of China; and to Erij, Persia. This arrangement, which allotted the fairest of lands and the seat of royalty to the younger son, gave umbrage to the brothers, and they resolved to slay him. The Persian historian states, that they had the barbarity to embalm his head, and send it to the aged Feridoon, who, seized with frantic grief at the sight, called upon heaven to raise up an avenger of the unnatural fratricide. The daughter of Erij was married to Pushung, the nephew of Feridoon; and their son, Manucheher, now became the cherished hope of the aged monarch. On his attaining manhood, the young prince made war upon his uncles, Selm and Toor, slew them both of course, and, on his triumphant return, received from his aged grandfather the crown of the empire. From the name of this prince, many Persian historians derive the name of Eeran or Iran,* while Toor is supposed to have given his name to Touran. The authenticity of the whole story may be judged of from the crowning statement, that Feridoon reigned 500 years. He is said to have been the first monarch who ever rode upon an elephant, or brought those animals into use in war.

To Manucheher, supposed to be the Mandaces of the Greeks, is assigned a reign of 120 years. His son Nouzer succeeded him; but, in the seventh year of his reign, his dominions were invaded by Afrasiab,

* Sir John Malcolm was informed, by "an excellent Pehlivi scholar," that Eeran is the plural of Eir, and means the country of believers.

son of Pushung, King of Touran, who overthrew and slew him. Persia remained subject to Touran, till the time of Kai Kobad, the founder of the Kaianian dynasty, in whose reign the famous Roustum, the Cid of Persian history, defeated the dreaded Afrasiab, and drove him beyond the Oxus, which remained the boundary between the two kingdoms. This peace was not, however, of long duration. In the reign of Kai Kaoos, supposed to be the Cyaxares of the Greeks, the Tatars repeatedly crossed the Oxus, and in the conflicts which ensued, Roustum as often delivered his country from the invaders. But it was not till the reign of Kai Khosroo (Cyrus), the grandson and successor of Kai Kaoos, that Afrasiab was finally defeated and slain, and the cities of Samarkand and Bokhara were added to the Persian empire. Supposing this monarch to be Cyrus the Great, this would bring down the history of Persia to about 560 years before Christ.

In attempting to reduce this confused tissue of fact and fable to any thing like consistent narrative, it will be necessary, in the first place, to recollect, that no such extended and consolidated empire as the Persian is represented to have been, could have existed in those early times, much less have been transmitted in regular succession. The ancient kingdoms consisted, for the most part, of little more than a capital and its territory, as in the instances of Babylon, Nineveh, Troy, and Memphis. Between neighbouring monarchs, there soon arose contests for the supremacy; and the most powerful sovereign became the acknowledged head of the confederacy, under the title of king of kings. This supremacy was generally acknowledged by a tribute, the withholding of which was the signal of rebellion. Still,

these tributary monarchs were, in their own dominions, absolute sovereigns, equal among themselves, and having the power, of which they not unfrequently availed themselves, to transfer their allegiance, as policy might dictate, to any more powerful emperor. Something like this state of society still exists among the Indo-Chinese nations;* and the more distant beylerbeyliks of the Turkish empire are, in fact, petty monarchies, held together by no other tie than an annual tribute and a nominal allegiance to the ecclesiastical head of Islam. The empire of Germany was of a similar description.

At near the commencement of authentic history, we find mention made of a Persian emperor, whose hereditary dominions were situated in Elam, answering to the modern Kourdistan and Khouzistan, but whose supremacy extended over part of Syria and Arabia. His contemporaries and allies were the kings of Shinar (Babylonia), Ellasar (or Alsur), and Goim.† The time at which they reigned was about 1900 years before Christ, between one and two hundred years after the supposed era of Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian empire,‡ and 430 years after the Deluge,

* See Mod. Trav., Birmah, &c.

† See Gen. xiv. 1. The situation of Alsur is uncertain, but is supposed to be Syria; and the country of Goim, (translated "nations" in the authorised version,) has been thought to be "Galilee of the nations." It is remarkable, that the name of Chedorla-omer has nearly the same termination as Kai-omurs and Tah-amurs, the first and third monarchs of Persian history.

‡ "An ancient chronologist, quoted by Velleius Paterculus, observes, that the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, and the Macedonians reigned over Asia 1995 years, from the accession of Ninus to the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans. As the latter of these great events happened 289 years B.C., the former may be placed 2184 years before the same era. The Astronomical Obser-

according to the received computation. At this period, the Egyptian Thebes had long been the seat of a powerful monarchy; and that city is supposed to have been indebted for its consequence and wealth to the commerce with India and Arabia. Those countries, therefore, must have been colonized; and, in fact, the banks of the Indus and the coasts of the Southern ocean, appear to have been, from the earliest period, occupied by both Semitic and Chamitic tribes. What is now called Persia, seems to have been, in all ages, a debateable ground, on which the different families of man have fought for the ascendancy. The conflicting currents of population, in perpetual flux and reflux, have here met and produced, if we may be allowed the figure, constant eddies and whirlpools. From the nature of the country, the mountains of Elam, the fervid coasts of the Persian Gulf, the vast plains of Eastern Persia, and the fertile banks of the Helmund and the Indus, would be occupied by tribes of different habits and character; and accordingly, it is pretty clear, that these territories were the seats of various independent and contemporary monarchies.

The capital of Kai Omurs, the founder of the Paishdadian race, is said to have been Bulkh or Balkh, the ancient Bactra, a city of the highest antiquity: all the Asiatics, we are told, are impressed with an idea of its being the oldest in the world, distinguishing it by the title of *Om-ul Beldd*, the mother of towns.* This city could never, however, be the capital of Persia in any other sense than as being the residence of the most powerful monarch of the time; and there is reason to question whether Western

vations found at Babylon by Alexander, went fifty years higher."—GIBBON, c. 8, *note*.

* Elphinstone's Caubul, vol. ii. p. 220.

Persia was ever subject, at that early period, to the Bactrian kings. It is observable, that the scene of contest in the reigns of the Kaianian dynasty, is always in the neighbourhood of the Oxus. Roustum, the favourite hero of Ferdousi, was the grandson of a king of Caubul; and the story of his career, which is extended through a period of 400 years, closes with his having Caubul, Zabulistan, and Seistan made over to him by Kai Khosrou, as hereditary possessions. Those countries, the Bactrian sovereign had it not in his power to confer: they were the country of the mighty Roustum himself.*

Jemsheed, the founder of Persepolis, who is represented as the fourth from Kai Omurs, was no doubt the monarch of a totally distinct territory, as well as of a different dynasty; and his name appears to stand as the representative of the line of Persepolitan monarchs which preceded the Assyrian conquest. His reign, according to Ferdousi, lasted 700 years, and Roustum is said to have been his descendant. It is

* "The nominal chief of all Seestaun is Mullik Behraun Kyaunee, who is descended (or reputed to be descended) from the ancient house of Ky (Kai) which reigned long over Persia, produced Cyrus and other great monarchs, and terminated in the death of Darius and the subversion of his empire by the Greeks. Mullik Behraun is very sensible of the glory of so illustrious a descent; he still assumes the title of king, and maintains, on a small scale, the state and forms of royalty; but his authority is recognised only in a small part of Seestaun....The Persians, *as usual*, pretend that he is subject to their king."—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, vol. ii. pp. 266, 7. The ruins which surround Jellallabad, the capital, for a vast extent, bear witness to its former grandeur. "Though the history of Roustum and his family is enveloped in fable, there are some facts," Sir John Malcolm remarks, "that seem undoubted. First, that they were the hereditary chiefs or princes of Seistan; secondly, that they were connected with the royal family of Cabul, as well as that of Persia....They boasted a direct descent from Jemsheed."

not improbable, that the king of Persepolis retreated before the Assyrian conqueror into Seistan, and that, during the period that Fars remained subject to the Assyrians, a Persian dynasty maintained itself on the banks of the Helmund.

Who Zohauk really was, is quite uncertain. Some have taken him for the Nimrod of Scripture, but without any sufficient reason. He is stated to have been descended from Shedad, a prince of Syria; and other writers term him an Arabian. These accounts are easily reconciled, and they fall in with the Arabian traditions. One of the most famous monarchs of Arabian fable is Shedad, the son of Aad, who built a magnificent palace with delicious gardens, called the paradise of Irem. This Shedad was descended from Aram; that is to say, he was of Aramean or Syrian origin; and certain chiefs of this race, according to the Arabian historians, afterwards rose to great power in Irak. Hareth ul Rayesh, the twenty-first Arabian monarch of the Hamyarite dynasty, is stated to have extended his authority to the shores of India, and to have pushed his conquests into Irak (Babylonia), and even Adjerbijan. Yet he acknowledged, it is added, the paramount authority of the Persian monarch Manutcheher, with whom he was contemporary, and whose power is represented as extending to the remotest limits of the west.*

Both the Scripture writers and the Greek historians distinguish the kingdom of the Medes from that of the Persians; while Eastern authors speak only of Eeran or Iran, by which we must understand, in reference to this period, the kingdoms of Balkh and Seistan. While their monarchs were engaged in perpetual contests with the kings of Touran in the east, in Western Persia

* Mod. Trav., Arabia, p. 24.

the grand contest was between the Assyrians and the Medes. Feridoon, Sir John Malcolm supposes to have been the same as Arbaces (or Varbaces) the Mede, who attacked Sardanapalus in Nineveh, his capital, about 820 B.C. No fact in all the ancient history of Persia, he remarks, is better attested than the revolt of Kâwah, who placed Feridoon on the throne. "The gratitude that converted his apron into the standard of the empire, and the sacred respect in which it was held for centuries, are proofs of the character of that service, the memory of which was perpetuated by so great a distinction; while the actual capture of the *Durufsh-e-Kawanee* by the general of the Caliph Omar, in the fourteenth year of the Hejira, must satisfy the most sceptical of the truth of this early part of Persian history." The identity of Feridoon and Arbaces, of Zohauk and Sardanapalus, is more questionable. The protracted reign of 500 years ascribed to Feridoon, and that of 120 years assigned to his successor, would lead us to suppose, that their names cover a chasm in the Persian annals which would require to be filled up by a Median dynasty.

For many centuries, the contest for ascendancy appears to have been maintained between the neighbouring powers of Media and Assyria. The latter empire was still at its height, in the time of Hezekiah, about 710 B.C., at which time it had extended itself over all the petty sovereignties of Mesopotamia and Syria, reaching, on the one hand, to Carchemish on the Euphrates, and on the other, to Gozan, which Benjamin of Tudela places in Media. * In fact, the

* The kings of Syria and Israel must have been subdued by the king of Assyria between 758 and 710 B.C. Compare Isa. vii. 1—8, xxxvi. 19; 2 Kings xv. 29, and xvii. 6.

sacred records expressly state, that the Israelitish captives carried away in the reign of Hoshea, were placed by the Assyrian conqueror in the cities of the Medes.* But, upon the overthrow of Sennacherib's army before Jerusalem, Media appears to have shaken off the yoke; and from this period, therefore, we may date the Median dynasty of the kings of Ecbatana, which commenced with Dejoces, the Arphaxad of the book of Judith.

Sennacherib was succeeded by his third son, Esarhaddon, who commenced his reign about 706 B.C.; and under him, Assyria not only remained a powerful empire, but was raised to a still higher pitch of greatness by the annexation of Babylon and Chaldea to the monarchy of Nineveh. This conquest was followed up by the recovery of Syria. His successor, Saosduchinus,† found himself able to turn his arms against the revolted province of Media, over which Dejoces had now reigned in independence for 53 years. In the plains of Ragau (Rhages) a decisive battle ensued, in which the Medes were defeated, and the fugitive

* 2 Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11.

† He is supposed to be the same monarch that, in the book of Judith, is called Nabuchodonosor, who reigned in Nineveh.—PRIDEAUX, vol. i. p. 49. This appears to have been a title as commonly assumed by the Assyrian and Chaldean monarchs, as that of Pharaoh by the Egyptian sovereigns, or Cæsar by the Romans.—(Ib. p. 69.) We find it variously written—Bakhtunusser, Nabukhtunusser, Balt-un-nusser, Bucht-ul-nassar. *Ul Nassar*, in Arabic, signifies the victorious. *Balkhtalnassar* may be rendered, the happiness of victory. Sir John Malcolm says, *Bucht* is Persian, and he renders the whole title the "fortune of victory." Manucheher was succeeded by a monarch named Nouzer, which is perhaps the same word as Nusser, and it may have been a surname differently compounded. The first part of the name of Nebuchadnezzar is supposed to be that of the Babylonian idol Nebo, which occurs in the composition of several names; *e.g.* Nabonassar, Nabopollasar, Nebuzaradan, &c.

monarch was overtaken in the mountains, and cut off with his whole army. Ecbatana itself, the royal capital, fell into the hands of the conqueror, by whom it was despoiled and laid in ruins. The date of this event is fixed in the 43d year of Manasseh, King of Judæa, B.C. 656.*

Dejoces (or Arphaxad) was succeeded by his son Phraortes, to whom is assigned a reign of 22 years. This monarch is said to have extended his conquests north of Mount Taurus as far westward as the river Halys, and to have made the Persians also his tributaries. Elated with these successes, he resolved to avenge on the Assyrians his father's defeat and death. At the head of a victorious army, he laid siege to Nineveh, but was defeated in an engagement with the Assyrians, and perished with his whole army. No sooner had his son Cyaxares settled himself on the throne, than he prepared to renew the contest. Having defeated the Assyrian forces, he led the Medes a second time to the gates of Nineveh; but was soon obliged to raise the siege, in order to defend his own territories against an incursion of the Scythians. From this new enemy he met a severe overthrow, which led to the loss of all the conquests made by his father in Armenia and Asia Minor. †

But an important revolution was now preparing the dissolution of the Assyrian empire. In the year 626 B.C. Nabopollasar, a Babylonian general, taking

* See Judith i. 5, 13, 16. Prideaux, vol. i. p. 49.

† Herodotus states, that the Scythians had for 28 years held the Upper Asia, (that is, the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, and Iberia,) which had previously belonged to the Medes, when they were driven out by treachery in the reign of Cyaxares, and the Halys was again made the common boundary between the Medes and the Lydians.—See Prideaux, vol. i. pp. 90, 98.

advantage of the unpopularity of the effeminate monarch, revolted, and restored in his own person the Babylonian monarchy, which had been lost in that of Assyria between 50 and 60 years. The sceptre of Ninus and Semiramis, to use the language of Gibbon, thus dropped from the hands of their enervated successors. Only fourteen years afterwards, the proud city of Nineveh fell before the united arms of the kings of Media and Babylon, and its predicted destruction was accomplished by the vengeance of the Medes.*

Egypt was at this time governed by a warlike and enterprising monarch, Nechus II., who, taking advantage of the distracted state of the country, or jealous of the encroachments of these rival states, marched with a powerful army to the banks of the Euphrates, and made himself master of all the conquests of Sennacherib on that side of the river, placing a strong garrison in the great city of Carchemish.† This ill-advised expedition, however, cost the Egyptians dear. It appears to have been the commencement of that struggle which terminated in the overthrow of the long line of Pharaohs, and the ruin of their country by Cambyses. A few years after,

* Eusebius states, that Nabopollasar, king of Babylon, having formed an alliance with Cyaxares, king of Media, by the marriage of his son, Nebuchadnezzar, to Amyitis, the daughter of Astyages and grand-daughter of Cyaxares, entered into a confederacy with him against the Assyrians; and thereon, joining their forces, they besieged Nineveh, which they took, and, to gratify the Medes, utterly destroyed. See Prideaux's Connection, vol. i. p. 67. The Author of the book of Tobit states, that Nineveh was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus. These were probably the generals of the united army: the latter is supposed to be Astyages. See Tob. xiv. 15.

† See 2 Kings xxiii. 29. Josephus states, that Pharaoh Necho made war upon the Medes and Babylonians, who had dissolved the Assyrian empire.—*Antiq.*, b. x. c. 6.

(606 B.C.) Nebuchadnezzar the Great, having retaken Carchemish, rapidly proceeded to deprive Nechus of all his Syrian possessions, overrunning the country to the very gates of Pelusium.* The destruction of Jerusalem by the same haughty conqueror, was provoked by the infatuation of the Jewish king, in entering into an alliance with Pharaoh Hophra against the Babylonian emperor.

In the fifth year of Zedekiah's reign (B.C. 594), Cyaxares, king of Media, died, after having reigned forty years, and was succeeded by his son Astyages, or Azdehak. This monarch, after a reign of thirty-five years, was succeeded by his son, Cyaxares II., the Darius of Scripture, and the uncle of the famous Cyrus, the conqueror of Sardis and of Babylon.

Hitherto we have been tracing the early annals of the Median kingdom. With regard to that of the Persians, it is remarkable, that neither the native histories, nor the pages of the classic writers, supply us with any thing more than scattered notices. From the reign of Jemsheed to that of Cyrus, the history of Persia is almost a blank; yet there cannot be a doubt, that it was the seat of a distinct and flourishing kingdom. It appears, however, to have been, in early times, much more closely connected with the southern kingdoms of Segistan, India, and Yemen, than with those of Northern Persia and Assyria. Elam, we have seen, was an independent and powerful kingdom in the days of Abraham. Isaiah alludes to the Elamites as a warlike nation "bearing the quiver;" † which answers to the description given of

* See Kings xxiv. 7. Mod. Trav., Egypt, vol. i. p. 88.

† Isa. xxii. 6. Kir, with which Elam is associated, appears, from 2 Kings xvi. 9, and Amos i. 5, to have been in Assyria, and was perhaps on the Kour or Cyrus. For "chariots of men,"

the mountaineers of Elymais by Strabo. Jeremiah has a distinct prophecy concerning the overthrow of Elam, and its subsequent restoration, which proves that, in the reign of Zedekiah, it had still its "king and its princes."* Accordingly, the author of the book of Judith, in enumerating the allies of the king of Nineveh, mentions those who came from "the plain of Arioch, the king of the Elymeans;"† distinguishing them from the Persians, who, with the Syrians and others, refused to send their contingent at the summons. As Elam did not at this time comprehend Persia, we must therefore add another independent kingdom to those which we have already enumerated as co-existing within the vast region now denominated Persia; and this would seem to have been the kingdom of Cambyses.‡ We have thus a sufficient explanation of the statement, that, while the king of Elam was the ally or tributary of the Assyrian monarch, the Persians were in alliance with the monarch of Ecbatana. Astyages is stated to have given his daughter Mandana in marriage to Cambyses, King of Persia; and from this union sprang the famous Cyrus, in whom the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians were subsequently united. According to the prediction of Jeremiah, Elam was to be scattered

Houbigant, by the change of a letter, reads, "with chariots, Aram," *i. e.* Syria. Elam is also mentioned Isa. xi. 11.

* Jer. xlix. 34—9. The language of the prediction, "Behold, I will break the bow of Elam," corresponds to the above description.

† Judith i. 6. "Hydaspes," the Syriac renders the Ulai.—See CALMET.

‡ According to Xenophon, Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, was a Persian prince of the race of the Persedæ or descendants of Persus. Sir John Malcolm supposes him to be the Siawush of Ferdousi, who was the son of Roustum.

by "four winds from the four quarters of heaven," in every direction. Their situation exposed them to the invasion of the Assyrian, the Mede, the Persian, and the Arabian; and it probably suffered from each, before it was finally merged in the Persian kingdom, of which Shushan, its chief city, became the metropolis.*

In attempting to identify the Cyrus of Herodotus with the Kai Khosroo of Ferdousi, it is necessary to suppose, not only that a considerable portion of fabulous embellishment has been mingled with the traditional history of his Persian biographer, but that the scene of the principal transactions of his life has been either ignorantly or designedly changed. This is the view taken by Sir John Malcolm. "The transfer of a scene from the court of Ecbatana to that of the capital of Afrasiab, and the substitution of the latter king for the sovereign of Media, are liberties," he remarks, "which it was natural for the poet to take, and which cannot, therefore, be admitted to affect the remarkable coincidence in the whole substance of the narrative of the birth and education of this prince, as given by Ferdosi and Herodotus." Ferdousi composed his history under the auspices of the Sultan of Ghiznee, at that time the capital of Eastern Persia and Persian India; and he would naturally be induced to frame his history in accommodation to the taste or vanity of his royal patron. Few, if any of his readers, were acquainted with the countries of the west; they knew nothing of the kings of Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt;†

* A remarkable verification of the prediction; "and I will *set my throne in Elam*, and I will destroy from thence the king and the princes."—Jer. xlix. 38.

† As a proof of this, we may cite the threefold distribution of his dominions, ascribed to Feridoon, into Iran, Turan, and Roum, the latter implying the Turkish dominions; and Selm, on whom they were conferred, is evidently the Selim of Turkish history.

but the names of Touran, India, and China were familiar to them, and they are therefore made the theatre of all the achievements ascribed to the heroes of Persian story.

The fragments from which the "Shah Namah" was compiled, were in the Pehlivi language; and the poem is said to contain so many Pehlivi words, that it cannot be understood by a modern Persian without a glossary, while Arabic words and phrases were studiously rejected. The Pehlivi was, according to Ferdousi, the language of the court in the time of the Kaianian dynasty; and all the books written in Persia, prior to the Mohammedan conquest, except the religious writings of Zoroaster and others, were in that dialect. Sir William Jones supposes, that both the Pehlivi (or Pahlavi) and the Chaldee had a common source, and were derived from the old Assyrian language. The Zend or sacred language of Persia, and the Parsi or modern Persian, he supposes to be closely related to the Sanscrit.* The Parsi, in its present form, is so mixed with the Pehlivi and Arabic, that it is not easy to separate the words that belong to the different languages of which it is constructed; but it is evidently allied both to the Sanscrit and to the Semitic languages. The Zend, however, approaches much more nearly to the Sanscrit; and this is supposed to be the most ancient language of Persia, since, in the earliest periods of which we have any authentic record, it was the language of the learned and religious. †

These facts are important, as tending to throw a faint light upon the early history of the country.

* Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i. (4to.), pp. 83, 92.

† Malcolm, vol. i. p. 204.

They afford some sanction to the hypothesis of Sir William Jones, that a powerful monarchy was established in Iran prior to the era of Kaiomurs and the Pehlivi dynasty, and that the first Persians were allied to the Hindoos.* This opinion rests partly upon the authority of the Dabistan, a Persian work written about a century and a half ago by a learned native of Cashmere, and professedly compiled from the works of the ancient Guebers or fire-worshippers. The authenticity of some parts at least of this work, has been considered as questionable. Sir John Malcolm thinks, that there appears a manifest desire to connect the ancient history of the Persians with that of the Hindoos. The fourteen Mahabads of the primeval dynasty are evidently, he remarks, the fourteen Menus of Hindoo tradition; and the division which the first monarch of that race made of the inhabitants of Persia into four castes, seems to be a transcript, even to the names, of the first establishment of that celebrated institution, as given in the Institutes of Menu. The coincidence is not less striking between the name of Mahabool, the last prince of the Jyanian dynasty, and the Maha Bali of the Hindoos. If we suppose that the author of the Dabistan borrowed from the Hindoo records, from a wish to approximate the histories of Persia and India, no stress can be laid on these coincidences, which must rather detract from his credit. But, if he really compiled from Pehlivi authorities,

* Works, vol. i. pp. 87, 129, &c. To the word Pehlivi, many meanings have been assigned; but the most probable conjecture, Sir John Malcolm thinks, is that which derives it from Pehleh, "the ancient name of the countries of Isfahan, Rhe, and Deenawar." This derivation favours the opinion, that it was the language of an Assyrian race, by whom it is probable that Media was originally peopled, and whence they appear to have extended themselves through Khorasan to Bactra.

(and of this there can be no doubt as regards some parts of his work,) they must be received as a proof of corresponding history and early connexion between the Hindoos and the Persians.

Mahabool, who is stated to have been compelled to resign his crown, by the increasing depravity of his subjects, was succeeded by Yessan, the founder of a new dynasty, which terminated in his descendant, Yessan Ajum, the immediate predecessor of Kaiomurs. It may safely be inferred, that these changes of dynasty were attended by intestine disorders, a struggle of factions, followed by a foreign invasion. The quarter from which the conquerors proceeded, would not be doubtful, if we might rely upon the statement, that the capital of Kaiomurs was Balkh.* To whatever race they belonged, they were evidently inferior in civilization to the nation whom they subdued, who are designated by the term *deevs*.† It is clear also, that these deevs, whom we may perhaps consider as the aboriginal Persian race, were not subdued till after a contest which lasted through several successive reigns. Under Djemsheed, the Persians appear to have thrown off the yoke, and to have restored for a time the ancient monarchy; but this was

* The name of this monarch, according to the *Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh*, is Syriac, and signifies "the living word." This is an improbable explanation; but that the name is foreign from the Persian language, is important. He was doubtless an Assyrian; and if Ajum be the same word as Adjem, Yessan Ajum was a Median, which comes to much the same.

† "Deev means magician, and in Shanscrit it means a brahmen, perhaps from some of that tribe pretending to be sorcerers; but speaking generally, it is the term which barbarous men in all ages have applied to their enemies or neighbours who had more art or knowledge than themselves. The rude inhabitants of Tatary, at the present day, will gravely assure you that the Chinese are deevs or magicians."—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 13, *note*.

finally overthrown by Zohauk, who is expressly stated to have been descended from Kaiomurs; and the fabled flight and romantic adventures of the unfortunate Jemsheed may possibly disguise the subsequent history of the Persian race and dynasty, which, yielding to the growing power and extending conquests of the Assyrians, were driven eastward, and established themselves finally upon the banks of the Hindmend and the Indus.

In confirmation of this view of the ancient affinity between the Persians and the Indians, it deserves to be remarked, that one of the countries peopled by the descendants of Cush, was evidently in Persia. Josephus speaks of Cutha, which is supposed to be the same as Cushan, as a region of Persis bordering on Media; * and the prophet Isaiah speaks of a Cush in connexion with Elam and Shinar.† From this word, the Greek writers formed the appellation of Cossæi; and the modern name of Khuzistan might fairly be translated the land of the Cushites. That there were Indian Cushites, that is to say, Ethiopians distinguished from those of Africa as *Indi*, is certain; and the same race are distinguished from the other inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula, who were of Syrian origin, by the appellation of Cushite Arabs. This southern race appears, in fact, to have descended the streams which issue in the Persian Gulf, and gradually to have extended themselves over the countries of India, Persia, and Arabia bordering on the Persian

* Joseph. Antiq. book ix. c. 14; xi. c. 4. Calmet says, the Chaldeans generally put the thau ת where the Hebrews used the shin ש. The Cuthah mentioned 2 Kings, xvii. 24, was subject at that time to Assyria. Arrian mentions a region called Scuthia near the Persian Gulf.

† Isa. xi. 11. The Syriac renders it India.

Gulf and the southern ocean,* whence they spread into the African Ethiopia. Some of the tribes of this family were the first navigators. The invention of letters probably originated with them, the necessity for this medium of intercourse naturally rising out of the extension of commerce; and the first astronomers were probably these adventurous navigators of the southern deep. The conflicting claims of Chaldea, India, and Egypt, to the invention of the sciences, are reconciled by the supposition that were peopled by a common race,—a race which appears to have taken the lead among the families of the ancient world, in commerce, civilization, and the arts, and which, it is highly remarkable, has, with few exceptions, been every where, in all ages, a subject race.†

"There are some circumstances," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "that might dispose us to believe that the ancient religions of Persia and of India were connected in their origin. Among other proofs in favour of this conjecture, we find that there was, in the

* The coast of Gedrosia is even now more under the authority of the Imaum of Muskat, than that of any other power.

† Bryant, amid his learned reveries, sometimes strikes out some important fact. "The third country styled Ethiopia," he remarks, "comprehended the regions of Persis, Chusistan, and Susiana. Herodotus takes notice of Ethiopians about these parts; and the country is mentioned by the prophet Zephaniah, when he speaks of the return of Judah from captivity, ch. iii. v. 10····Still further east, beyond Carmania, was another region of this name, which by Eusebius is termed 'the Ethiopia which looks towards the Indi, to the south-east.'" This answers to the situation of Segistan, in which we have supposed the Old Persian race to have maintained itself, after the overthrow of the Persepolitan dynasty. "Even Chaldea," adds the learned Writer, "was esteemed Ethiopia."—See Bryant's *Anal.*, vol. iv. pp. 223—236. Also, Calmet's *Dict.*, *art.* Cush; and Mod. Trav., *Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 351. It is remarkable that both the Syriac and the Chaldee Versions, for Cush, in Isa. xi. 11, and Zeph. iii. 10, read India.

early ages of both countries, an abhorrence of animal flesh, which has been preserved, to this day, by some of the highest and most respected of the castes of India. The first person in Persia who departed from this usage, was the tyrant Zohauk, whose name is yet held in execration. We may suppose that a horror at this practice remained even after it became general, and that many humane and pious men looked back with veneration at the superior innocence of a former age. It is on this principle that we must account for the anxiety of the historians to establish, that their prophet (Zoroaster) was produced, not only without sin, but without pain or death to either the animal or the vegetable creation; for the ancient Persians believed the latter, though insensible to pain and pleasure, had life, and was pervaded by the eternal spirit, as well as the former."* The appearance of this extraordinary personage, to which the preceding view of the early history of the country forms no unsuitable introduction, occupies one of the most interesting pages of the Persian annals. Before we proceed, however, to give an account of his life and doctrines, we must bring down the chronological series to the time of his birth.

"In the seventh year after the restoration of the Jews (B.C. 530), died Cyrus, their great benefactor, after he had reigned, from his first taking on him the command of the Persian and Median armies, 30 years; from his taking of Babylon, nine years; and from his being sole monarch of the East, after the death of Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, his uncle, seven years; being at the time of his death seventy years old."† Such is the statement of the learned Dean Prideaux. Sir John Malcolm has taken great pains to harmonize

* Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 191, 2. † Prideaux, vol. i. p. 234.

the various accounts of this great monarch with authentic history and Scripture.* Yet, after all, it is impossible to recognise, in the Kai Khosrou of the Persian annals, the character of the hero of Xenophon and the restorer of Jerusalem. Little more is given of his history in the sacred writings, than the brief notices relating to the destruction of Babylon, and the rebuilding of the Jewish temple; but "wherever his name is mentioned," as Sir John remarks, "it is as a king who was alike eminent for wisdom and virtue, and who enjoyed great renown and extensive dominion upon the earth." The utter silence of the Persian writers with regard to the western conquests of Cyrus and the most distinguishing achievements of his career, is hardly to be explained by the supposition, that Ferdousi changed the scene of those transactions from the banks of the Euphrates to those of the Oxus. With regard to the title of Kai Khosrou, it has been common to many sovereigns of Persia; and the dynasty of the Sassanians are always termed, in Roman history, the Chosroes or Khosroos of Persia. No stress, therefore, can be laid upon any fancied resemblance in the name; and if Cyrus ever bore that title, it is very supposable, that he may have been confounded with another sovereign who sustained the same appellation. Possibly enough, Cyrus might have a son of his own name who governed the eastern provinces, conducted an expedition into Touran, and met with his death from the Scythians, in the manner related by Herodotus. The name of Cyrus is derived from Khour, which in Pehlivi signifies the sun. In the Hebrew Scriptures it is written Koreish, under which name he is celebrated by Mohammedan writers

* See Malcolm's Hist., vol. i. pp. 220—233.

as the successor to Belshazzar in the lieutenancy of Babylon; but the overthrow of the Babylonian monarchy being erroneously placed in the reign of Ardisheer Dirazdust (Artaxerxes Longimanus), Koreish (of whose identity with Cyrus there can be no doubt) is made to be the grandson of Lohrasp by a Jewish mother; and his connexion with the race of Israel is plausibly assigned as a reason for the extraordinary favour which Koreish * shewed to the Jews, in not only releasing them from captivity, but in aiding them to rebuild their temple. This chronological error, of which the latter hypothesis affords perhaps the explanation, does not materially affect the substantial accordance of this account with the Scripture history.

Over the manner in which this great monarch met his death, there hangs a singular uncertainty. Xenophon makes him die in his bed at Babylon. Herodotus states, that, among various accounts which he had heard of the death of Cyrus, he was most disposed to believe that which reports him to have been slain in an expedition against the *Massagetæ*. This seems best to accord with the representation of the eastern writers, who pretend that Khosrou, after conquering Touran, determined to spend the remainder of his life in religious retirement; that he proceeded to the spot he had fixed upon, where he *disappeared*; and his train, among whom were some of the most renowned warriors of Persia, perished in a dreadful tempest. Diodorus states, that he was taken in an engagement,

* Sir John Malcolm objects, that the Coreish of the *Tarikh Tubree* is never advanced to the throne, and that no such name occurs in the pages of Ferdousi; objections which seem to us of as little weight as that the national vanity or ignorance of the Persian writers should lead them to represent Nebuchadnezzar as the mere lieutenant of the Persian emperor.

and hanged; Ctesias, that he was killed by the javelin of an Indian; and (to complete the discrepancies between these various accounts) Lucian asserts, that there is an inscription on some columns that mark the boundary of Media, which implies that Cyrus, at the age of one hundred, died of grief, on hearing of the cruelties committed by his son.* The reign of that son, the Cambyses of the Greek historians, and the merciless conqueror of Egypt, is wholly passed over in the native annals; and it is supposed, that, as well as that of Smerdis the Magian, it is included in the reign of Lohrasp, the immediate successor of Kai Khosrou.

There is, perhaps, reason to doubt whether Cambyses really succeeded his father on the throne of the empire of the world. His undertaking the conquest of Egypt in person, and his four years' absence from the seat of government, are irreconcileable with his filling the throne of Cyrus. It is more probable, that he was entrusted with one of the provincial governments. According to Persian story, Lohrasp, to whom Kai Khosrou is said to have resigned his throne, was the son-in-law of Kai Kaoos or Cyaxares; and it is not unlikely, that, while Cyrus reigned at Babylon, Lohrasp was the actual governor of Media, and that he in fact, though not without some opposition, succeeded him in the empire. The preference which Lohrasp shewed to the children of Cyaxares, (by which, perhaps, we may understand the Medians,) is stated to have given umbrage to his son Gushtasp, in whose name we recog-

* Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 222—4. According to all the historians of Alexander, Cyrus was buried at Passargadæ; and the Macedonian conqueror is said to have ordered the tomb, which had been defaced, to be repaired. The Persian inscription, which told the traveller not to envy the mighty conqueror his small portion of dust, was translated into Greek, and engraved in that language under the original inscription.

nise the Hystaspes of the Greeks. At the head of a powerful army, he invaded the Persian territories; and Lohrasp, having abdicated in his favour, closed his days in "pious retirement." *

The accession of Darius Hystaspes is fixed by chronologists in the year 521 B.C.; and in his reign, at least if he be the same as Gushtasp, all authorities seem to agree, the famous Zerdusht (the Zoroaster of western writers) succeeded in establishing his new religion. He was born at Uremeea (Urumea or

* Prideaux and others, supposing Cambyses and Smerdis to be the two kings of Persia who reigned between the time of Cyrus and that of Darius Hystaspes, contend that they must be, the one the Ahasuerus, and the other the Artaxerxes, who obstructed the building of the Jewish temple. But Ahasuerus was a common title of the Persian kings; and the Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 7, is evidently the same monarch as the Ahasuerus of the preceding verse, for there appear to have been but one petition and one royal letter in reply. This monarch may therefore have been Lohrasp. With regard to the latter, Sir John Malcolm remarks, that the leading events of his reign are differently related by almost every Mohammedan historian. They are not agreed as to either his lineage, his disposition, or his history. The descent of Darius Hystaspes, as given by Herodotus, would, he adds, better accord with that which the Persians assign to Lohrasp. It must have been during the long period assigned by the native writers to the reign of Lohrasp, that Abû-kurrub Tobba, an enterprising monarch of the Hamyarite dynasty, who reigned in Yemen, conducted an expedition through Kourdistan and Adjerbijan into Touran, and penetrated to the boundaries of the Chinese monarchy. It can hardly be supposed that he could accomplish this without being in alliance with the Persian monarch, as he is stated to have led his army through Balkh; but he probably took the route of Mazanderan. He is said to have founded the city of Samarcand on the ruins of Soghd; and on the conquest of Bokhara by the Mohammedans, an inscription was found on the gates of that city, recording his conquest. He is stated to have returned with an immense booty, through India, and probably by way of Mekran. The Arabian chronology would fix this expedition later, but it better agrees with the unsettled character of the country at this period.—See MOD. TRAV., *Arabia*, pp. 24–6.

Ooroomia), a town of Adjerbijan, situated near the southern extremity of the lake to which it gives name; and his first successes were in that province, whence his doctrine rapidly spread over the whole empire. Isfundeer, the son or brother of Gushtasp, is stated to have been the first convert of distinction made by this pretended prophet; and it is ascribed to his influence, that the Persian monarch, who had imprisoned Zoroaster for several years, ultimately became his patron, and ordered twelve thousand cow-hides to be tanned, that the precepts of the new faith might be inscribed upon them. These parchments were deposited in a vault hewn out of the rock at Persepolis, where some vaults answering to the description are still to be seen.*

When Zoroaster was born, as Persian legends say, like the prince of necromancers, Merlin, he burst out into a loud laugh; and such a light shone from his body as illuminated the whole room.† Like the Arabian Impostor, he pretended to have performed a journey to heaven, where he received from Hormuzd, or the Good Spirit, the sacred volume of the Zend-a-vesta and the sacred fire. He also descended to hell, where he beheld Ahriman, or the Evil Spirit, but was "unable to compass the circle that enclosed him." For twenty years he lived in profound retirement in the recesses of Mount Elburz, in a cave adorned with mystical figures of the elements, the seasons, and the celestial bodies. We transcribe the abstract given by

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 59. Pliny tells us, that Zoroaster's works contained two millions of verses.

† "This ancient tradition respecting Zoroaster, which we meet with in Persian works, is mentioned by Pliny."—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 193.

the accomplished Historian of Persia, of the leading doctrines of the Zend-a-vesta.

" God, he taught, existed from all eternity, and was like infinity of time and space. There were, he averred, two principles in the universe,—good and evil: the one was termed Hormuzd, which denotes the presiding agent of all that is good; and the other, Ahriman, the lord of evil. Each of these had the power of creation; but that power was exercised with opposite designs; and it was from their co-action, that an admixture of good and evil was found in every created thing. The angels of Hormuzd, or the good principle, sought to preserve the elements, the seasons, and the human race, which the infernal agents of Ahriman desired to destroy: but the source of good, the great Hormuzd, was alone eternal, and must, therefore, ultimately prevail. Light was the type of the good; darkness, of the evil spirit; and God had said to Zoroaster, ' My light is concealed under all that shines.' Hence, the disciple of that prophet, when he performs his devotions in a temple, turns towards the sacred fire that burns upon its altar; and when in the open air, towards the sun, as the noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influence over the whole earth, and perpetuates the works of his creation. Zoroaster declared to his followers, that the guardian angels of animals, and of the elements, had addressed him as follows:

" ' Guard my herds and flocks,' said the holy Bahman, ' O man of God! These I received from the Almighty; these I commit to you. Let not the young be slain, nor those that are still useful.'

" ' Servant of the Most High!' exclaimed the dazzling Ardibehesht, ' speak to the royal Gushtasp from

me. Say, that unto thee I have confided all fires. Ordain the *mobuds*, the *dustoors*, and the *herboods** to preserve them, and neither to extinguish them in the water nor in the earth. Bid them erect in every city, a temple of fire, and celebrate, in honour of that element, the feasts ordained by law. The brilliancy of fire is from God: and what is more beautiful than that element? It requires only wood and odours. Let the young and the old give these, and their prayers shall be heard. I give it over to thee, as I received it from God. Those who do not fulfil my words shall go to the infernal regions.'

"Shaherawar next spoke: 'O thou pure man!' said this angel, 'when thou art upon the earth, tell all men my words. Bid those who carry the lance, the sword, the dagger, and the mace, clean them each year, that the sight of them may put to flight those that cherish bad designs. Bid them never place confidence in wicked men, nor in their enemies.'

"Espendermad exclaimed: 'Thou, who shalt be as a blessing unto mankind, preserve the earth from blood, uncleanliness, and from carcases: carry such where the earth is not cultivated, and where neither man nor water passeth. Fruits in abundance shall reward labour; and the best king is he who rendereth the earth most fertile. Say this unto men from me.'

"The angel Khourdad said: 'I confide to thee, O Zoroaster! the water that flows, that which is stagnant, the water of rivers, that which comes from afar, and from the mountains, the water from rain and from springs. Instruct men, that it is water which gives strength to all living things. It makes all verdant. Let it not be polluted with any thing

* Different orders of priests.

dead or impure, that your victuals, boiled in pure water, may be healthy. Execute thus the words of God.'

"After Khourdad had finished, Amerdad said: 'O Zoroaster! bid men not destroy, nor pull, except in season, the plants and the fruits of the earth; for these were meant as a support and blessing to man and unto animals.'

"Zoroaster was also instructed to establish in every place, a priest who should read the sacred volume, or the Avesta; and these were ordained to preserve pure the four elements of which man is formed; earth, air, fire, and water.

"These were the leading principles of the religion of Zoroaster. The general maxims taught in his great work, the Zend-a-vesta, were moral and excellent, and well calculated to promote industry and virtue. That the principal tenets of the faith he taught were pure and sublime, and that his religion inculcated the worship of one immortal and beneficent Creator, is as true as are those accusations which state, that he artfully adapted his creed to the prejudices of his countrymen, and that, whatever might have been his intention, his introduction of flame from an earthly substance, as the symbol of God, opened a wide door for superstition. There can be no doubt, that the devotion intended for the deity of Zoroaster, has been given to the symbol by many of his followers, who have merited, by such a practice, the reproachful name of worshippers of fire.

"Though the Persians, before the era of Zoroaster, reverenced fire as one of the elements, we have no reason to believe that they preserved it in temples, or addressed their devotions to it.* The introduction of

* The latter part of this representation is inaccurate.

this usage may be deemed one of the greatest changes which that prophet made in their religion. In directing his disciples to turn to the sun, when they offered up their prayers, he acted in accordance with the national belief; and that was also flattered by the great veneration in which he held the elements. But the obedience which he paid to the angel Espendermad, who bade him not soil the earth with carcases, led him to change some part of the usages of the ancient Persians in respect to the disposal of the dead. According to Herodotus, the Persians used to inter their dead; but the corpse was not buried till the flesh had been eaten by dogs and birds.* It is the practice of the followers of Zoroaster, to expose the carcases of their dead on the tops of cemeteries, built 'where neither man nor water passeth.' And when the flesh is eaten off by birds, or wasted by exposure, the bones, instead of being separately interred, as formerly, are thrown into a great cavity in the centre of the common sepulchre.

"Zoroaster, we are informed, was a great astrologer, and, from his knowledge of the heavenly bodies, could calculate nativities and foretell events; and this knowledge has descended to the priesthood of his followers. He had presiding angels over each month and day; the names and duties of these, and of a host of genii, are detailed in his works. The religion which he introduced, was disturbed, after his death, by a thousand schisms. The last great reform, or rather re-establishment of the original orthodox doctrines of Zoroaster, took place in the reign of Ardisheer Babigan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty; and the rites

* Many vases full of human bones have been discovered in different parts of Persia.

ordained by the chief *mobuds* under his reign, are still observed by the followers of this religion." *

Dean Prideaux, following the learned Hyde, maintains that Zoroaster was of Jewish origin; and he is generally supposed to have been a servant of one of the prophets of Israel, which must have been Daniel. He was, at all events, thoroughly versed in all the books of the Old Testament then extant; and most of the reformations which he introduced into the Magian religion, (for he is not to be considered as the founder of a new system,) were evidently taken either from the sacred writings or from the sacred usages of the Jews. Thus, Dr. Prideaux remarks, his pretending to have heard God speaking to him out of the midst of a flame of fire, seems to have been suggested by what is recorded of Moses in the third chapter of Exodus, or to the appearance of the Almighty on Mount Sinai. The visible shekinah which rested over the mercy-seat, is thought to have been the ori-

* Malcolm's History, vol. i. pp. 191—9. See also Prideaux, vol. i. pp. 303—20. Zoroaster pretended, that the reformation which he introduced, had no other object than to bring back the religion of the Persians to the purity of the Abrahamic faith; and he called his book, the book of Abraham. He speaks of that patriarch, as well as of Joseph, Moses, and Solomon, with the highest veneration, and inserts a great part of the Psalms of David in the Zend-a-vesta. His object seems to have been, to graft the Jewish religion upon the Magian superstition, by introducing the doctrine of a Supreme Being superior to both the Good and the Evil Principle, the Light and the Darkness, of the old theology. And this "hint," Dean Prideaux supposes he might derive from Isa. xlv. 5—7, in which there is an obvious allusion to the Magian doctrines. The Zend-a-vesta, which is still extant, has been translated by Anquetil du Perron. The learned Professor Hyde, of Oxford, issued proposals for publishing the whole with a Latin translation, but met with no encouragement. The title is said to signify the Fire-kindler. Its authenticity has been called in question by two oriental scholars, Jones and Richardson, but has been vindicated by Anquetil, and by Von Adelung, the learned author of "Mithridates."

ginal of the sacred fires in the fire-temples. "The Jews," it is remarked, "had a sacred fire which came down from heaven upon their altar of burnt-offerings, which they did there ever, till the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, inextinguishably maintain; and with this fire only were all their sacrifices and oblations made; and Nadab and Abihu were punished with death for offering incense to God with other fire. In like manner, Zoroaster pretended to have brought his holy fire from heaven, and therefore commanded it to be kept with the same care. And to kindle fire on the altar of any newly erected fire-temple, or to rekindle it on any such altar where it had been, by any unavoidable accident, extinguished, from any other fire than from one of the sacred fires in some other temple, or else from the sun, was reckoned a crime to be punished in the same manner. And whereas great care was taken among the Jews, that no wood should be used on their altar in the temple, but that which they reputed clean; and for this reason they had it all barked and examined before it was laid on; and, that when it was laid on, the fire should never be blowed up either with bellows or the breath of man for the kindling of it: hence, Zoroastres ordained both these particulars to be also observed in respect of his sacred fire among his magians, commanding them to use only barked wood for the maintaining of it, and no other means for the kindling of it up into a flame, but the pouring on of oil and the blasts of the open air. And that he should in so many things write after the Jewish religion, or have been so well informed therein, can scarce seem probable, if he had not been first educated and brought up in it." *

* Prideaux, vol. i. p. 310.

The worship of the solar fire as the shekinah of Deity, and of the elementary fire as the emblem of the Mithratic, was not a new institution, but had been from time immemorial the usage of the sect;* and it is remarkable, that many among the Jewish nation had adopted this species of idolatry.† But "whereas, hitherto, they had erected their altars on the tops of hills and on high places in the open air, and there performed all the offices of their religious worship, where often, by rain, tempests, and storms, the sacred fire was extinguished, and the holy offices of their religion interrupted; for the preventing of this, he directed, that, wherever any of these altars were erected, temples should be built over them, that so the sacred fires might be the better preserved, and

* Ferdousi ascribes the introduction of the worship of fire to Hooshung, the grandson of Kaiomurs; and the account which he gives of its origin, (see Malcolm's Hist. vol. i. p. 185, note,) would lead to the supposition, that it was suggested by the phenomenon of a burning mountain, either a volcanic eruption or the effect of ignited naphtha. The name of the province of Adjerbidjan (house of fire), together with the fact that some of its mountains exhibit marks of volcanic agency, may be thought to favour this tradition. In like manner, Pélé, the awful deity of fire, is worshipped by the natives of Hawaii, the superstition having its origin in the stupendous phenomena of "the Etna of the Pacific."—See Ellis's Tour through Hawaii, pp. 205—8.

† See Ezek. viii. 16. "The holy of holies being on the western end of the temple, all that entered thither to worship God, did it with their faces turned that way; for that was their *kebla*, or the point towards which they directed their worship. But the *kebla* of the magians being the rising sun, they always worshipped with their faces towards the east. And therefore these five and twenty men, by altering their *kebla*, are shewn to have altered their religion, and, instead of worshipping God according to the Jewish religion, to have gone over to the religion and worship of the magians."—PRIDEAUX, vol. i. p. 30. Ezekiel prophesied in the fifth and sixth years of the captivity of Jehoiachin, B.C. 595 and 594.

the public offices of their religion be the better performed before them. For all the parts of their public worship were performed before these public sacred fires, as all their private devotions were before private fires in their own houses; not that they worshipped the fire, (for this they always disowned,) but God in the fire."

The worship of the sun was common to the Magian superstition and the Sabian idolatry; but these two sects were otherwise not only distinct, but opposite and hostile to each other. The latter, which originated with the Cushites, appears to have prevailed among the older Persians. Herodotus states, indeed, that the Persians in his time had neither statues, temples, nor altars, but that they worshipped the sun, and moon, and the elements, to whom they sacrificed according to ancient custom.* Little stress can be laid upon this vague account, which seems to confound the Magian with the Sabian worship, any further than as proving that the latter, in its grosser form of idolatry, had given way before the rival system. But the absence of splendid temples, such as Greece and Egypt reared to their heroic or bestial deities, must have been very striking to a foreigner, and might lead him too hastily to conclude, that, as he saw no temples, there could be no altars. The author of the Dabistan states, however, that the primeval religion of Persia, which corresponded to the patriarchal faith, was followed by the adoration of the host of heaven, and that this preceded the worship of fire.

The followers of Mahabad are represented to have worshipped the planets under symbolic images of a very singular description. That of Saturn, which was

* Beloe's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 193. Malcolm, vol. i. p. 197.

of black stone, had the head of an ape (or dog?), the body of a man, and the tail of a hog. That of Jupiter, which was of an earthy colour, had the human form with the vulture's head, surmounted with a crown, from which issued the heads of a cock and a dragon; it held in one hand a turban, and in the other a crystal water-pot. Mars was represented in red stone, as a naked warrior, brandishing a bloody scimitar in one hand, and raising an iron scourge in the other. The image of the Sun, which was of gold, represented a two-headed deity, half of human form, the lower part that of a dragon, mounted on a horse: in its right hand was a slender rod of gold, a collar of rich jewels adorned its neck, and on each head was a seven-pointed diadem. Venus was a naked human figure, with a similar crown, and holding a bottle of oil and a comb. Mercury had the head of a hog, the arms of a man, and the tail of a fish; it was crowned, and held a pen and ink-horn. The Moon was represented by a man sitting upon a white cow, holding a chaplet of rubies in one hand, and a sprig of sweet basil in the other. These representations of "the souls of the stars," (if, indeed, we may depend upon the authenticity and accuracy of the description,) must have been so far arbitrary, that they are likely to have been modified by caprice, the introduction of new ideas, or a difference of national usage. Sir John Malcolm remarks, that the genii or souls of the planets are worshipped by the Hindoos, but under quite different figures from those mentioned in the Dabistan.* In

* In the Hindoo pantheon, *Ruvee*, the sun, is a red image of human form, holding a water-lily in each hand, riding in a chariot drawn by seven yellow horses. *Somu* or *Chundru*, the moon, is represented by a white man, drawn by ten horses, or sitting on the water-lily, his right hand extended, and a club in his left. *Mun-*

Arabia and Egypt, this worship long prevailed; and it appears to have been in those countries the most ancient mode of idolatry. The planets, we are told, were first worshipped "*per sacella;*" that is, by tabernacles or shrines, which were looked upon as representing the orbs in which those starry intelligences had their habitation: the invention of images was brought in afterwards. Traces of this mode of idolatry are still to be found in Egypt; and the planetary shrines always appear to be of higher antiquity than the temple which encloses them.*

Admitting that the representations given in the Dabistan, are comparatively of modern invention, the worship of the planetary host is known to be of the highest antiquity; and it is not improbable, that the *deevs*, against whom the monarchs of the Paishdadian or Assyrian race are described as maintaining so long and obstinate a contest, were the votaries of the Sabian idolatry.

gudu, or Mars, is painted red, and wears a red necklace and red garments; he rides on a sheep, and has four arms, two of his hands holding weapons, and two significantly extended. *Boodhu*, the Hindoo Mercury, has also four arms, two of his hands holding a club and scimitar; he rides on a lion, and wears yellow garments. *Vrihusputee*, Jupiter, is painted yellow, sitting on the water-lily: he has four arms, and his hands hold a bead-roll, an alms' dish, and a club, the fourth bestowing a blessing: he is a bramhun, the preceptor and priest of the gods, and seems to have changed shapes and offices with Boodhu. *Shookru*, the planet Venus, is also represented as a priest, sitting on the water-lily, dressed in white, and with four arms similarly occupied. *Shunee*, Saturn, is dressed in black, and rides on a vulture: three of his four hands hold a bow and arrow and a javelin: his baleful influence is much dreaded.—See WARD'S *View of the Hindoos*, vol. i. pp. 89—100.

* See Mod. Trav. Egypt, vol. i. pp. 347, 8. Arabia, pp. 46—49. How widely Sabianism prevailed at an era prior to all authentic history, is proved by the names of the days of the week, which, in Sanscrit and the Indo-Chinese dialects, as well as in those of the Indo-European family, are derived from the heavenly bodies.

By placing the prevalence of this worship anterior to the era of Houshung, Sir John Malcolm remarks, we may satisfactorily account for the absence of all traces of such representations on any of the existing monuments, as well as for the declaration of Herodotus. Sabianism, however, is stated to have maintained itself in Persia, long after the introduction of the Mohammedan faith; and a work explanatory of the tenets and ceremonies of the sect, was written by a celebrated Sabian, in the third century of the Hejirah. Its connexion with the science of astrology is obvious; and there is no Mohammedan of learning, in either Persia or India, Sir John Malcolm states, who is not an astrologer. It is remarkable, too, he adds, "that, on the most trivial occasions, when calculating nativities and foretelling events, they deem it essential to describe the planets in terms not unsuited to the account which the author of the Dabistan has given of these deities." *

Tahamurs, surnamed *Deev-bund*, is stated to have

* The following is a literal translation from the introduction of a paper given to Sir John Malcolm, by the king's astrologer at Shiraz, in 1800. "Praise be to that great Creator who formed earth, heaven, and the heavenly bodies; among whose divine works, mankind appear but as a small spot. The dark Saturn, like a sentinel, in the seventh heaven, is attentive to his wishes. The glorious Jupiter, like an able judge, enthroned in the sixth heaven, is watchful of his desires. And the bloody Mars, with his purple-stained sabre, sits in the fifth heaven, the ready executioner of his Maker's wrathful commands. And the resplendent Sun, encircled by a flaming crown, shines in the fourth heaven, with light that he has received from the Almighty. The beautiful Venus, like a glad minstrel, sits in her elegant apartment in the third heaven, supported by his power. The feathered Mercury, like a wise secretary, sits in the second heaven, the writer of the Almighty's orders. The clear moon sits enthroned in the first heaven, a sign of the Creator's power."—MALCOLM's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 190, *note*.

introduced a very different species of idolatry, more nearly approaching to the polytheism of western nations, but still more closely allied to the Buddhism which has become the religion of all the Indo-Chinese nations; the worship of images representing deceased friends, or ancestors, or heroes.* This species of idolatry appears, however, never to have maintained itself in Persia, and it probably disappeared with the monarch, or dynasty, to whom its introduction is ascribed, being doubtless of Tatar or Scythian origin.

To return to Zoroaster: although his first appearance seems to have been in Adjerbijan, and the first fire-temple is said to have been erected at Xiz, in Media, the persecution which he at first met with seems to have occasioned his flight or removal to Bactria; where, we are told, under the protection of Hystaspes, the father of Darius, and the governor of that province under his son, he met with great success in propagating his doctrines. The city of Balkh, where he fixed his residence, became, in consequence, the metropolis of Magianism, the Mekka of the sect; and it continued to be the seat of the Archimagus, till the Mohammedan conquest occasioned its transfer to Kerman. The conversion of Darius himself to the new faith, is said to have taken place in the thirteenth year of his reign, in consequence of a personal visit paid by the Impostor to the royal court at Susa. Elated by this success, he resolved, on his return to Balkh, to endeavour to effect the conversion of Arjasp, king of Touran; but the result was most dis-

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 15. A curious extract is given from the travels of Rubruquis, the envoy of Louis IX. to the court of the grandson of Chenghiz Khan, which shews that this singular species of idolatry prevailed in Tatary in the thirteenth century.

astrous. The story is told with many variations, and mingled with much of romance; but it is certain that a religious war ensued, during which Balkh was taken, and a general massacre took place of all the priests and followers of Zoroaster, to the number of eighty persons, including the aged Lohrasp or Hystaspes, and, according to some accounts, the prophet himself: others make him to have died a few months before this invasion. Darius, however, soon revenged the injury, and, collecting a powerful army, drove the Tatars beyond the Oxus; after which he rebuilt all the fire-temples that had been demolished by the invaders, more especially that at Balkh, which he erected on a scale suitable to its dignity as the metropolitan temple, and it thenceforth was called *Auzur-Gustasp*, the fire-temple of Hystaspes. The Persian monarch is also stated to have placed himself at the head of the sect, assuming the title of Archimagus, which he ordered to be engraved among his other titles on his monument. And hence it arose, that the kings of Persia were subsequently considered as of the sacerdotal tribe, and were always initiated into that order previously to their inauguration into the kingdom. Darius is stated to have died the following year. But the faith of Zoroaster was now firmly established, and Lucian enumerates among those who professed this religion, in the first century of the Christian era, the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Khowaresmians, the Arians, the Sacans, and the Medes, besides many barbarous nations. The Greeks held the name of Zoroaster in high esteem. Pythagoras is said to have been his scholar. Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and Porphyry mention him with honour; Pliny dwells upon his life and character at length; and Apuleius styles him

"the chief doctor in all divine mysteries." His reputation still maintains itself all over the East, Mohammedans as well as Magians, and other sects, revering the memory of the great *hakim*, as one of the most skilful and eminent of their ancient astronomers.*

The reign of Gushtasp is extended by the Persian historians over sixty years, that of Xerxes, his son and successor, being wholly passed over; but Isfundeer, who is supposed, by Sir John Malcolm, to be the same as Xerxes, is made the hero of his reign. His chivalrous achievements are rivalled only by those of the illustrious Roustum, who is again brought on the scene; and Isfundeer is slain by him in an unjust war, in which he had reluctantly engaged, at the command of his wicked father, with the king of Segistan. It is from the western historians only, that we learn any thing of the leading events of the reign of Darius Hystaspes. In the fourth year of his reign was issued the famous decree which renewed the previous permission given by Cyrus to the Jews, to rebuild their temple; and in the following year (B.C. 517), the revolt of the Babylonians took place, which terminated, after a siege of twenty months, in the final overthrow and miserable destruction of their once

* See Prideaux's Conn. vol. i. pp. 299—331. Malcolm's History, vol. i. pp. 192—9. It is scarcely necessary to advert, in this place, to the various discrepancies which obscure the history of Zoroaster. Justin makes him a king of Bactria, contemporary with Ninus; and many writers contend that there were two of the name, who lived at different epochs. Gibbon adopts the opinion maintained by Moyle against his uncle, Dr. Prideaux, that the era of Zoroaster ought to be placed much earlier. In fact, though the oriental writers agree that there was but one Zerdusht, who lived in the time of Gushtasp, and who was the author of the Zendavesta, we have seen that they ascribe the first introduction of magianism to Hooshung, a king of Balkh, who is evidently the *alius Zoroastres* of Pliny.

haughty capital.* In the ninth year of his reign, Darius is stated to have marched an army of 70,000 men, through Asia Minor, to the Thracian Bosphorus, which he crossed by a bridge of boats, and thence proceeded to subdue all Thrace as far as the Ister. Not satisfied with these conquests, he crossed the river into the country of the Scythians, but had reason to repent of his rashness in venturing into a desert and inhospitable region, from which he returned with the loss of half his army. He passed the winter at Sardis, the Lydian capital, and thence returned to Susa, which had become the favourite residence of the sovereign since the union of the Persian and Median monarchies. Only two years after this western expedition, Darius is said to have determined on the conquest of India; for which purpose, having built a fleet of ships at Caspatyrus on the Indus, he gave the command of it to Scylax, a Carian Greek, and despatched him on a voyage of discovery. This occupied thirty months. On his return, the Persian monarch entered India with a large army, subdued the whole country, imposed upon it an annual tribute of 300 talents of gold, and made it the twentieth prefecture of the empire. These exploits, as narrated by Herodotus, rival any thing that is fabled of Isfundeer or Roustum himself. Ferdousi states, that his hero, Isfundeer, conquered, for his father Gushtasp, India, Arabia, and Roum or Anatolia; but he gives no particulars of the expeditions; and his history of this period degenerates

* Thus strikingly, remarks Dr. Prideaux, did "the punishment of Babylon keep pace with the restoration of Jerusalem," according to the prediction of Jeremiah, ch. xxv. 12, 13. About two years before, the prophet Zechariah was commissioned to warn the Jews still remaining at Babylon, to "flee and come out of that land."—See PRIDEAUX, vol. i. pp. 264—9.

into mere romance. The probability is, however, that the achievements ascribed to Darius were, in part at least, those of his lieutenants and provincial governors or pashas in Media, Lydia, Bactriana, and perhaps Segistan.

In the reign of this potent monarch, during which the empire seems to have reached its zenith, the history of Persia first begins to be closely connected with that of Greece. By the conquest of Lydia and Thrace, it had assumed the new and extraordinary attitude of a naval power; and first the Ionians, and then the Tyrians, whom Darius restored to all their former privileges, became the instruments of extending the vast dominions of the Great King over the islands of the Levant. The revolt of the Ionians under Aristagoras, in the twentieth year of his reign, was followed by the burning of Sardis, by the confederate fleet of the Ionians and Athenians; and the part taken by the latter in this expedition, was the origin of that fatal war between the Persians and the Greeks, which proved so calamitous to both, and ended in the overthrow of the Persian empire. But the history of the Ionian league, the fall and destruction of Miletus, the defeat of the Persians at Marathon, and the amicable contest between the sons of Darius for the succession to the throne; together with all the great events of the reign of Xerxes,—the invasion of Greece, the battles of Marathon, Salamis, Platæa, and Mycale, and the inglorious termination of the contest on the part of the invaders; are not to be found in the Persian annals, but form the most brilliant page in the history of Greece. On his return through Asia Minor, Xerxes gave directions for the demolition of all the temples in the Grecian cities of Asia; an order which is attributed to his zeal for the Magian religion; but the plunder served to

replenish, in some degree, his exhausted treasury. Babylon shared the same fate, and all its temples were finally destroyed, agreeably to the predictions of the Jewish prophets.*

The assassination of Xerxes, by his relative Artabanus, took place, B.C. 461, in the twenty-first year of his reign. He was succeeded by his third son, Artaxerxes Longimanus, the Bahman or Ardisheer-Dirazdust of the Persian annals, and the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther.† Something like a disguised or confused account of these transactions is found in the pages of Ferdousi. After Isfundeer had subdued all the foreign enemies of his father Gushtasp, he is sent to reduce to obedience the king of Segistan, who had thrown off his allegiance. In this expedition, he is represented as engaging with the greatest reluctance, and he meets his death from the hand of Roustum, to whom, nevertheless, the dying hero commits his son, Bahman, entreating him to educate him as a warrior. That son, however, on ascending the throne, soon became jealous of Roustum, and having invaded and subdued his hereditary province, put him to death with all his family, on the pretext of revenging the blood of his father. The general facts, that Roustum, a powerful chief, slew Isfundeer, yet protected his son; that a civil contest attended the accession of Ardisheer; and that it terminated in the massacre of Roustum and his family, so far accord with what the Greek his-

* Isa. xxi. 9. Jer. l. 2.; li. 44—52.

† Darius, the eldest son, is stated to have shared the fate of his father; and the second son, Hystaspes, was absent in Bactria, of which he was governor. It is probable, that *this* Hystaspes has been confounded with his grandfather, by Ferdousi, and that the circumstance has occasioned the extension of the reign of Gushtasp.

torians state respecting the character and fate of Artabanus, as to leave little doubt that both stories relate to the same personages. Of the identity of Ardisheer with Artaxerxes Μακροχειρ or Longimanus, there can be no doubt. His surname, *Diraz-dust* (or Long-arms), is stated to have been given to him, because, when he stood upright, the ends of his fingers reached below his knee.* The author of the *Tarikh Tabree* states, that under this monarch, to whom he erroneously ascribes the overthrow of Belshazzar, the Jews had the privilege granted them of being governed by a ruler of their own nation; and the favours they experienced, it is added, were owing to the express orders of Bahman, whose favourite lady was of the Jewish nation. Josephus expressly affirms that Artaxerxes Longimanus was the husband of Esther; and the extraordinary favour which he shewed to the Jews, strengthens this testimony.† He would seem, indeed, to have been the first monarch of Persia who, strictly speaking, by the subjugation of Segistan, "reigned from India even to Ethiopia, over a hundred and twenty-seven provinces."

Persian historians assign to this great monarch a

* Malcolm, i. p. 67, note. "His name, Bah-man," it is added, "is a Shanscrit compound, which signifies possessing arms." Khondemir (Cantemir) states, however, that that name was given to him on account of his good disposition, the signification of that word in Syriac.—*Ib.* p. 235. A similar uncertainty attaches to the etymology of Ardisheer. *Oordoo-Sheer* means, in Persian, the lion of the camp; but Sir John Malcolm inclines to derive it from the Sanscrit *Urddha-siras*, "of exalted head." Arta or Ard, signifies in Pehlivi and Kourdish, the earth. May not the compound imply the same as *Gil-shah*, prince of the earth?

† See Ezra, vi. 14. Archbishop Usher and Calmet suppose Darius Hystaspes to be the Ahasuerus of Esther; and Scaliger believed him to be Xerxes; but Prideaux has clearly shewn their opinions to be erroneous.

reign of a hundred and twelve years, but the Greek writers limit it to forty, and his death is fixed in the year B.C. 424. He was succeeded, according to the Persian annals, by his daughter Homai, who, after a reign of thirty-two years, resigned the crown to her son, Darab I., the Darius Nothus of the Greeks. It is natural that no notice should be taken of the ephemeral reigns of Xerxes II. and Sogdianus, which together occupied only eight months; and in Ptolemy's canon, Darius Nothus is made the immediate successor of Artaxerxes Longimanus, his reign extending from 424 B.C. to 405.

Homai appears to be the Parysatis whom the Greek writers make to be the queen of her half-brother Darius, and to whom they attribute a very prominent part in the transactions of his reign. Her son Arsaces is stated to have succeeded to the throne under the title of Artaxerxes, to which the Greeks added the surname of *Mnemon*, on account of his extraordinary memory. No sovereign, however, besides Longimanus or Dirazdust, is ever noticed by oriental writers under the name of Ardisheer; it is therefore highly probable, that Mnemon is the Darab I. of the Persian annals, and that he succeeded his mother Homai or Parysatis, who might reign conjointly with Darius Nothus, whether as her husband or her son.* The banishment of Queen Parysatis to Babylon, in the reign of her son

* The degree of power which the Persian queens of this period seem to have enjoyed, as well as the use they made of it, and the incestuous character of some of the royal marriages, remind us of the Cleopatras of Egypt. Hence, in part, may arise the confusion of the narrative. Sir John Malcolm supposes that the Ochus who succeeded Artaxerxes Mnemon, may have been Darab I. Homai is said to have made Persepolis her capital; and the celebrated hall called *Chehel-minar* (Forty Pillars), at Istakhr, was, we are told, built by this queen.

Artaxerxes, may answer to the abdication of Queen Homai.

This is a most obscure epoch in the native annals. The Egyptian war which broke out in the reign of Darius Nothus, the revolt of the Medes, and the part taken by Persia in the Peloponnesian war, are not referred to. Even the name of the younger Cyrus is not noticed by any of the oriental writers, nor is the slightest allusion made to the celebrated expedition which has given immortality to its commander. The pages of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon leave little room, however, for regret that these events have not found an oriental historian.

With respect to the second Darab of the Persians who is made the immediate successor of the first, his identity with the Darius Codomanus of the Greeks is completely established by the conquest of Persia during his reign by Alexander of Macedon. The intermediate reigns of Artaxerxes Ochus, the most barbarous and abandoned monarch of his race, and of his son Arses, both of whom were assassinated, appear to be passed over, or to be included in that of Darab I.* The character of Ochus seems, however, to have been transferred by the Persians to the unfortunate and noble-minded Darius, who is alleged to have been deformed in body and depraved in mind; as if, Sir John Malcolm remarks, "to reconcile the vanity of the nation to the tale of its subjugation." It is never

* The reign of this Darab is distinguished in the native annals by the breaking out of a war with Philippous of Roum (Macedon) which, though at first unsuccessful, is stated to have terminated gloriously for the Persians; and Philip was glad to make peace on the terms of giving his daughter to Darab, and becoming his tributary. This daughter is fabled to have been the mother of the Macedonian conqueror. Darab I. built Darabjird, a city about 150 miles E. of Shiraz.—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 69.

theless true, that the crimes of their monarchs, the mal-administration into which the affairs of the government had fallen, the assassinations and massacres occasioned by the repeated disputes for the succession, and the slender bond which held together the various provinces of so gigantic an empire, had prepared the way for its easy dissolution.

The traditions which the eastern writers have preserved of the Macedonian hero, (whom they call Secunder and Iskandeer,) are very imperfect; and upon a few historical facts, they have reared a superstructure of the most extravagant fable. They agree, however, with the Greek writers in most of the leading facts; such as the invasion of Persia, the defeat and subsequent death of Darius, the generosity of the conqueror, and the strong impression which his noble and humane conduct made upon his dying enemy. They allude, too, to the alliance which Alexander established with Taxilis or Omphis, to his battle with Porus, and his expedition against the Scythians; but the circumstances in which these events are disguised, are for the most part fabulous. "His great name," says Sir John Malcolm, "has been considered sufficient to obtain credit for every story that imagination could invent; but this exaggeration is almost all praise. The Secunder of the Persian page is a model of every virtue and of every great quality that can elevate a human being above his species; while his power and magnificence are always represented as far beyond what has ever been attained by any other monarch in the world."

The quarrel between the two monarchs originated, according to the author of the *Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh*, in Alexander's refusing to pay the tribute of golden eggs to which his father had agreed, returning the laconic

answer by the Persian envoy, that "the bird that laid the eggs had flown to the other world." Upon this, another ambassador was despatched to the court of the Macedonian, bearing the present of a bat and ball, in ridicule of Alexander's youth, and a bag of very small seed called *gunjud*, as an emblem of the innumerable army with which he was threatened. Alexander, taking the bat and ball in his hand, compared the one to his own power, and the other to the Persian's dominion; and the fate which would await the invaders, was intimated by giving the grain to a fowl. In return, he sent the Persian monarch the significant present of a bitter melon.*

The Persian writers give no detailed account of the operations of Alexander in Persia, erroneously stating, that Darius was killed in the first action. In this rapid sketch, it will be sufficient to advert to the order of the leading events. Having subdued the refractory cities of Greece, Alexander crossed the Hellespont in the year 334 B.C., with a force amounting, it is said, to no more than 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, but with which he gained a victory over five times that number on the banks of the Granicus. The following year, he reduced Phrygia to obedience, and afterwards the whole of Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia. The battle of Issus, in November of the same year, decided the fate of Syria. Darius himself

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 71. "Messages of this character," it is remarked, "are not uncommon among Asiatic monarchs; and we have a popular instance in our own traditions, of one which bears a very extraordinary similarity to that now related"—the message from the Dauphin to Henry of Agincourt, as given by Shakspeare, to which the King replies (act i. sc. 2):

"When we have matched our rackets to these balls,
We will, in France, by God's grace, play a set
Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard."

narrowly escaped, with the loss of all his baggage and treasures, and a hundred thousand Persians who were left on the field of battle. The siege of Tyre detained the conqueror for seven months, and afforded the Persians a respite. On the reduction of that city, of which he made a dreadful example, Alexander marched against Jerusalem, with the intention of chastising the Jews in a similar manner for withstanding his commands; but, at the sight of the Jewish high-priest, who, in his pontifical robes, with all the priests in solemn procession, came forth to meet him, the royal Gentile was struck with a profound awe, and relenting from his vindictive purpose, offered sacrifice in the temple to Jehovah. In explanation of this sudden change of conduct, he is reported to have declared, that, while he was yet deliberating on undertaking the war against Persia, that very person, in the same pontifical habit, had appeared to him in a dream, and had promised that God would give him the empire of the Persians. Jaddua, the high-priest, then shewed him, in the prophecies of Daniel, the prediction, that the Persian empire should be overthrown by a Grecian king; and Alexander departed from Jerusalem with the assurance that he was the person destined to accomplish the prophecy. As a mark of his satisfaction, he conferred upon the Jews the extraordinary privilege of an exemption from tribute every sabbatical year, with the free enjoyment of their laws and religion. He then proceeded to Gaza,* where the Persian garrison made an obstinate defence; and during the siege, which occupied two months, Alexander himself

* Josephus states, that Alexander went from Tyre immediately to Gaza, which is not improbable, Jerusalem *not* lying "in the way," as Prideaux represents. Other historians, however, state that he took Gaza in his way to Egypt.

was twice wounded. His barbarous revenge on the valiant defender of this city, Betis, in which he boasted of imitating the conduct of Achilles towards Hector, and his savage cruelty towards the rest of the inhabitants, have left a dark stain upon his character. Having slain ten thousand of the men, he is stated to have sold all the rest, with their wives and children, into slavery. He then marched to Pelusium, where he was received by the Egyptians as a deliverer. Memphis opened her gates at his approach, and he became master of the whole country without opposition. Before he left Egypt, he visited the temple of Jupiter Ammon, in the Libyan desert, for the purpose of consulting its far-famed oracle, in imitation of the conduct of Perseus and Hercules; and intoxicated with ambition, he did not disdain to receive the cunning flatteries of the priests, who assured him that he was the son of their God. On his return to Egypt, he is said to have founded the city of Alexandria; but the more ancient city of Racotis appears to have occupied the same site: its name only, it is probable, was changed in honour of the conqueror, who conferred distinguished privileges on the citizens, and made it the capital of the country.

From Egypt, Alexander returned through Palestine to Tyre, where he made his preparations for the invasion of Persia, having, in the mean time, rejected repeated overtures for peace from Darius. The Persian monarch, finding all negotiation fruitless, had now collected an immense army, including levies from the most distant provinces, and amounting, it is said, to 40,000 cavalry, a million of foot, 200 chariots, and 15 elephants. With these, he awaited the invader on the banks of the Bumadus, about 600 *stadia* from Arbela. The victory, for some time, hung in suspense, but at

length, the compact and disciplined force of the Macedonian phalanx prevailed over the immense disparity of numbers. A dreadful slaughter of the Persians ensued; and Darius made a precipitate flight to Ecbatana, leaving all his royal equipage as spoil to the conqueror. From Arbela, Alexander proceeded to Babylon, which immediately surrendered, and he gave orders for the rebuilding of the temples which Xerxes had destroyed. Susa also, with all the royal treasure, was delivered up at his approach. Persepolis was given up to be sacked by the soldiery, the castle and palace only being reserved, which Alexander made his winter-quarters; but to these, he is stated to have set fire, in a drunken carousal, at the instigation of an Athenian courtezan, in revenge of the burning of Athens by Xerxes.

In the following spring, Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana, where Darius still made a stand; but, on reaching that city, he found that the Persian monarch had been carried off a prisoner by his own subjects eight days before. He pursued him to Rhages, where he halted for five days; and then, entering the Caspian Straits, marched into Parthia, where he at length overtook the fugitives. On perceiving Alexander to be at hand, the Persian officers who had charge of Darius, resolved to prevent his falling alive into the hands of the conqueror. He was found lying in his chariot, mortally wounded in several places, and expired before Alexander could come up to him. At the sight of the corpse, Alexander is reported to have shed tears, and, casting his own cloak over it, ordered it to be carried to Susa, to be interred with royal honours.*

* The death of Darius is fixed in the year 328 B.C., being 209 years from the union of the Median and Persian monarchies under Cyrus.

Following up his conquests with astonishing celerity, Alexander received the submission of Parthia and Hyrcania, and overran a great part of the country of the Mardi. He rested for a fortnight at Zendracarte, the capital of Hyrcania, and then marched into Aria, on hearing that the governor had armed the country against him. The conquest of the Arii was followed by that of the *Zarangæi* (or Drangians), the *Arachoti* (or Aracusians), and the other nations of Eastern Persia. The Conqueror is described as passing over Mount Caucasus, by which is meant the Parapamisan mountains, and as founding a city there, with the name of Alexandria.* On learning that Bessus, one of the murderers of Darius, who had assumed the title of Artaxerxes, was at the head of a considerable force in Bactria, he hastened into that province, notwithstanding the depth of the snow, and the suffering to which the army was exposed from the want of provisions. At his approach, Bessus retired beyond the Oxus; Bactra (Balkh) and Aornus (Talekan ?) immediately submitted; and on his crossing the Oxus, which he is stated to have accomplished on rafts of stuffed hides, Bessus was given up to his vengeance.† The entire reduction of the province of Sogdiana is said to have

* Scanderie in Ar-rokhaje, otherwise named Vaihend.—D'ANVILLE.

† Respecting the manner in which Bessus was punished, the Greek historians are strangely at variance. Diodorus states, that he was delivered by Alexander to Oxathres, the brother of Darius, to inflict on him what punishment he pleased. Plutarch tells us, that his body was, by Alexander's order, tied to two tall straight trees, which were bound down so as to meet, and then allowed to spring back so as to tear him asunder. Sir John Malcolm remarks, that this mode of executing criminals is still occasionally used in Persia. The accounts given by Arrian and Curtius differ from those of both Plutarch and Diodorus.—See ROOKE'S *Arrian*, vol. i. b. 4, c. 7.

occupied a year. While lying at Maracanda (Samarcand), the capital, he slew his favourite general Clitus, in a quarrel that took place at a Bacchanalian festival. At Nautaca (supposed to be Nek-shab), where he established his winter-quarters, he gave his army rest for three months; and while resposing here from the fatigues of war, he encouraged his Macedonians to follow their monarch's example in choosing wives from among the Persian ladies. He had fallen in love with a beautiful captive, Roxana, the daughter of a noble Persian,* and he resolved to make her his queen; an act which was considered as entitling him to the praise of the noblest generosity.

While thus engaged in nuptial festivities, this insatiable conqueror was projecting an expedition into India, in emulation of his elder brothers Bacchus and Hercules. In the spring of 327 B.C., he crossed the Indus, beyond which we forbear to trace his conquests. On his return, through the scorching deserts of Gedrosia, he lost a great part of his army, who fell victims to the want of water and provisions and the madness of their vain-glorious leader. To conceal this disaster, and to give the appearance of triumph to his Indian expedition, on arriving at the province of Carmania, he marched in a Bacchanalian procession for seven successive days, in imitation of the fabled Dionysus; thus affecting to keep up his character as the son of Jupiter. Here he received the report of his admiral, Nearchus, who had coasted all the country from the mouth of the Indus to the island of Harmuzia (Ormuzd) in the Persian Gulf. Learning that

* The Roushunuk of the Persian writers, the final *k* being a diminutive often added by way of endearment: she is made, however, the daughter of Darius, being confounded, apparently, with Statira.

great disorders had taken place during his absence in India, whence it was expected that he would never return, he caused a number of the offenders to be executed, and restored tranquillity to the provinces. On arriving at Pasargadæ, his indignation was excited at finding that the sepulchre of Cyrus had been violated; and the governor of the province, being falsely accused of authorising it, was put to death. At Susa, where he had left the captive family of Darius, he took to wife Statira, the eldest daughter, giving the younger to his favourite Hephestion. Thence he sailed down the Eulæus, and proceeded to Opis on the Tigris, where he shewed much address and self-command in suppressing a mutiny which broke out among his Macedonian veterans, in consequence of the partiality which he was accused of manifesting towards the Asiatic soldiery. From Opis, he marched to Ecbatana, where Hephestion died in consequence of a surfeit produced by intoxication; a warning which was lost upon his intemperate master. To divert his grief occasioned by this loss, Alexander led his army against the Cossæans of the Median mountains. Having, in a war of forty days, brought them into subjection, he crossed the Tigris, and marched to Babylon, where he resolved to fix the seat of his empire. On his approach, the magi are said to have warned him against entering that city, several signs portending that it would prove fatal to him; but he contemned the omen. Nearly a year elapsed, which was partly occupied in forming new projects for the circumnavigation of Africa, the conquest of Arabia and Carthage, and the improvement of Babylon, where he purposed to repair in the most magnificent manner the temple of Belus; but the greater part of his time was spent in dissipation and debaucheries, to which,

if not to poison, he fell a victim, like his friend Hephestion, and expired in the spring of the year 323 B.C., in the thirty-third year of his age; thus closing, with the death of a drunkard, the career of a vain-glorious madman. "God having ordained him to be his instrument," remarks the learned Prideaux, "for the bringing to pass of all that which was by the prophet Daniel foretold concerning him, he did by his providence bear him through in all things for the accomplishment of it, and, when that was done, did cast him out of his hand."*

According to the Persian historians, a short time before his death, Alexander divided the provinces of Persia among the princes of that country, restoring to each his former possessions on the tenure of military

* According to Persian authors, Alexander died at Zour (Siazuros) in Kourdistan, though some state that he died at Baboul. He is stated to have been thirty-six years of age at the time of his death, and to have reigned six years over Persia. His body was embalmed and, according to the *Zeenut-ul-Tarikh*, first put into a golden coffin, but afterwards, at the express command of his mother, put into one of Egyptian marble.—See MOD. TRAV., *Egypt*, vol. i. p. 207. The account which this Author gives of his death is as follows: "The astrologers had foretold, that, when Alexander's death was near, he would place his throne upon a spot where the ground was of iron and the sky of gold. When the hero, fatigued with conquest, directed his march towards Greece, he was one day seized with a bleeding at the nose. A general, who was near, unlacing his coat of mail, spread it for the prince to sit upon; and, in order to defend him from the sun, held a golden shield over his head. When Alexander saw himself in this situation, he exclaimed: 'The prediction of the astrologers is accomplished. I no longer belong to the living! Alas! that the work of my youth should be finished! Alas! that the plant of the spring should be cut down like the ripened tree of autumn!'"—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 79. The Persian authors add, that he left a son Askanderous, but that he did not succeed to any part of his father's power, having devoted himself to study, under the tuition of the celebrated Aristotle.

service. Darius is said to have left a brother, who, according to one account, was nominated by Alexander to the sovereignty of Persia, or more probably to some provincial government. The Greek writers tell us, that, in the division of the empire among his generals, which took place upon the death of Alexander, Babylon fell to the share of Seleucus, the founder of the Syro-Macedonian dynasty. For some time, however, the better fortune of his rival Antigonus prevailed. The latter, after the death of Eumenes, is represented as being master of all Asia, from the Hellespont to the Indus. Seleucus saved himself from his jealousy by joining Ptolemy in Egypt, whence, having raised a small army, he returned to Babylon, and was immediately joined by all the inhabitants of the province. Media, Susiana, and the neighbouring provinces soon fell into his hands; and so firmly were his power and popularity established in those parts by the justice and clemency of his government, that he grew up to be the greatest of all Alexander's successors. We are told, that he subsequently reduced under him Persia, Bactria, Hyrcania, and all the countries on the Persian side of the Indus, which had been conquered by Alexander.

The famous era of the Seleucidæ,* made use of all over the East by Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, and heathens, dates from the retaking of Babylon by Seleucus, B.C. 312. Seleucus did not, however, as-

* Called, in the Books of the Maccabees (i. 10), "The Era of the kingdom of the Greeks," by which those writers compute. The Jews call it "The Era of Contracts," because they were compelled to use it in all their contracts. By the Arabs, it is called *Tarikh Dilkarnain*, the Era of the Two-horned, in allusion to the horned statues of Seleucus, in which he imitated Alexander, who is thus represented on his coins, and who in the Koran is frequently called the Two-horned.—See PRIDEAUX, vol. i. p. 768.

sume the title of king, till six or seven years later, after he had established himself in his Persian dominions, when he adopted the proud surname of Nicator, the Conqueror. He was the last survivor of Alexander's captains. On the death of Lysimachus, whom he defeated and slew, he entered Macedonia, to take possession of that kingdom, and with the intention, it is said, to close his days there; but was basely assassinated, B.C. 280, being upwards of eighty years of age.

He was succeeded in his Asiatic empire by his son Antiochus Soter, who reigned nineteen years, and left his throne to his son, Antiochus Theus. In his reign (B.C. 250) a tributary prince or chief of the name of Ashk or Arsaces, slew the viceroy of Parthia, and raised the standard of revolt.* The governor of Bactria at the same time declared his independence, and the Syro-Macedonian monarchy was soon bounded by the Tigris. Ashk, whom the native writers make to have been a descendant of one of the former kings of Persia, is stated to have obtained the aid of his countrymen, by informing them that he was in possession of the sacred banner, the *Durufsh-e-Kawanee*, which his uncle had saved and concealed when Darius was defeated. After he had slain the viceroy, he fixed

* The five centuries during which the two branches of the Arsacidæ governed the country, are reduced to less than three by Persian writers. Ferdousi passes it over as one of which no trace of history had been preserved, stating, that, for two centuries, Persia, distracted by internal wars, might be considered as a nation without a sovereign. This circumstance, Sir John Malcolm remarks, tends to prove, that, however he may have indulged his imagination in the embellishment of his subject, Ferdousi was scrupulous in taking the substance or ground-work from the Pehlivi manuscripts, from which he composed his poem; and it may therefore be assumed, that they contained no mention of the Parthian dynasties.

his residence at Rhé, where he invited all the chiefs of provinces to join him in a war against the Seleucides; promising at the same time, to exact from them no tribute, and to deem himself only the head of a confederacy of princes, having for their commmon object to maintain their separate independence, and to free Persia from a foreign yoke. Such was the commencement of that era of Persian history which is termed by the oriental writers, the *Mulouk ul Towáeif*, or commonwealth of tribes, and which extends over nearly five centuries. Pliny states, that the Parthian (meaning the Persian) empire was divided into eighteen kingdoms. The accounts of this period given by Persian writers, are vague and contradictory. "They have evidently," Sir John Malcolm remarks, "no materials to form an authentic narrative; and it is too near the date at which their real history commences, to admit of their indulging in fable. Their pretended history of the Ashkanians and Ashganians, is, consequently, little more than a mere catalogue of names; and even respecting these and the dates they assign to the different princes, hardly two authors are agreed. Ashk the First is said to have reigned fifteen years: Khondemir allows him only ten. Some authors ascribe the defeat and capture of Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, to this monarch; and others to his son, Ashk II. The latter prince was succeeded by his brother Shahpoor (or Sapor), who, after a long contest with Antiochus the Great, in which he experienced several reverses, concluded a treaty of peace with that monarch, by which his right to Parthia and Hyrcania was recognised. From the death of this prince, there appears to be a lapse of two centuries in the Persian annals; for they inform us, that his successor was Baharam Gudurz; and if this is the prince whom the

western writers term Gutarzes, as there is every reason to conclude it is, we know from authentic history, that he was the third prince of the second dynasty of the Arsacides, and it was he who revenged the death of John the Baptist upon the Israelites.*

"From the death of Alexander till the reign of Artaxerxes (Ardisheer Babigan), is nearly five centuries; and the whole of that remarkable era may be termed a blank in eastern history. And yet, when we refer to the pages of Roman writers, we find this period abounds with events of which the vainest nation might be proud; and that Parthian monarchs, whose names cannot now be discovered in the history of their own country,† were the only sovereigns upon whom the Roman arms, when that nation was in the very zenith of its power, could make no impression. But this, no doubt, may be attributed to other causes than the skill and valour of the Persians. It was to the nature of their country, and their singular mode of warfare, that they owed those frequent advantages which they gained over the disciplined legions of Rome. The frontier which the kingdom of Parthia presented to the Roman empire, extended from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. It consists of lofty and barren mountains, of rapid and broad streams, and of wide-spreading deserts. In whatever direction the legions of Rome advanced, the country was laid waste. The war was made, not against the army, but the supplies by which it was supported; and the mode in

* The eastern writers pretend, that the destruction of Jerusalem was accomplished by direction of the Persian monarch, to avenge the death of John, the son of Zechariah.

† "The name of Mithridates is not mentioned; nor that of Orodes, in whose reign Crassus was defeated; nor Surena, the general by whom that great victory was obtained."

which the Parthian warrior took his unerring aim, while his horse was carrying him from his enemy, may be viewed as a personification of the system of warfare by which his nation, during this era of its history, maintained its independence. The system was suited to the soil, to the man, and to the fleet and robust animal on which he was mounted; and its success was so certain, that the bravest veterans of Rome murmured when their leaders talked of a Parthian war." *

The blank which occurs in the native annals, may be accounted for, Sir John Malcolm thinks, by the neglect into which the rites of Zoroaster fell during the dynasty of the Arsacides, and the decay of letters consequent upon the depression of the priesthood. In that nation, as in others similarly circumstanced, the literati and the priesthood were synonymous terms; and as the priests alone cultivated letters, so they would be prompted to avenge themselves on the enemies of their faith and order, by consigning their race, so far as they had the power, to oblivion.† The Arsacides, Gibbon affirms, (but without citing his authority,) "practised indeed the worship of the magi, but they disgraced and polluted it with a various mixture of foreign idolatry." Who the Parthians really were, as regards their origin, and whence they proceeded, can only be conjectured. Justin describes them as Scythian refugees, the word Parthian signifying exile in their native language; ‡ but the

* Malcolm, i. pp. 84—6.

† A similar chasm occurs in the Egyptian annals, during the dynasty of Cheops, for which a similar cause has been assigned, their hostility to the religion and priesthood of the country. See MOD. TRAV. *Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 73, 359.

‡ *Parthi Scytharum exules fuerunt. Hoc etiam ipsorum vocabulo manifestatur, nam Scythico sermone Parthi* Exules *dicuntur.*"—

question returns, what was that native language? Strabo affirms, that "the Parthians whose territories were upon the banks of the Tigris, were formerly called Carduchi."* But this would seem to mean, that these Parthians occupied the Carduchian territory; for it is evident, that the western writers, who alone use the appellation Parthia, understood by it a region eastward of the Caspian Gates, and that they supposed the Parthians to be of Scythian origin. It is possible, however, that if they were originally Kourds, Parthyene might derive its name from a settlement of that nation who had emigrated from the west to the east, and established themselves in the plains of the Ochus. It is remarkable, that the inscriptions on all the coins that have been preserved of the Parthian kings, are in the Greek language, while those of the Sassanian dynasty which succeeded them, are in the ancient language of Persia. It would

JUSTIN, lib. xli. Sir John Malcolm states, that he has been unable to trace its etymology. It is strange, that these Parthians should have assumed the name of exiles: that they should have been called so in the language of the country they came to, would have been more natural. Calmet supposes the word to come from *Perashim*, horsemen.

* Cited by Sir John Malcolm. Possibly, this is a mistake for the Cadusians. Cellarius describes Parthia as lying between Media, Hyrcania, Ariana, and Carmania Deserta, which would make it form the western part of Khorasan. In Acts ii. 9, the Parthians are mentioned in a connexion which implies that their *language* differed from the dialects of the Medes and Elamites, and those Parthians were *Jews*. It is evident, that the word Parthian is frequently used as synonymous with Persian, or instead of it; and by a mere substitution of the *s* for the *th*, Parsian would be pronounced Parthian. That these nations were very distinct, is proved, however, by the difference in their religion. The Parthian monarchs are stated to have introduced the worship of deified heroes; a species of idolatry which, as prevailing among the Scythians, strengthens the opinion that they were a branch or offset of that nation.

seem from this, that the Arsacides, as they assumed the proudest state and the highest titles, affected also to adopt the language of the Macedonian conqueror: at the same time, it strengthens the presumption that they were strangers in Persia, and that they spoke an unwritten dialect. Notwithstanding the greatness which some monarchs of this race attained, "there is nothing left," Sir John Malcolm remarks, "that can rescue it from the reproach of being a barbarous epoch, and one in which we can discover but few traces or monuments that are calculated to perpetuate the glory either of the sovereigns that reigned, or the country which they governed."

According to the western historians, it was under Mithridates I., the fourth in descent and the fifth in succession of the Arsacides, that the Parthian power was raised to its highest pitch of greatness. That monarch, "having subdued the Medes, the Elymeans, the Persians, and the Bactrians, extended his dominions into India beyond the boundaries of Alexander's conquests; and having vanquished Demetrius, king of Syria, finally secured Babylonia and Mesopotamia also to his empire: so that thenceforth, he had the Euphrates on the west, as well as the Ganges on the east, for the limits of his empire." * Justin states, that this monarch, having conquered several nations, gathered from every one of them, whatsoever he found best in its constitution, and from the whole collection, framed a body of most wholesome laws for the government of his empire. † If one half of this be true, what is history, that it should have preserved no more minute record of such a sovereign?

* Diodorus Siculus and Justin. Prideaux, vol. ii. p. 404. Demetrius was taken prisoner in the year 141 B.C.

† *Ib.* p. 405.

In the reign of Phraates, his successor, this vast empire appears to have shrunk again within "the narrow limits of the first Parthian kingdom," in consequence of the successes of the Syrian monarch (Antiochus Sidetes), on the one side, and the inroads of the Scythians on the other. He was succeeded, about B.C. 128, by Mithridates the Great, who restored some degree of splendour to the Parthian name. But, a hundred years later, we find Phraates, king of Parthia, sending ambassadors to Augustus, to propose, as the price of his friendship, the restoration of all the prisoners and ensigns that had been taken from the Romans, in the wars of Crassus and Antony. Such was the fallen state of that which represented the Persian empire, only twenty years before the Christian era! In the reign of the Emperor Trajan, the Parthian monarch Khosrou was involved in a war with the Romans, in which he lost his capital, Ctesiphon; but, on the death of Trajan, Khosrou concluded a peace with his successor Hadrian, which restored to him his possessions. He was succeeded by Vologeses II. and III., the latter of whom carried on a war with the Emperor Severus, and left his crown to his son Arduan or Artabanes V., who was engaged in a war with the Romans, before he was attacked and slain by the celebrated Ardisheer (Artaxerxes I.), the founder of the Sassanian dynasty.

"Ardisheer Babigan (the son of Babek) was, we are told, a descendant of Sassan, the son of Bahman, and grandson of Isfundeer.* His father was an inferior officer in the public service. The governor of Darabjird, whose name was Peri, learned that Babek

* Other authors assign him a less noble origin, and Gibbon makes him to have been at once of low extraction and of illegitimate birth.

had a son who, though quite a youth, was already distinguished for genius and courage. He sent for him; and the abilities of Ardisheer recommended him so much to Peri, that, whenever any cause prevented his attending to the duties of his government, he committed the charge to the young favourite; who gained so much credit by his conduct upon these occasions, that, when Peri died, he was appointed his successor. It is not surprising, that a youth like Ardisheer, whose rise had been so rapid, should have formed the most ambitious schemes. We are told, that his imagination presented to him, in his sleep, the shadow of his waking thoughts; and these dreams of glory were interpreted by flatterers into certain presages of future success. All historians agree, that it was the belief in such visions, that first led him to attempt the throne of Persia: and if their truth was seriously believed by him and his followers, there can be no doubt that they must have aided him in attaining the splendid destiny which they promised.

"The first efforts of Ardisheer to seize the kingdom, were supported by his father, Babek, who, after putting to death the governor appointed by Arduan, made himself master of the province of Fars. But Babek was partial to his eldest son Shahpoor, and proclaimed him ruler of that province. The old man survived but a short time. Ardisheer, the moment his father died, advanced against his brother, who was seized by his relations, and put into his hands.* After settling the province of Fars, Ardisheer undertook an

* There is some confusion in this statement. We are not told what he did with Shahpoor, but he is said to have put the conspirators to death, while he profited by their treachery. That Babek should at once support and oppose his son Ardisheer, is strange. Istakhr appears to have been the capital of Fars at this period.

expedition against Kerman, which he subdued. He appears to have met with hardly any opposition in his first enterprises; and he not only made himself master of Isfahan, but of almost all Irak, before Arduan took the field against him. This prince remained in the mountainous country about Hamadan and Kermanshah, till he was compelled, by the success of Ardisheer, either to oppose his further progress, or to abandon his throne. He resolved to put all to the hazard of one action. The armies met in the plain of Hoormuz (between Shuster and Bebahan), where a desperate battle ensued, in which Arduan lost his crown and his life; and the son of Babek was hailed in the field with the proud title of *Shahan Shah* (King of Kings); a name which has ever since been assumed by the sovereigns of Persia." *

Such is the account drawn by Sir John Malcolm from the Persian writers, of the wonderful revolution which restored the empire of Cyrus and the religion of Zoroaster. This great event took place in the fourth year of the Emperor Severus, 226 years after the Christian era. The florid pages of Gibbon supply the following brief history of the leading events of this reign.

One of the first acts of the monarch was to summon the dispersed magi from all parts of his dominions.

* The more probable account given by Dion Cassius and the authorities followed by Gibbon, is, that the Parthians were defeated in three successive battles, in the last of which their king Artaban was slain. "The authority of Artaxerxes," it is added, "was solemnly acknowledged in a great assembly held at Balkh. Two younger branches of the royal house of Arsaces were confounded among the prostrate satraps. A third attempted to retire with a numerous train of vassals, towards their kinsman the king of Armenia; but this little army was intercepted and cut off by the vigilance of the conqueror."

On the appointed day, they appeared, to the number of 80,000.* Out of this unmanageable multitude, a synod was at length chosen, consisting of forty persons, of whom seven appear to have been invested with a supreme authority. Directed by their counsels, Ardisheer issued an edict prohibiting the exercise of every form of worship except that of Zoroaster. "The temples of the Parthians and the statues of their deified monarchs, were thrown down with ignominy. The sword of Aristotle (such was the name given by the Orientals to the polytheism and philosophy of the Greeks) was easily broken; the flames of persecution soon reached the more stubborn Jews and Christians; nor did they spare the heretics of their own nation and religion. This spirit of persecution reflects dishonour on the religion of Zoroaster; but, as it was not productive of any civil commotion, it served to strengthen the new monarchy, by uniting all the various inhabitants of Persia in the bands of religious zeal.

"Artaxerxes," continues Gibbon, "by his valour and conduct, had wrested the sceptre of the East from the ancient royal family of Parthia. There still remained the more difficult task of establishing throughout the vast extent of Persia, a uniform and vigorous administration. The active victor, at the head of a numerous and disciplined army, visited, in person, every province of Persia. The defeat of the boldest rebels, and the reduction of the strongest fortifications, diffused the terror of his arms, and prepared the way for the peaceful reception of his authority.....His

* Round numbers and round assertions like these, are of a suspicious character. Eighty thousand is given as the inconsiderable number to which the schismatics of the empire were subsequently reduced.

kingdom was on every side bounded by the sea or by great rivers; by the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, the Oxus, and the Indus, by the Caspian Sea and the Gulf of Persia.*

"As soon as the ambitious mind of Artaxerxes had triumphed over the resistance of his vassals, he began to threaten the neighbouring states, who, during the long slumber of his predecessors, had insulted Persia with impunity. He obtained some easy victories over the wild Scythians and the effeminate Indians; but the Romans were an enemy who, by their past injuries and present power, deserved the utmost efforts of his arms. A forty years' tranquillity, the fruit of valour and moderation, had succeeded the victories of Trajan. During the period that elapsed from the accession of Marcus, to the reign of Alexander, the Roman and the Parthian empires were twice engaged in war; and although the whole strength of the Arsacides contended with a part only of the forces of Rome, the event was most commonly in favour of the latter. Macrinus, indeed, prompted by his precarious situation and pusillanimous temper, purchased a peace at the expense of near two millions of our money; but the generals of Marcus, the Emperor Severus, and his son, erected many trophies in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria.

"Seleucia, on the western bank of the Tigris, about forty-five miles to the north of ancient Babylon, was the capital of the Macedonian conquests in Upper Asia. Many ages after the fall of their empire,

* Properly speaking, the Euphrates formed no part of the boundary, as Mesopotamia remained in the possession of the Romans. Ardisheer is said to have founded a city upon the banks of the Tigris. Sir John Malcolm thinks it probable, that he found Madain (Ctesiphon) in ruins, and restored it to its former grandeur,

Seleucia retained the genuine characters of a Grecian colony, arts, military virtue, and the love of freedom. The independent republic was governed by a senate of three hundred nobles; the people consisted of six hundred thousand citizens; the walls were strong; and as long as concord prevailed among the several orders of the state, they viewed with contempt the power of the Parthian; but the madness of faction was sometimes provoked to implore the dangerous aid of the common enemy, who was posted almost at the gates of the colony. The Parthian monarchs, like the Mogul sovereigns of Hindostan, delighted in the pastoral life of their Scythian ancestors; and the Imperial camp was frequently pitched in the plain of Ctesiphon, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, at the distance of only three miles from Seleucia. The innumerable attendants on luxury and despotism resorted to the court, and the little village of Ctesiphon insensibly swelled into a great city. Under the reign of Marcus, the Roman generals penetrated as far as Ctesiphon and Seleucia. They were received as friends by the Greek colony; they attacked as enemies, the seat of the Parthian kings; yet, both cities experienced the same treatment. The sack and conflagration of Seleucia, with the massacre of three hundred thousand of the inhabitants, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph. Seleucia, already exhausted by the neighbourhood of a too powerful rival, sunk under the fatal blow; but Ctesiphon, in about thirty-three years, had sufficiently recovered its strength, to maintain an obstinate siege against the Emperor Severus. The city was, however, taken by assault; the king, who defended it in person, escaped with precipitation; a hundred thousand captives, and a rich booty, rewarded the fatigues of the Roman

soldiers. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, Ctesiphon succeeded to Babylon and to Seleucia, as one of the great capitals of the East. In summer, the monarch of Persia enjoyed at Ecbatana the cool breezes of the mountains of Media; but the mildness of the climate engaged him to prefer Ctesiphon for his winter residence.

"From these successful inroads, the Romans derived no real or lasting benefit; nor did they attempt to preserve such distant conquests, separated from the provinces of the empire by a large tract of intermediate desert. The reduction of the kingdom of Osrhoene was an acquisition of less splendour, indeed, but of a far more solid advantage. That little state occupied the northern and most fertile part of Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Edessa, its capital, was situated about twenty miles beyond the former of those rivers; and the inhabitants, since the time of Alexander, were a mixed race of Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, and Armenians. The feeble sovereigns of Osrhoene, placed on the dangerous verge of two contending empires, were attached from inclination to the Parthian cause; but the superior power of Rome exacted from them a reluctant homage, which is still attested by their medals. After the conclusion of the Parthian war under Marcus, it was judged prudent to secure some substantial pledges of their doubtful fidelity. Forts were constructed in several parts of the country, and a Roman garrison was fixed in the strong town of Nisibis. During the troubles that followed the death of Commodus, the princes of Osrhoene attempted to shake off the yoke; but the stern policy of Severus confirmed their dependence, and the perfidy of Caracalla completed the easy conquest. *Abgarus*, the last king of Edessa, was sent in

chains to Rome; his dominions were reduced into a province, and his capital dignified with the rank of colony; and thus the Romans, about ten years before the fall of the Parthian monarchy, obtained a firm and permanent establishment beyond the Euphrates.

"Prudence as well as glory might have justified a war on the side of Artaxerxes, had his views been confined to the defence or the acquisition of a useful frontier. But the ambitious Persian openly avowed a far more extensive design of conquest; and he thought himself able to support his lofty pretensions by the arms of reason as well as by those of power. Cyrus, he alleged, had first subdued, and his ancestors had for a long time possessed, the whole extent of Asia, as far as the Propontis and the Ægean Sea; the provinces of Caria and Ionia, under their empire, had been governed by Persian satraps, and all Egypt, to the confines of Ethiopia, had acknowledged their sovereignty. Their rights had been suspended, though not destroyed, by a long usurpation; and as soon as he received the Persian diadem, which birth and successful valour had placed upon his head, the first great duty of his station called upon him to restore the ancient limits and splendour of the monarchy. The Great King, therefore, (such was the haughty style of his embassies to the Emperor Alexander,) commanded the Romans instantly to depart from all the provinces of his ancestors, and yielding to the Persians the empire of Asia, to content themselves with the undisturbed possession of Europe. This haughty mandate was delivered by four hundred of the tallest and most beautiful of the Persians, who, by their fine horses, splendid arms, and rich apparel, displayed the pride and greatness of their master. Such an embassy was

much less an offer of negotiation than a declaration of war. Both Alexander Severus, and Artaxerxes, collecting the military force of the Roman and Persian monarchies, resolved, in this important contest, to lead their armies in person.

" If we credit what should seem the most authentic of all records, an oration still extant, and delivered by the Emperor himself to the senate, we must allow that the victory of Alexander Severus was not inferior to any of those formerly obtained over the Persians by the son of Philip. The army of the Great King consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, clothed in complete armour of steel, of seven hundred elephants, with towers filled with archers on their backs, and of eighteen hundred chariots armed with scythes. This formidable host, the like of which is not to be found in eastern history, and has scarcely been imagined in eastern romance, was discomfited in a great battle, in which the Roman Alexander approved himself an intrepid soldier and a skilful general. The Great King fled before his valour; an immense booty and the conquest of Mesopotamia, were the immediate fruits of this signal victory. Such are the circumstances of this ostentatious and improbable relation, dictated, as it too plainly appears, by the vanity of the monarch, adorned by the unblushing servility of his flatterers, and received without contradiction by a distant and obsequious senate. Far from being inclined to believe that the arms of Alexander obtained any memorable advantage over the Persians, we are induced to suspect that all this blaze of imaginary glory was designed to conceal some real disgrace.

" Our suspicions are confirmed by the authority of a contemporary historian, who mentions the virtues of

Alexander with respect, and his faults with candour. He describes the judicious plan which had been formed for the conduct of the war. Three Roman armies were destined to invade Persia at the same time, and by different roads. But the operations of the campaign, though wisely concerted, were not executed either with ability or success. The first of these armies, as soon as it had entered the marshy plains of Babylon, towards the artificial conflux of the Euphrates and the Tigris, was encompassed by the superior numbers, and destroyed by the arrows, of the enemy. The alliance of Chosroes, king of Armenia, and the long tract of mountainous country, in which the Persian cavalry was of little service, opened a secure entrance into the heart of Media, to the second of the Roman armies. These brave troops laid waste the adjacent provinces, and, by several successful actions against Artaxerxes, gave a faint colour to the emperor's vanity. But the retreat of this victorious army was imprudent, or, at least, unfortunate. In repassing the mountains, great numbers of soldiers perished by the badness of the roads, and the severity of the winter season. It had been resolved, that while these two great detachments penetrated into the opposite extremes of the Persian dominions, the main body, under the command of Alexander himself, should support their attack, by invading the centre of the kingdom. But the inexperienced youth, influenced by his mother's counsels, and perhaps by his own fears, deserted the bravest troops and the fairest prospect of victory; and after consuming in Mesopotamia an inactive and inglorious summer, he led back to Antioch an army diminished by sickness and provoked by disappointment.

"The behaviour of Artaxerxes had been very dif-

ferent. Flying with rapidity from the hills of Media to the marshes of the Euphrates, he had every where opposed the invaders in person; and in either fortune, had united with the ablest conduct the most undaunted resolution. But in several obstinate engagements against the veteran legions of Rome, the Persian monarch had lost the flower of his troops. Even his victories had weakened his power. The favourable opportunities of the absence of Alexander, and of the confusion that followed that emperor's death, presented themselves in vain to his ambition. Instead of expelling the Romans, as he pretended, from the continent of Asia, he found himself unable to wrest from their hands the little province of Mesopotamia.

"The reign of Artaxerxes, which, from the last defeat of the Parthians, lasted only fourteen years, forms a memorable era in the history of the East, and even in that of Rome. His character seems to have been marked by those bold and commanding features that generally distinguish the princes who conquer, from those who inherit an empire. Till the last period of the Persian monarchy, his code of laws was respected as the groundwork of their civil and religious policy. Several of his sayings are preserved. One of them in particular discovers a deep insight into the constitution of government. 'The authority of the prince,' said Artaxerxes, 'must be defended by a military force; that force can only be maintained by taxes; all taxes must, at last, fall upon agriculture; and agriculture can never flourish, except under the protection of justice and moderation.'* Artaxerxes

* "The great Nousheerwan sent the Code of Artaxerxes to all his satraps, as the invariable rule of their conduct." He is also stated to have had many copies of the *Karnameh* made and circulated, with a view of establishing order and morality in his empire.

bequeathed his new empire, and his ambitious designs against the Romans, to Sapor, a son not unworthy of his great father; but those designs were too extensive for the power of Persia, and served only to involve both nations in a long series of destructive wars and reciprocal calamities." *

The Persian historians represent Ardisheer as resigning the goverment into the hands of his son Shahpoor beforp his death, being "sated with success and wearied of power." He is the reputed author of two remarkable works: one, entitled *Ul Karnameh*, gives an account of his travels and enterprises; the other, written in Deri, contains lessons upon morality and rules of conduct. Ferdousi has given us the testament of this monarch, in the form of a dying charge to his son, in which occur the following remarkable sentiments: "Never forget that, as a king, you are at once the protector of religion and of your country. Consider the altar and throne as inseparable: they must always sustain each other. A sovereign without religion is a tyrant; and a people who have none, may be deemed the most monstrous of societies. Religion may exist without a state, but a state cannot exist without religion; and it is by its holy laws, that a political association can alone be bound." †

One of the first wars in which his son and successor was engaged, was against Manizen, an Arabian chieftain. Taking advantage of the absence of Shahpoor, who had been compelled to leave Irak in order to suppress a rebellion in Khorasan, that chief had seized upon the Persian part of Mesopotamia, and having strongly fortified his capital of Khadher, bade defiance to the Persian army. The treachery of his daughter, actuated

* Gibbon, ch. viii. † Malcolm, vol. i. p. 95.

either by love or ambition, betrayed the place to Shahpoor; and in the dreadful carnage which ensued, Manizen, and every individual of the Arab garrison, perished. The unnatural traitress, instead of being raised to a throne, was delivered over to the executioner.*

After Shahpoor had subdued the upper part of the *Jezeerah*, he marched against Nisibis, which long held out against his efforts. On its fall, he carried his arms into the Roman territories, and at first gained

* This story, which Sir John Malcolm gives from the *Rozut-ul-Suffa*, is found, with some romantic embellishments, in the *Tarikh Tebry*; a work originally written in Arabic, but translated into Persian, of which Major D. Price has given an abstract in his "Essay towards the History of Arabia." 4to. 1824. This writer states, that on the extinction of the Ashkanian dynasty by Ardesheir Baubegan, the territory on the lower Tigris and Euphrates was taken possession of by certain Arabian tribes from Baharein, the maritime district sketching along the western coast of the Persian Gulf. They were not able, however to extend their acquisitions beyond the passes of Hulwaun, the country eastward of that mountainous boundary being still in possession of the *Muluk-e-Towdeif*; but they succeeded in making themselves masters, for a time, of all that lay between the straits of Hulwaun and the Tigris, and westward to Anbaur and Heirah, comprehending the whole of the territory from them called Irak-Arabi. It was in this part, not far from Tekreit, that there formerly stood the fortress of Khadher or Hazzer, which was believed to be impregnable, its construction having been effected under talismanic influence. It belonged to an Arabian prince of the name (or race) of Satroun, but who bore the title of Melek Zeiren, the Manizen of the Persian author. His daughter is said to have fallen in love with Shahpoor, on seeing him from the ramparts. Impelled by her disgraceful passion, she proposed to disclose to him the manner in which the spell that guarded the fortress might be dissolved, on his pledging his royal word to become her husband. Shahpoor is stated to have performed the condition to the letter; but the next morning, he directed the traitress to be tied by her beautiful hair to the tail of a wild horse, which was let loose into the desert. The carnage of Hazzer or Khadher, was long proverbial, and is the subject of many an Arabian elegy.—See PRICE'S *Essay*, pp. 110, 142—5.

several important victories, taking the Emperor Valerian prisoner (A.D. 260); and an emperor of his election wore, for a short period, the purple of Cæsar. A captive Roman army was compelled to receive with acclamation an obscure fugitive of Antioch, named Cyriadis, as their emperor; and the first act of the pageant was, to conduct Shahpoor by rapid marches to Antioch, the capital of the Roman empire in the East, which was taken and plundered. The Persian monarch treated in the same manner all the Roman provinces and towns he subdued, destroying, like a true barbarian, what he could not hope to preserve. His army, encumbered with spoils and captives, suffered greatly in their retreat, from the active valour of Odenathus, the monarch of Palmyra, whose proffered friendship, Shahpoor, in the hour of victory, had rejected with scorn. *Joining* the shattered remains of the Roman army in Syria, Odenathus routed the Persians in several engagements, and followed them to the gates of Ctesiphon. He returned from this expedition with considerable booty; and was, for his services, declared by Gallienus his co-partner in the empire.*

The reverses which the arms of this prince suffered in the latter part of his reign, are unnoticed by Persian historians. After his wars with the Romans, he is stated to have founded many cities, two of which received his name; Ni-shahpoor in Khorasan, and Shahpoor near Kazeroon in Fars. The former of these was founded, however, according to some authors, by Tahamurs, was destroyed by Alexander, and

* See Malcolm's History, vol. i. p. 98. Mod. Trav., Syria, vol. ii. pp. 22, 3.

rebuilt by Shahpoor: it is still a respectable city. Of the latter, no trace is left except the sculptured rocks, from which it appears, that this monarch was ambitious of perpetuating to the latest ages his victory over the Romans, and the glory he had acquired by leading captive one of the Cæsars.

Shahpoor was succeeded, A.D. 271, by his son Hoormuz (Hormisdas),* who, after the short reign of a year, left his throne to his son Baharam I. (Varanes I.); a mild and munificent prince, much beloved by his subjects. The most remarkable act of his reign, which lasted little more than three years, was the execution of the celebrated Manes, the founder of the sect of the Manichæans. This impostor had, in the reign of Shahpoor, made many converts, but was at length forced to flee the country, and travelled over Tatary and China. Baharam is stated to have shewn a disposition at first to favour the new doctrine; but the influence of the Magi at length prevailed, and the heresiarch, with almost all his disciples, was put

* This prince founded the city of Ram-Hoormuz (the Rest of Hoormuz), in the delightful valley of the Jerokh, where an orange-tree, which he is believed to have planted, is still highly venerated by the natives. A very extraordinary action is related of this prince "in the most authentic histories" of Persia. "His father, Shahpoor, had appointed him governor of Khorasan, where he had distinguished himself by repelling invaders, as well as by preserving the tranquillity of that unsettled and rebellious province. This conduct, however, did not prevent some envious and designing men from exciting suspicions of his son's fidelity in the breast of Shahpoor. Hoormuz was soon made acquainted with the success of his enemies. He saw the ruin that was impending; and caused one of his hands to be cut off, and sent it to his father, desiring him to accept that unquestionable mark of his devoted allegiance. Shahpoor, struck with horror at the act which his rash suspicions had led his son to commit, directed him to repair to court, and loaded him with every favour that an unbounded affection could bestow."—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 100.

to death.* The doctrines taught by Manes, appear to have been a heterogeneous compound of Christianity, Magianism, and the metempsychosis of the Hindoos. Like Mohammed, he endeavoured to gain over the Christians by announcing himself as the promised Paraclete; but Manichæanism has not much better claims than the religion of the Koran, to rank as a *Christian* heresy.

In the reign of the indolent and luxurious Baharam II., the Roman emperor, Carus, crossed the Tigris (A.D. 283), and made himself master of Ctesiphon. The death of Carus alone saved the Persian kingdom from the invaders. The short reign of his son, the Varanes III. of Roman history, is passed over in the native annals. At the end of four months, he was succeeded by his brother Narsi (or Narses), who subdued almost all Armenia, and defeated Galerius, on the same field that had proved so fatal to the Roman legions under Crassus. But the next year, A.D. 297, the Romans advanced through the mountains of Armenia, and taking the Persians by surprise, overthrew them with great slaughter. The further progress of the invaders was arrested by a treaty of peace, the

* According to other authorities, the origin of his disgrace was, his having undertaken to cure the son of the Persian monarch: not succeeding, he was, upon the prince's death, thrown into prison, whence he made his escape. He is stated to have been protected by Hormizdas, who, unable otherwise to defend him against the united hatred of the Magi, the Christians, the Jews, and the Pagans, shut him up in a strong castle. Varanes I. was disposed at first to follow the example of his father, but afterwards gave him up to the fury of the Magi. On being apprehended, he was inhumanly flayed alive, and his skin was hung up at the gate of Shahpoor, at that time the seat of government. Epiphanius, who treats of the Manichæans at length, asserts, that the true name of the heresiarch was Cubricus, which he changed for Manes, signifying Vessel.

terms of which sufficiently indicate the reduced and humbled state of the Persian empire. The great province of Mesopotamia, or the *Jezeerah*, the object of so many wars, was finally ceded to the Romans, together with five districts east of the Tigris, including the greater part of Carduchia or Kourdistan, which had previously belonged to the kingdom of Armenia. As a compensation to Teridates,* the Armenian monarch, in defence of whom the war had been undertaken by his Roman allies, the Persians were compelled to cede the fine province of Atropatene or Adjerbijan. Teridates, on taking possession of this territory, made Tabriz his capital, and greatly ornamented that city. The nomination of the sovereigns of Iberia was also resigned to the Romans.† "The East enjoyed a profound tranquillity during forty years; and the treaty between the rival monarchies was strictly observed till the death of Teridates; when a new generation, animated with different views and different passions, succeeded to the government of the world, and the grandson of Narses undertook a long and memorable war against the princes of the house of Constantine."‡

The son and successor of Narsi was Hoormuz II., who ruled Persia for seven years and a half, and was succeeded by his posthumous son, Shahpoor II.‖ The

* "Probably *Teer-dad*, literally, the gift of the arrow; metaphorically, the gift of the planet Mercury, which is called Teer, or the arrow."—MALCOLM.

† Malcolm, vol. i. p. 105. Gibbon, c. xiii. Four of the ceded provinces, to the north of the Tigris, were of inconsiderable extent, *viz.* Intilene, Zabdicene, Arzanene, and Moxoene. The fifth was the large mountainous territory of Carduene, E. of the Tigris.

‡ Gibbon.

‖ The Arabian writers state, that Hormuz was waylaid and mas-

minority of this prince presented too favourable an opportunity to the surrounding nations to be resisted; and the empire was at once invaded by the Greeks, the Tatars, and the Arabs of Lachsa and Baharein. It was against the latter tribes that the first efforts of the youthful monarch were directed; and he derived his title of *Zoolaktaf*, or Lord of the Shoulders, from the cruel punishment which he inflicted upon his captives, whose shoulders he ordered to be pierced, and then dislocated by means of a string passed through them. This barbarous treatment of the Arabs is said to have been in retaliation for the horrid atrocities which they had committed in the province of Fars. Not satisfied with expelling them from that province, the youthful monarch pursued his career of vengeance, chasing them through the Arabian Desert to Yathreb, massacring every Arab he met with, and filling up all the wells in his march. From the Hedjaz, he continued his march into Syria as far as the coasts of the Mediterranean, and then turning northward, appeared before Aleppo, leaving in every direction marks of his destructive career. He at length returned to Ctesiphon.*

During the disorders which broke out among the Roman troops in the East, on the death of Constantine, Shahpoor, watching his opportunity, recovered several of the most important fortresses of Mesopotamia, and laid siege to Nisibis. The pusillanimous successor of Teridates purchased inglorious security by the resti-

sacred by a party of the Syrian Arabs of Ghassan, who, trusting to the protection of their Roman allies, had revolted against the Persian monarch. This circumstance would, in some measure, justify, or at least account for the vindictive measures taken by his sovereign. See MOD. TRAV., *Arabia*, p. 32.

* Mod. Trav., Arabia, p. 33.

tution of Atropatene and the payment of an annual tribute. Nine bloody encounters are stated to have taken place between the armies of Shahpoor and Constantius, in two of which the Roman Emperor commanded in person. At the battle of Singara, the Romans were vanquished with a dreadful slaughter; but the son of Shahpoor, the heir of his crown, was taken prisoner, and, after being inhumanly scourged and tortured, was publicly executed. The Persian monarch was recalled from his third attempt to reduce Nisibis, the bulwark of the Roman territories in the East, by a Scythian invasion, which required his immediate presence on the banks of the Oxus; and a truce was hastily concluded with the Roman Emperor, which was alike grateful and necessary to both parties. The haughty demands of Shahpoor precluded, however, the conclusion of a peace; and hostilities were recommenced on the part of the Persians, by the siege and capture of Amida, the capital of the modern pashalik of Diarbekir; an acquisition which was dearly purchased, after employing the whole force of the Persians for seventy-three days, by the loss of the season and of the flower of the troops. The reduction of Singara and Bezabde, and the capture of five Roman legions, who were sent into remote captivity, were the only fruits of the ensuing campaign.*

* The eastern historians, while they very indistinctly notice the most important events of this reign, "dwell upon a strange and improbable tale, which represents this proud and powerful monarch as leaving his kingdom to become a spy; as being taken at a royal feast at Constantinople, from the resemblance which he bore to his picture in the possession of the Emperor; suffering, while a captive, every degradation that could be inflicted; and being at least carried, harnassed like a horse, with the Roman army, to witness the most dreadful scenes of pillage and devastation committed upon his kingdom. From this situation he is said to have made his escape, while his guards were enjoying themselves

On the accession of Julian, the Persian monarch is stated to have made overtures towards a negotiation of peace, which were sternly rejected by the Roman Emperor, who announced his intention to visit Persia in person. An army of 60,000 effective and well disciplined soldiers, the most numerous that any of the Cæsars had ever led against Persia,* was successfully conducted from Circesium on the Aboras, the Roman frontier, to the gates of Ctesiphon.* Perisabor (or Anbaur) the second city of Assyria, and the fortress of Maogamalcha, which alone resisted the Roman arms, were taken and entirely destroyed. Ctesiphon, however, was found impregnable, though it had been thrice besieged and taken by the predecessors of Julian; and the Tigris was the limit of his triumphs. With singular infatuation, he destroyed his fleet and magazines, and blindly advanced into a deserted country, where he was led astray by the perfidy of his guides. The want of provisions soon compelled him to retreat; and the Persians, who had hitherto observed their march from a secure distance, availed themselves of this movement to pour down their overwhelming numbers upon the disheartened enemy. Julian paid, with his life, the penalty of his rashness; and an ignominious peace was the price of an undisturbed retreat

at a feast; and to have retaliated all his disgraces and injuries upon the Roman emperor, who was, according to this romance, taken prisoner when his army was defeated, and only released after ten years' close confinement."—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 107.

* According to the Persian historians, the Romans were joined by the Arab tribes, who were eager for revenge; and their united force amounted to 170,000 men. In a dreadful conflict which took place, the Persians are admitted to have been routed with immense slaughter, and Shahpoor narrowly escaped by flight. This must allude to the action fought by Julian near Ctesiphon. Shahpoor soon, however, recruited his army, and pursued the victorious enemy on his subsequent retreat.—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 109.

for the remains of the Roman army. By the treaty of Dura, the five provinces beyond the Tigris, the important city of Nisibis, and the fortress of Singara, were restored to the Persian monarchy,—"a memorable era in the decline and fall of the Roman empire." * Armenia was also abandoned by its allies, and, from being an independent principality, was reduced to be a province of Persia.

Shahpoor attained the age of seventy-one, and was succeeded by Ardisheir II. (A.D. 381), whose relationship to the deceased monarch is doubtful. At the end of four years, he was deposed, or gave way to Shahpoor III., the son of Shahpoor Zoolaktaf. This monarch, who is described as virtuous and beneficent, reigned only five years. He was killed by the fall of his tent, the cordage of which was broken by the violence of a whirlwind, such as are very frequent in Persia, and the pole struck the monarch as he slept. He was succeeded (A.D. 390), by his brother, Baharam Kerman-shah (Varanes IV.); a surname which he derived from having, during the reign of his brother, held the princedom of Kerman, and which he perpetuated by founding the city of Kermanshah. He was slain by an arrow, while endeavouring to quell a tumult in the army.

The throne was next filled (A.D. 404) by Yezdijird Ulathim (or the sinner), the Isdigertes of the Greeks, whom the Emperor Arcadius is asserted to have appointed the guardian of his infant son Theodosius. With regard to the character of this monarch, the oriental and the western writers are singularly at variance: the latter represent him as a wise and virtuous prince; the former, as luxurious, cruel, and aban-

* Gibbon, c. xxiv.

doned; adding, that the whole nation rejoiced when, after a reign of sixteen years, he was killed by a kick from a horse. Sir John Malcolm cites some of the sayings ascribed to Yezdijird, which breathe a spirit the reverse of the character attributed to him by his calumniators; and it is supposed that, by his indulgence and toleration towards the Christians, he had excited the spleen, and drawn down upon his memory the misrepresentations, of the magi. He appears to have had some reason to distrust his counsellors and courtiers, since he confided his son, Baharam, to the care of an Arab chieftain, the ruler of all the tribes of the Peninsula who acknowledged the supremacy and enjoyed the protection of the Great King. It was not without a struggle that, on the death of his father, the prince obtained his right and his crown.

Baharam V. is known, in Persian history, by the singular surname of Gour (wild ass). The first act of his reign was, to reward his guardian; his second, to pardon those who endeavoured to deprive him of his crown. His munificence, his virtue, his valour, and his light-hearted gayety are the theme of every historian of his reign. He was the patron of the dance and the song, and it was under this sovereign, that minstrels and music were first introduced into the kingdom from India.* This feature of his cha-

* The story is, that Baharam observed a merry troop of his subjects dancing without music, and, on inquiring the cause, was told, that a hundred pieces of gold had in vain been offered for a musician. In consequence of this, he sent to India for a supply of musicians and singers; and 12,000 were encouraged by his munificence to enter his dominions, where they have abounded ever since. "It is a curious fact," adds Sir John Malcolm, "that the dancing and singing girls of Persia are termed *Kuoulee*, a corruption of *Cabulee*, or of Cabul, which denotes the quarter whence they came."

racter appears to have emboldened the Khan of Transoxiana to invade the dominions of a monarch who was imagined to be immersed in luxury. A Tatar army of 25,000 men crossed the Oxus, and laid waste the whole of Khorasan, while, to add to the general dismay, Baharam disappeared. The Persian chiefs, struck with terror, were already tendering their allegiance to the invader, when their lost monarch re-appeared at the head of a chosen body of warriors, and surprising the Tatar camp at night, overthrew them with immense slaughter. Their Khan fell under the sword of Baharam, who pursued the fugitives across the Oxus, and thence returned in triumph to his capital.*

The wars between this monarch and the Emperor Theodosius were attended by no success of any consequence on either side, but were alike inglorious to the arms of both the Persians and the Romans. They terminated in a truce for one hundred years.

The ruling passion of Baharam, which betrayed his Arab education, was his enthusiastic love of the chase; and to this he became a victim. In pursuing his favourite game, the gour, he suddenly came upon a deep pool, into which his horse plunged, and neither the animal nor his royal rider was ever seen again.† It is remarkable, that he was the fourth successive monarch who had met his death from a casualty. Baharam ruled Persia eighteen years. "He was certainly," remarks Sir

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 117. It might be supposed, that Baharam's secret expedition was to obtain succours from his old friends, the Arabs. The consternation of the Tatars is said to have been increased by a curious stratagem. "Upon the neck of every horse was a dried skin filled with small stones, which the rider rattled as he rushed to the charge." This strange noise confounded the enemy, and the horses partook of the alarm.

† See page 13, *note*.

John Malcolm, "one of the best monarchs that ever ruled Persia. He seems through life to have preserved the virtues and habits that were early impressed upon his mind by the precepts and example of the Arabian chief by whom he was educated. His government was more simple and patriarchal than that of any monarch of Persia. He was, like a true Arab, enthusiastically devoted to the chase, and delighted in a wandering life." It was this disposition that has given rise to the romance of his visit to India, whither he is said to have travelled in disguise, leaving the government in the hands of his wise vizier, Meher-Narsi; but which this Writer rejects as an improbable fable. He was succeeded (A.D. 438) by his son, Yezdijird II., surnamed *Sipahdost* (the Soldier's Friend), who trod in the steps of his father; and, during a reign of eighteen years, maintained, by his prudent adherence to the same counsels, the prosperity of the empire.

Hoormuz, the younger and favourite son of Yezdijird, was declared his successor, and his pretensions were supported by the principal lords of the empire; but his elder brother, Firoze (Peroses), having escaped to the court of the Tatar monarch,* returned at the head of a powerful army, and the unfortunate Hoormuz lost his throne and his life. The return which Firoze made to his generous ally was, in contempt of every obligation of honour and gratitude, to invade

* About this period of history, some of the most respectable oriental writers begin to substitute the appellation Turkestan for Touran, in describing this country; but Sir John Malcolm agrees with Gibbon, that it was probably an army of the Hiatilla or White Huns that invaded Persia in the reign of Baharam Gour. It was not till a later period that the Turkish tribes expelled the Hiatilla from the lands which they had taken from the Sacæ, or Scythians.

his territories; and he perished, as he deserved, in the expedition, after a reign of twenty-six years.

The throne of Persia was for four years occupied by his brother, Palasch, (the Valens of Roman history,) who was deposed in favour of Kobad (Cabades), the son of Firoze, and the father of the celebrated Nousheerwan. In the tenth year of this reign (A.D. 498), the impostor Mazdak began to propagate his infamous doctrines, and having gained an ascendancy over the weak mind of his royal proselyte, obtained a powerful body of followers. A conspiracy of the indignant nobles was the result. Kobad was deposed and imprisoned, and his brother Tamasp was raised to the throne; but the royal prisoner, having made his escape, fled to the court of Tatary, and, by the aid of his generous ally, recovered his throne. He is stated, however, to have compromised matters, by resigning the whole direction of the government into the hands of his minister. During several of the preceding reigns, the vizier would seem, indeed, to have acquired an influence which greatly circumscribed the royal prerogative, and sometimes overawed the throne.* Kobad, however, took the field in person against the Romans, with whom he waged a war during several years, with no other result than a waste of blood and treasure on both sides. Amida sustained a long and destructive siege from the Persians; it was at length taken by surprise, and all the inhabitants were put to the

* To the wise administration of Meher Narsi, Baharam Gour and his successor were greatly indebted for the prosperity of their reign. Palasch was the mere pageant of the minister Soukra; and Kobad did not think himself safe, till he had got rid of this formidable subject by assassination. But his son Zermihir succeeded to his father's place and influence; and to his hands, Kobad eventually surrendered the reins of government.

sword. To secure the Roman territory against future irruptions, the Emperor Anastasius built the famous fortified city of Dara, as an advanced post of strength sufficient to defy and keep in check the power of the Persians. For more than sixty years, Gibbon says, "it continued to fulfil the wishes of its founders, and to provoke the jealousy of the Persians, who incessantly complained that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires." Kobad was the founder of several cities, among which were Burdah and Gunjah: the latter, situated on the frontier of Georgia, is still a town of importance, in the possession of Russia. After a diversified reign of forty-three years, he was succeeded, A.D. 534, by his illustrious son Nousheerwan, the contemporary and rival of the Emperor Justinian.

It was the first labour of the new monarch, as soon as he felt securely seated on the throne, to eradicate the baneful schism of Mazdak. The impostor himself was seized and executed, with many of his followers, and the lands and women which they had usurped, were restored to their lawful owners. Turning his attention to other necessary reforms, Nousheerwan ordered all bridges that had fallen into decay to be repaired; directed the towns and villages that had been destroyed, to be rebuilt; founded schools and colleges in different parts of his empire; and held out such encouragement to learned men, that philosophers from Greece resorted to his court.* Instead of listening with confidence to a favourite minister, he established four viziers over the four great governments

* "The seven Greek philosophers who visited his court, were invited and deceived by the strange assurance that a disciple of Plato was seated on the Persian throne."—GIBBON.

into which he divided his empire; the first comprising Khorasan, Seistan, and Kerman; the second, the territories of Isfahan and Koum, and the provinces of Ghelan, Adjerbijan, and Armenia; the third, Fars and Ahwaz; and the fourth, Irak-Adjem and Irak-Arabi, extending to the frontier of the Roman empire. The most excellent regulations were introduced for the management of the different governments; and the code of Artaxerxes was revived and published as the rule of the magistrates. The vigilance and justice of the monarch himself were the great source of the security and prosperity of his dominions; and historians "have added to his merit, when they have attributed a part of the success and glory of his reign to the extraordinary wisdom of his favourite minister, Abouzurg-a-Mihir, who was raised from the lowest station to the first rank in the kingdom, and whose virtues and talents have shed a lustre even on those of the great monarch whose penetration discovered, and whose confidence employed them."* The pen of Gibbon has been eloquently employed in expatiating on the merits of this accomplished sovereign.

"Education and agriculture, he viewed as the two objects most deserving of his care. In every city of Persia, orphans and the children of the poor were maintained and instructed at the public expense: the daughters were given in marriage to the richest citizens of their own rank, and the sons, according to their different talents, were employed in mechanic trades, or promoted to more honourable service. The deserted villages were relieved by his bounty; to the peasants and farmers who were found incapable of cultivating their lands, he distributed cattle, seed, and

* Malcolm.

the instruments of husbandry; and the rare and inestimable treasure of fresh-water was parsimoniously managed and skilfully dispersed over the arid territory of Persia.* The prosperity of that kingdom was the effect and evidence of his virtues; his vices were those of oriental despotism; but, in the long competition between Chosroes and Justinian, the advantage both of merit and fortune is almost always on the side of the Barbarian.

"The studies of Chosroes were ostentatious and superficial; but his example awakened the curiosity of an ingenious people, and the light of science was diffused over the dominions of Persia. At Gondi Sapor, in the neighbourhood of the royal city of Susa, an academy of physic was founded, which insensibly became a liberal school of poetry, philosophy, and rhetoric. The annals of the monarchy were composed..... Every learned or confident stranger was enriched by the bounty, and flattered by the conversation of the monarch. He nobly rewarded a Greek physician,† by the deliverance of three thousand captives; and the sophists who contended for his favour, were exasperated by the wealth and insolence of Uranius, their more successful rival. Nushirvan believed, or at least respected, the religion of the Magi; and some traces of persecution may be observed in his reign. Yet, he allowed himself freely to compare the tenets of the various sects; and the theological disputes in which he frequently presided, diminished the authority of the

* "In Persia, the prince of the waters is an officer of state. The number of wells and subterraneous channels is much diminished, and with it the fertility of the soil: 400 wells have been recently lost near Tauris, and 42,000 were once reckoned in the province of Khorasan."

† "Kobad had also a favourite Greek physician, Stephen of Edessa. The practice was ancient."

priest, and enlightened the minds of the people. At his command, the most celebrated writers of Greece and India were translated into the Persian language. In the search of universal knowledge, Nushirvan was informed, that the moral and political fables of Pilpay, an ancient Brahman, were preserved with jealous reverence among the treasures of the kings of India. The physician Perozes was secretly despatched to the banks of the Ganges, with instructions to procure, at any price, the communication of this valuable work. His dexterity obtained a transcript; his learned diligence accomplished the translation; and the fables of Pilpay were read and admired in the assembly of Nushirvan and his nobles.....With a similar design, to admonish kings that they are strong only in the strength of their subjects, the same Indians invented the game of chess, which was likewise introduced into Persia in the reign of Nushirvan.

"The son of Kobad found his kingdom involved in a war with the successor of Constantine; and the anxiety of his domestic situation inclined him to grant the suspension of arms which Justinian was impatient to purchase. Chosroes saw the Roman ambassador at his feet. He accepted eleven thousand pounds of gold, as the price of an *endless* or indefinite peace (concluded A.D. 533); some mutual exchanges were regulated; and the demolition of Dara was suspended, on condition that it should never be made the residence of the general of the east."*

"The accounts given by eastern and western authors, of the successes of Nousheerwan in his invasions of the Roman empire," Sir John Malcolm tells us, "differ but very little. Some of the former (pro-

* Gibbon, ch. xlii.

bably confounding his actions with those of Sapor) have falsely asserted, that he took an emperor of the Romans prisoner; and they have all, with a partiality that, in national historians writing of this monarch, seems almost excusable, passed over the few reverses which his arms sustained. But the disgraceful peace which the Emperor Justinian purchased at the commencement of the reign of Nousheerwan, the subsequent war, the reduction of all Syria, the capture of Antioch, (all the inhabitants of which were brought away and settled on the banks of the Tigris,*) the unopposed progress of the Persian monarch to the shores of the Mediterranean, his conquest of Iberia and Colchis, and the temporary establishment of his power on the banks of the Phasis and on the shores of the Euxine, are facts not questioned by his enemies. They, however, assert, that his genius as a military leader, even when his fortune was at the highest, was checked by that of Belisarius, who was twice sent to oppose his progress; and whose success, considering his want of means and the character of the court he served, was certainly wonderful.

"In all the negotiations which took place between the Emperor Justinian and Nousheerwan, the latter assumed the tone of a superior. His lowest servants were treated, at the imperial court, in a manner calculated to inflame the pride and raise the insolence of

* "His historians have endeavoured to mitigate this act, by stating, that he built, near Ctesiphon, a town so exactly like Antioch, (of which he had directed a most minute plan to be drawn,) that each of the inhabitants of that city, when they reached it, went as naturally to his own house, or rather its counterpart, as if he had never left his native city!!!" Gibbon says, that "a liberal allowance was assigned to these fortunate exiles," with "the singular privilege of bestowing freedom on the slaves whom they acknowledged as their kinsmen."

a vain and arrogant nation;* and the impressions which this conduct must have made, were confirmed by the agreement of the Roman Emperor to pay 30,000 pieces of gold; a sum, which could have been of no importance to Nousheerwan, but as it shewed the monarch of the western world in the rank of one of his tributaries. In a second war with the Roman emperors Justin and Tiberius, Nousheerwan, who, though eighty years of age, still led his armies, experienced some reverses of furtune: but the perseverance and valour of the aged sovereign were ultimately rewarded with the conquest of Dara and the plunder of Syria.

"At the period of these great successes over the Romans, the empire of Nousheerwan had been equally extended in other quarters. The countries beyond the Oxus, as far as Ferghana, all those to the Indus, some provinces of India, and the finest districts of Arabia,† acknowledged the sway of the mighty monarch of Persia.

"The only insurrection that disturbed the reign of Nousheerwan, was that of his son Noushizad. The mother of this prince was a Christian of great beauty, of whom the king was passionately fond: his entreaties could never induce her to change her religion for that of her sovereign; and her son, taught by her early lessons, rejected as impious the rites of the Magi, and openly professed his belief in the doctrine of Christ. The contempt which the zealous but incautious youth shewed for the religion of his country, enraged his

* "By an unexampled indulgence," the interpreter of the Persian ambassador, "a servant below the notice of a Roman magistrate, was seated, at the table of Justinian, by the side of his master."—GIBBON.

† See Mod. Trav. Arabia, p. 41.

father, who, to punish what he deemed his heresy, placed him in confinement. Some time after this act, when Nousheerwan was in Syria, he had an attack of illness, and a report was spread of his death. Deceived by this rumour, Noushizad effected his escape, released other prisoners, collected a number of followers, of whom many were Christians, and attempted to establish himself in Fars and Ahwaz. Nousheerwan, the moment he heard of his revolt, directed Ram-Burzeen, one of his principal leaders, to march against him. .... A few raw levies, led by an inexperienced youth, were soon defeated by the able general of Nousheerwan. Noushizad was slain; and his conqueror pretended to mourn over the victory which his valour had gained, exclaiming against his bad fortune in being the unhappy instrument of the death of one of the royal house of Sassan.*

"Historians have dwelt upon the magnificence of the monarchs who courted the friendship of Nousheerwan. The Emperors of China and of India are among the most distinguished. The presents sent by them to the sovereign of Persia, are described as exceeding in curiosity and richness any that had ever been seen.†

* Gibbon, in his sneering way, says: "Nushizad was a Christian, a rebel, and—a martyr?" If he really believed his father to be dead, he cannot be justly termed a rebel. As to his Christianity, it is painful to recollect, that if it was "the religion of the Cæsar," he fell a victim to his zeal for a creed not less corrupt and idolatrous than the rites of the Magi.

† Among the costly presents sent by the Chinese monarch, was the image of a panther, the body of which was covered with pearls, and the eyes were formed of rubies. From the King of India, Nousheerwan received ten quintals of aloes-wood, a carpet of serpents' skin, softer than any silk, and a vase, formed of one precious stone, and filled with pearls. To these, Gibbon (following D'Herbelot) adds "a maid seven cubits in height." Sir John Malcolm

The internal regulations of Nousheerwan were excellent. He established a fixed and moderate land-tax over all his dominions. He imposed a capitation-tax upon Jews and Christians. The regulations for preserving the discipline of his army, were still more strict than those of his civil government. ..The title of 'good' and 'just' cannot, perhaps, be given to any human being in such a situation, and in such an age; for, whatever may be his disposition, the monarch whose will is the law of the country, who is compelled to repress rebellion, to retaliate attack, and to attain power over foreign nations in order to preserve his own in peace, must commit a thousand actions that are at variance with every principle of humanity and justice. But, if we are to deny the claim of Nousheerwan to those attributes with which eastern historians have clothed him, we must admit that his reign was glorious for his country; that he displayed, during a life protracted to more than eighty years, and a reign of forty-eight, all those great qualities which have, by the concurring opinion of mankind, given fame to their possessors; and above all, that he was, to the last hour of his life, unconquered by prosperity. His firm and able character resisted the influence of that luxury by which he was courted; he neither gave himself up to indulgence, nor permitted it in others; and the aged monarch was seen, a short period before his death, leading his troops to the attack of Dara with as active and ardent a spirit as he had shewn in his earliest enterprises."*

says: "On one side of the vase was engraven the figure of a lion; on the other, that of a young maiden, of whom the height was seven hands' breadth."

* Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 138—149.

The death of Nousheerwan is fixed in March 579. In Hoormuz III., the heir to his vast dominions, the Persian Solomon was succeeded by a Rehoboam. So long as Abouzurg-a-Mihir, his teacher and vizier,† remained at court, the country prospered; and the veneration which the young monarch felt for his character, restrained him from giving loose to his passions. But no sooner had his age and infirmities compelled him to retire, than the weak and vicious monarch, under the influence of evil counsels, commenced a career of cruelty, folly, and profligacy which soon encouraged the distant provinces of India and Arabia to revolt, and drew down upon the country a Roman and a Scythian invasion. The Persian general, Baharam Choubeen, or Giubin (dry wood), by defeating the Khakan of Tatary, saved the empire from the danger which threatened to overwhelm it, and was raised by the indignant army to the throne. His reign, however, was short. Khosrou, the son of the deposed and murdered monarch, fled to the court of the Emperor Maurice; and Persia beheld the singular spectacle of an army of united Persians and Romans, headed by Narses, by whose aid the lawful monarch was restored. Baharam was defeated, and fled to Tatary, where his career was shortened by poison.

Khosrou (Chosroes) Purveez, from his restoration (A.D. 591), reigned seven and thirty years over Persia; and had he not lived six years too long, would have been esteemed one of the most fortunate of princes. He has the credit of having faithfully fulfilled his engagements to his ally, acknowledging

* Ten years subsequently to the birth of Mohammed, who gloried in being born during the reign of so just a king.

† Styled by Gibbon, the Seneca of the East. Some of his contemporaries laboured to prove him a Christian.

the Emperor Maurice as his adopted father. Dara and other strong places on the frontier were surrendered to the Romans; all who had aided in restoring him to the throne, were treated with munificence; and the friendship he had contracted with Maurice, was never violated. But when that emperor was slain, he instantly declared war on the ground of avenging his father and benefactor; and his generals, accompanied with a pretended son of Maurice, invaded the Roman territories. Dara, Merdin, Amida, and Edessa were successively reduced and destroyed; Syria was completely pillaged; and the conquest of Jerusalem, which had been meditated by Nousheerwan, was achieved by the zeal and avarice of his grandson. The holy city was taken by assault, and the stately churches of Helena and Constantine were consumed, or at least damaged by the flames. "The devout offerings of three hundred years (says Gibbon) were rifled in one sacrilegious day; the patriarch Zechariah and the *true cross* were transported into Persia; and the massacre of 90,000 Christians is imputed to the Jews and Arabs who swelled the disorder of the Persian monarch."...."Egypt itself, the only province which had been exempt, since the time of Diocletian, from foreign and domestic war, was again subdued by the successors of Cyrus. Pelusium, the key of that impervious country, was surprised by the cavalry of the Persians: they passed with impunity the innumerable channels of the Delta, and explored the long valley of the Nile, from the pyramids of Memphis to the confines of Ethiopia. Alexandria might have been relieved by a naval force; but the archbishop and prefect embarked for Cyprus, and Chosroes entered the second city of the empire, which still preserved a wealthy remnant of industry and commerce. His

western trophy was erected, not on the walls of Carthage, but in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. The Greek colonies of Cyrene were finally extirpated; and the conqueror, treading in the footsteps of Alexander, returned in triumph through the sands of the Libyan Desert. In the first campaign, another army advanced from the Euphrates to the Thracian Bosphorus. Chalcedon surrendered after a long siege; and a Persian camp was maintained above ten years in the presence of Constantinople. The sea-coast of Pontus, the city of Ancyra, and the Isle of Rhodes are enumerated among the last conquests of the Great King; and if Chosroes had possessed any maritime power, his boundless ambition would have spread slavery and desolation over the provinces of Europe. From the long disputed banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the reign of the grandson of Nousheerwan was suddenly extended to the Hellespont and the Nile, the ancient limits of the Persian monarchy."*

The pen of Gibbon has supplied this rapid and graphic sketch of his triumphs: we take the sequel of his reign from the pages of Sir John Malcolm.

"While his generals were subduing the Roman empire, Khoosroo was wholly devoted to the enjoyment of unheard of luxury and magnificence. His noble palaces, of which he built one for every season; his thrones, which were invaluable, particularly that called *Takh-dis*, which was formed to represent the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the hours of the day; his treasures; his ladies, of whom there were twelve tho sand, each, if we believe the gravest of Persian writers, equal to the moon in splendour and in beauty; his horses, of which fifty thousand stood in the royal

* Gibbon, ch. xlvi.

stables; his twelve hundred elephants; his Arabian charger, *Shub-deez*, fleeter than the wind; his enchanting musician, Barbud; and, above all, the incomparable Shereen, with whom he was distractedly in love;* are subjects on which a thousand volumes have been written by his countrymen. Although the magnificence of this prince has been much exaggerated, we may conclude that no monarch ever indulged in greater luxury and splendour. His reign, for more than thirty years, was marked by a success never surpassed by the most renowned of his ancestors. It was, however, the weakness and distraction of the Roman empire which gave fame to this vain-glorious ruler, who, while his generals were conquering Syria, Nubia, Egypt, and Colchis, and occupying, with his victorious troops, a camp at Chalcedon, which, for twelve years, insulted the fallen fortunes of Constantinople, seemed only to value his conquests as they added to his pleasures. The vast territories which his armies subdued, were exhausted, that his palaces and the gorgeous state of his royal person might exceed all that history ever told of kingly grandeur.

"But Khoosroo, while satiating himself with enjoyment, was destined to become a memorable example of the instability of human happiness and glory. The Mahomedan authors ascribe the dreadful reverses which marked the latter years of this prince, to the

* This celebrated beauty, whose name is said to be expressive of sweetness and grace, is described by the Greek writers as a Roman by birth, and a Christian by religion. The Persian romances represent her to have been the daughter of the Emperor Maurice. Her surpassing charms, her wit, and musical talents, her fatal passion for the lowly Ferhad, and her tragical death, are the favourite theme of eastern story. To escape the unnatural love of the parricide Shiroueh, she swallowed a poison which produced instant death.

indignation of a just God, who poured all the phials of his wrath upon the head of a guilty monarch, that had dared, with impious and accursed hands, to tear the letter of his holy prophet Mahomed.* Christian authors, with more reason, deem his end a just punishment for the cruelties and excesses which his armies committed in the Roman territories. But the cause of the rapid decline of his fortune, is as obvious as that of its rise. The Emperor Heraclius, alike remarkable for weakness and indulgence in the palace, and for extraordinary valour and military skill in the field, found himself compelled either to abandon the purple, or to make a great effort to defeat his numerous and powerful enemies. His first impulse, we are told, was to escape a struggle which he dreaded; but the patriarch of his capital arrested his flight, and made him swear at the holy altar, to live and die in the defence of his country. The wonderful success with which his resolution was crowned, is fully related by the historians of the West, and not contradicted by those of the

* "Khoosroo Purveez was encamped on the banks of the Karasoo river, when he received the letter of Mahomed. Enraged at being called upon by an Arabian, of whose name he had probably never before heard, to renounce the religion of his fathers, he tore the letter, and cast it into the Karasoo. For this action, the moderate author of the *Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh* calls him a wretch, and rejoices in all his subsequent misfortunes. These impressions still exist. I remarked to a Persian, when encamped near the Karasoo in 1800, that the banks of that river were very high, which must make it difficult to apply its waters to the purposes of irrigation. 'It once fertilized the whole country,' said the zealous Mahomedan; 'but its channel sank with horror from its banks, when that madman Khoosroo threw our holy prophet's letter into its stream, which has ever since been accursed and useless.'"—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 159. Mohammed is said to have exclaimed, on receiving the information of the treatment his letter met with: "It is thus God will tear the kingdom, and reject the supplications of Chosroes."

East. The sudden invasion of Persia by a Roman army, led by a warlike emperor, awakened Khoosroo from his dream of pleasure; and in a period of six successive years, he endured the misery of losing all his foreign conquests; of seeing Persia overrun by victorious enemies, who defeated his troops wherever they encountered them, and marched in one direction as far as the Caspian; in another, to Isfahan; destroying in their progress all his splendid palaces, plundering his hoarded treasures, and dispersing in every direction the countless slaves of his pleasure. Khoosroo Purveez saw all this without one effort to stop the mighty work of ruin. He fled at the advance of Heraclius alone, and, like a deserter, from his own troops that guarded Dustajird. Yet, even in the wretched state to which his fortune and character had reduced him, he rejected an offer of peace, made by the generous humanity of his conqueror. But the subjects of Khoosroo had lost all regard for a monarch whom they deemed the sole cause of the desolation of his country. A conspiracy was formed against him; and, that his cup of misery might be full, Khoosroo was seized by his eldest son, Shiroueh, cast into a dungeon, and soon afterwards put to death by an unnatural prince, who pretended that he was compelled to the parricide by the clamours and importunities of the people and nobles of the empire.

"While the Emperor Heraclius retired, 'after six glorious campaigns, to enjoy the sabbath of his toils at Constantinople,' the kingdom of Persia was left to perish, under the accumulated evils of a dreadful famine, the disputes of proud and luxurious nobles, a succession of weak sovereigns, or rather pageants of power, and the attack of a terrible enemy; for the flame which Mahomed had kindled in Arabia, began

already to spread, and to threaten an equal fate to the aged and decayed empires of Rome and of Persia."*

The glory of the house of Sassan ended with the life of Chosroes. Shiroueh (or Siroes) enjoyed during only eight months the fruit of his crimes; and "in the space of four years, the regal title was assumed by nine candidates, who disputed with the sword or dagger the fragments of an exhausted monarchy." An infant son of Shiroueh, and two daughters of Khosrou Purveez, were successively raised to the throne. Pooran-dokht, one of these princesses, ruled Persia for a year and four months, and appears to have escaped, by an early death, the fate of her nephew and sister, who were murdered. A state of complete anarchy ensued, the management of public affairs being the subject of perpetual contest among the ambitious nobles, who now vainly sought for an heir of the house of Sassan,† whom they might raise to power as the creature and subservient instrument of their selfish schemes of aggrandisement. At length, Yezdijird, son of Shahryar, (Isdegertes III.) a supposed grandson of Khosrou, who had long resided at Istakhr as a private person, was called to the tottering throne (A.D. 632), and his elevation imparted a fallacious gleam of hope to a falling nation.

The first attack made by the Arabs on the Persian empire in the short reign of Pooran-docht, had been unsuccessful; but in a third encounter, the Persian general was defeated and slain, and his dispirited troops fled in dismay to Madain (Ctesiphon). There, Yezdijird received the deputation from the Arab general, who bore the answer to his overtures. The

* Malcom, vol. i. p. 157—162.

† Fifteen or eighteen sons of Khosrou were massacred by order of their brother.

Persian monarch was still too proud to listen to the degrading condition, which required him to receive the religion of Mohammed, or submit to pay the tribute fixed upon infidels. The war was renewed with all the vigour of which the declining empire was capable; and, according to Mohammedan authors, nearly the whole of the Persian army, which was 100,000 strong, fell in the celebrated battle of Kudseah (Cadesia), while the Arabs lost only 3000 men. But what gave its chief importance to this action, was the capture of the royal standard, the famous *Durufsh-e-Kawanee;* an event which was regarded by both parties as a certain presage of the result of the war. Yezdijird, on receiving tidings of this defeat, fled to Hulwan, and thence to Rhé. The former city was soon reduced, and occupied by one detachment of the invading forces; while the main body, after the fall and sack of Ctesiphon, advanced upon Ahwaz, (at that time a place of great importance,) which they took, and thence marched to Koofa (Kufah.)*

Yezdijird, having raised a second army from the provinces of Khorasan, Rhé, and Hamadan, resolved to stake the fate of his empire upon another battle; and 150,000 Persians encamped within a deep entrenchment on the plains of Nahavund, where, for two months, they remained in sight of the Arabian army, neither party seeming disposed to hazard the first attack. At length, the promise of the crown of

* The sack of Ctesiphon, where immense treasures are said to have fallen into the hands of the "naked robbers of the desert," was succeeded by its desertion and gradual decay. The Arabian conquests were followed and established by the foundation of Bassorah. The first colony consisted of 800 Moslems; but the commercial advantages of the situation soon rendered it a flourishing and populous capital. Kufah eventually succeeded to the honours of Ctesiphon and Seleucia.

martyrdom as the alternative of victory, excited the fanatic ardour of the Arabs to a pitch of enthusiasm that rendered them impatient of delay. The fury of their charge was irresistible. Thirty thousand Persians are stated to have been pierced by their lances, while eighty thousand more were drowned in the deep trench by which they had surrounded their camp. The battle of Nahavund decided the fate of Persia, which, from that period, A.D. 641, fell under the dominion of the Arabian khalifs.

Yezdijird protracted for several years a wretched and precarious existence. He first fled to Seistan, thence to Khorasan, and finally to Merve, where he met his death from the hand of a treacherous peasant, in whose protection he had confided, while crossing a stream to escape from the Tatar cavalry.* "His son Ferooz, a humble client of the Chinese emperor, accepted the station of captain of his guards; and the Magian worship was long preserved by a colony of loyal exiles in the province of Bucharia. His grandson inherited the regal name; but, after a faint and fruitless enterprise, he returned to China, and ended his days in the palace of Sigan. The male line of the Sassanides was extinct; but the female captives, the daughters of Persia, were given to the conquerors in servitude or marriage; and the race of the khalifs and imams was ennobled by the blood of their royal mothers. The two daughters of Yezdijird married Hassan, the son of Ali, and Mohammed, the son of Abubeker. The daughter of Ferouz became the wife of the khalif Walid; and their son Yezid derived his genuine or fabulous descent from the Chosroes of

* His end, Gibbon remarks, "was not only unfortunate, but obscure;" and the story is differently told by every native writer.

Persia, the Cæsars of Rome, and the Chagans of the Turks or Avars." *

Thus terminated a dynasty which had ruled Persia 415 years, "and the memory of which is still cherished by a nation whose ancient glory is associated with the fame of Ardisheer, Shahpoor, and Nousheerwan." After the flight of Yezdijird, the armies of the khalif soon overran the whole of Persia, from the Euphrates to the Oxus, "destroying all that was useful, grand, or sacred in that unhappy country. A great proportion of the conquered inhabitants, preferring the abandonment of their religious principles to oppression or death, adopted the faith of their new masters; while those who were unable to endure the scene, fled, self-banished, into a distant land. The progress of the conquerors was rapid and wonderful. Colonies from the burning desert of Arabia were extended over the cold countries of Khorasan and Balkh; and they flourished in the soil to which they were transplanted. Their descendants still remain a distinct race, and continue to preserve the manners and the appearance, though they have lost the language, of their forefathers. When the great conquest was complete, lieutenants were appointed to the different divisions of the country; and Persia was held as a province, under the vast empire of the Arabian khalifs, for more than two centuries. Its history during that period is to be found in that of its conquerors; and even there, it occupies but a small and unimportant space. The only events of consequence are petty revolts of insubordinate governors, who, when the power of the khalifs declined, tried to render the provinces to which they were appointed, hereditary principalities, and humbled

* Gibbon, ch. li.

themselves to that paramount power when it was strong and efficient."* The sceptre of the once proud kingdom of Persia fell at length from "the nerveless grasp of the despicable successors of Omar and Ali;" and the prize was obtained by a man who, "though born in the lowest ranks of life, was ennobled by the qualities of valour, generosity, and wisdom." Yacoob Ben Leis, the son of a pewterer† at Seistan, passed through the natural gradations of a spendthrift, a leader of banditti, a chief of reputation, a general, and a victorious usurper. At his death, in the year 877, he bequeathed almost the whole of Persia to his brother Amer. A Tatar lord, named Ismail Samanee, who had usurped the government of Transoxiana, was the conqueror of Amer; and the captive monarch was sent to Bagdad to receive his death from the khalif he had defied.

From the downfal of the house of Ben Leis, A.D. 901, to the rise of the celebrated Sultan Mahmoud of Ghizni, a period extending over nearly a century, the empire of Persia was divided between two families, the Samanee and the Dilemee. "The power of the dynasty of the Samanees extended over Khorasan, Seistan, Balkh, and the countries of Transoxiana, including the cities of Bokharah and Samarcand; and they at times possessed, and often ravaged, part of Irak. This race, though originally raised by the favour of the khalifs, threw off, in the pride of power, even nominal allegiance to those sovereigns; while their rivals and enemies of the family of Dilemee, always acknowledged the supremacy of the khalifs; and, during the whole period of their rule, one of this family

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 277.

† Hence, the appellation of *Suffaree* (pewterer), applied to this ephemeral dynasty.

was vizier of the empire, and consequently was vested with the management of affairs at Bagdad. But, though the Dilemee princes styled themselves the slaves of the Lord of the Faithful, they exercised sovereign power over the greatest part of Irak, Fars, Kerman, Khuzistan, and Laristan, making peace and war as independent princes. This family survived, though with reduced power, the dynasty of the Samanee, and were not wholly destroyed till the capture of Bagdad by Toghrul Beg, the founder of the house of Seljookee." *

The history of Sultan Mahmoud of Ghizni demands a more particular notice. Abustakeen (Abestagi, Alputtekeen), one of the chief nobles of Bokharah, having renounced his allegiance to that court, retired with his followers to Ghizni, then an insignificant town, but which became, by his successes, the seat of a petty principality. On the death of his son and successor, Isaak, the suffrage of all ranks bestowed the government upon an officer of his body-guard, who had risen to favour from an obscure origin. His name was Subuctageen; he was of Turkish descent, and, according to some historians, had been purchased by Abustakeen. However this may have been, under his administration, the little state of Ghizni attained the greatest prosperity, and its ruler became the first of a family which, though of short duration, outshone, at one period, the glory of the proudest dynasties of Asiatic monarchs."

Subuctageen laid the foundations of his fame by his "holy wars" upon the infidels of India, by which he

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 292. Ismail, the first king of the race of Saman, traced his descent from Bahram Choubeen, who contended for the crown of Persia with Khosrou Purveez. He is styled "brave, generous, pious, and just."

at once fulfilled the mandates of the prophet, and enriched his own coffers. In his first expedition, he defeated Jypaul (Chipaul), the ruler of northern India, took Caubul, and overran the fine province of the Punjaub (Five Waters), the present country of the warlike Sikhs.* In a second expedition, he defeated the Indian monarch in a great action, and Jypaul consented to become his tributary; but no sooner had the conqueror quitted his territory, than the faithless Hindoo confined the officers who had been left to receive the tribute, and refused to fulfil his engagements. Aware of what he had to expect, he assembled a vast army from every quarter of his extensive dominions, with which he awaited the attack of the invaders. Again, the fortune and valour of Subuctageen prevailed, and the routed enemy left an immense booty to the victor, who took possession of the fine country of Paishawur, on the Indus, and the district of Lingham. To these acquisitions were afterwards added the province of Khorasan, the reward of his services in aiding Ameer Noah Samanee to suppress a rebellion of his subjects. Subuctageen died soon after, and was succeeded, A.D. 997, by his son Mahmoud.

The first care of this able and enterprising prince was, to obtain from the khalif of Bagdad the confirmation of his power, with the titles of "the right hand" and "the protector of the faith." After thus securing the friendship of the pope of Islam, settling the governments of Khorasan and Rhe, and connecting himself by the most intimate ties with the ruler of Tatary, Ilij Khan, whose daughter he married,—Mahmoud

* The five rivers from which this province receives its name, are, the Sutledge (*Hysudrus*), the Beeah (*Hyphases*), the Ravee (*Hydraotes*), the Chunab (*Acesmas*), and the Behat (*Hydaspes*).—MALCOLM.

commenced that religious war upon the idolaters of India, which occupied the greater portion of his reign. In his first two expeditions, he was completely successful, and established his government over almost the whole of the Punjaub. The superstitious but patriotic Jypaul, being again defeated, resolved, by an heroic sacrifice of his own life, to endeavour to propitiate the gods, and to save his country from the impending ruin. Delivering over the government to his son, he mounted a funeral pile, praying that his death, amid the flames which he kindled with his own hand, might expiate the sins that had, as he imagined, drawn down the vengeance of Heaven upon his devoted kingdom.*

Anundpal, the son of Jypaul, was not more successful, however, than his unhappy father, in his contest with the Mohammedan invader, who, in two successive invasions (A.D. 1003), made himself master of the province of Moultan. He would probably have subdued at this period, the whole of Hindostan, if he had not been called back to defend his own territories against Ilij Khan, who had taken advantage of his absence to invade Khorasan. The Tatars were soon expelled; and about the same time, he subdued Kulif, Prince of Seistan, the last of the family of Ben Leis. Provoked at the disgraceful repulse which his armies had sustained, the Tatar sovereign, joined by the Prince of Khoten,† crossed the Oxus at the head of

* "We derive our information of this event," says Sir John Malcolm, "from sources that cannot be doubted; and the conduct of Jypaul on this extraordinary occasion, is truly characteristic of that complete devotion to the religion and the usages of their ancestors, which distinguishes the higher classes of Hindoos."

† The town and province of Khoten, in the kingdom of Kashgar or Little Bucharia, fell under the dominion of the Chinese in A.D. 1757, and is now included in that vast empire.

50,000 horse, and advanced to the vicinity of Balkh. Mahmoud did not hesitate to encounter this immense army; and his heroic courage being seconded by the valour of his troops, the Tatars were overthrown and pursued across the Oxus. The severity of the season prevented him from following up the victory by penetrating further into the territories of the humbled khan; but Ilij, though he survived his defeat, never ventured again to oppose Mahmoud. Impatient of action, no sooner had Mahmood returned from Tatary, than he hastened to Paishawur, to chastise and dethrone a Hindoo prince, who had relapsed from a feigned conversion and involuntary allegiance into the double crime of revolt and apostasy. He was fined in a large sum, and condemned to remain a prisoner for life.

Early in the next season (A.D. 1008) Mahmoud was again called to encounter the united forces of the Hindoos, who had assembled from the most distant regions of India under the standard of Anundpal, with the determination to arrest by their combined numbers the further progress of the Mohammedan conqueror. Their army, encamped near the Indus, is said to have exceeded 300,000 men; and Mahmoud deemed it prudent to form his camp within a strong entrenchment, where, for forty days, he observed the enemy, adhering to his plan of acting on the defensive. At length, the infidels resolved to attack him in his position. The trench was carried by the fury of the first assailants, and great numbers of the Moslems were slain. The victory was yet in suspense, when the elephant of Anundpal, taking fright, bore away the rajah, and spread dismay and confusion amid the troops. A general panic and flight ensued, in which 20,000 Hindoos were slain, and all the wealth of the camp

fell into the hands of the pursuers. The fortress of Bheemghur, containing immense treasure,* fell into Mahmoud's hands; and it was in this expedition that he destroyed the celebrated temple of Nagracote. In the course of the same year, he took prisoner the rebellious governor of Mooltan, and subdued the province of Ghoor.

His next expedition to India appears to have been unopposed by Anundpal, who remained in his capital of Lahore, a passive observer of the destructive inroad which he could not oppose. Marching to Tanasser, a celebrated seat of Hindoo worship, about seventy miles N. of Delhi, the zealous Moslem destroyed the temple, and sent the fragments of its celebrated idol Jugsoom to Ghizni, to be converted into steps for the principal mosque of that capital, "that the faithful might tread upon the mutilated image of superstition as they entered the temple of the true God." After this exploit, he led back his victorious army encumbered with riches and with captives.

The next two years (A.D. 1014, 15) were devoted to the conquest of Cashmere and the hilly districts adjacent: a great proportion of the inhabitants were here compelled to embrace the religion of their conqueror, as in all the countries which Mahmoud annexed to his kingdom. India obtained the short respite of a year, while her indefatigable conqueror was employed in settling the distant country of Khaurizm. But that was soon effected; and Mahmoud immediately commended preparations to attack the famous city of Cannouge, (supposed to be the ancient Palibothra,) situated about two miles from the banks

* His plunder is stated to have amounted to 700 *maunds* (of 7lb.) of gold and silver plate, 40 *maunds* of pure gold, 2000 *maunds* of silver, and 20 *maunds* of set jewels.

of the Ganges, in lat. 27° 3′ N. The march alone was computed to occupy a period of three months. Having selected for this arduous enterprise 100,000 horse and 30,000 foot, of the best soldiers in his army, Mahmoud took the route of Cashmere and the mountains, whence he descended into the plains of Hindostan, and, by the celerity of his movements, took Cannouge by surprise. Here he remained only three days, and then marched to Meerut in the Duab. Muttra, on the Jumna, which is still deemed by the natives, as it was then, a holy city, was also taken and destroyed. Mahmoud broke all the idols he found there, as at other places; but the complete destruction of its great and solid temples was a labour beyond his power; and, in the letters which conveyed the account of his success to Ghizni, the conqueror himself acknowledges the admirable structure and beauty of those sacred edifices. Many other forts and cities fell into his hands in this invasion; and when he returned to his capital, his own share of the plunder was estimated at 20 millions of dirhems (nearly 459,000*l.*), 53,900 captives, 350 elephants, and an immense quantity of jewels. The private spoil of the army is said to have exceeded that which came into the royal treasury. A part of this wealth was laid out in adorning his capital; and during the next three years, Mahmoud, as if sated with conquest, devoted himself to the gratification of his vanity. Ghizni soon rivalled, in the beauty and magnitude of its public and private edifices, the proudest cities of the East; but the grand mosque, upon which the monarch lavished all his magnificence, surpassed every other, and obtained the lofty, not to say impious title of "The Celestial Bride." Mahmoud sent an account of his victories, in verse, to

the Khalif of Bagdad, with a variety of valuable and curious presents; and the Commander of the Faithful ordered the poetic eulogy on the hero of Islam to be publicly read in the capital of the Khalifate.

From this repose, Mahmoud was roused by the intelligence, that the Rajah of Cannouge, in consequence of the treaty he had entered into with a Mohammedan prince, had been attacked and slain by a combination of neighbouring chiefs. Again he advanced to the Jumna, and crossed that river to attack the Rajah of Kalinjur (the chief fortress of Bundelcund). But that chief retreated before him, and the deep ravines and low woods of his country afforded him that safety in flight which he could scarcely hope for from resistance. Mahmoud was obliged to content himself with subduing a few forts, and imposing his creed upon several small nations in his return to Ghizni. The following year was lost in the unsuccessful attempt to reduce the mountain-fortifications of Gwalior and Kalinjur, which, from their natural strength, have, in modern times, been found capable of resisting the science and discipline of a European army.

On his return from this expedition, Mahmoud resolved upon the most arduous of all his enterprises. "His avarice and bigotry," we are told, "were alike stimulated by the reports of a rich temple in Guzerat, whose priests boasted of the superior power of their famous idol Somnauth. Determined upon the destruction of this last refuge of idolatry, he advanced through Moultan, and crossed in safety the deserts of Joudpore to Ajimere. No fewer than 20,000 camels are said to have been loaded with water for the supply of the army in passing the desert. The castle of Somnauth was situated upon a lofty eminence,

three of its sides being inaccessible.* On encamping before it, Mahmoud received by a herald from the fort, the message, that the idol god had brought the Mohammedans before the walls of his temple, that he might blast them with his wrath. The more enlightened Moslem smiled at the idle menace; and on the morrow, the exclamation of *Allah-akhbar*, God is great, resounded from his troops as they drove the Hindoos from the ramparts. The dismayed idolaters fought with the fury of despair, and ultimately forced the soldiers of Mohammed to abandon the advantages they had obtained. Night suspended the dreadful carnage, but the attack was renewed in the morning with increased fury. Again the Mohammedans mounted the ramparts, but were every where repulsed, and cast down headlong by the Hindoos; and Mahmoud at length drew off his dispirited troops from the assault. At this juncture, a Hindoo army arrived to the succour of the place, which he resolved to attack; but hardly had the action commenced, when the Hindoos were joined by a considerable reinforcement under two rajahs. Mahmoud saw that the efforts of his troops became faint, and that they were on the brink of defeat. Springing from his horse, he prostrated himself upon the earth, imploring the aid of God in an enterprise which had for its object to advance the glory of his mighty name. In an instant he was remounted, and seizing one of his bravest generals by the hand, he invited him to join in a charge which should secure for them either

* The Persian writers represent it as defended on three sides by the sea; but Sir John Malcolm states, that Somnauth Putten (as it is generally termed) stands one or two miles from the sea, at the junction of three rivers, the Hurna, the Kupula, and the Sersutty, in the district of Soreth or Kattywar; lat. 21° 58′ N., long. 70° 31′ E.

the crown of martyrdom or a glorious victory. The Mohammedans, when they saw their prince resolved not to survive defeat, determined to share his fate, and rushed again to the contest with a spirit that was irresistible. The Hindoos gave way in every direction, and a complete victory rewarded the determined valour of Mahmoud and his soldiers. No sooner did the inhabitants of Somnauth, who had watched the battle with trembling solicitude, perceive the route of their friends, than, seized with a panic, they abandoned the walls which they had before so nobly defended; and the conqueror instantly seized the town. The spoil found in the temple was immense. It is said to have been decorated with thirty-six pillars inlaid with precious stones of the most beautiful and costly description; but the glory of the temple was the gigantic idol, fifteen feet high. Mahmoud, striking it with his mace, ordered it to be broken; directing two fragments to be sent to Ghizni, one to be thrown at the threshold of the great mosque, the other in the court of his palace; and two more were to be transmitted to Mekka and Medinah, that they might remain at those sacred cities as trophies of his pious valour. "At this moment," we are told, "a number of brahmins came forward and offered several millions of money if he would spare their idol. His nobles entreated Mahmoud to accept of the ransom; but that prince, exclaiming, that he desired the title of a breaker, not a seller of idols, commanded them to destroy it. A few more blows discovered an immense quantity of rich jewels that had been concealed in the hollow parts of the image, and which were found to be of much greater value than the sum they had offered for the ransom of their idol."

Mahmoud, after subduing some other cities in

Guzerat, left the country in the hands of a brahmin of a royal family, who consented to hold the government as his tributary vassal. In crossing the deserts on their return, the army suffered considerably, being misled by a perfidious guide, who confessed, when about to suffer death for the deception he had practised, that he was a priest of Somnauth, and had sought to avenge his god by leading the troops of Ghizni to destruction. After this expedition, Mahmoud engaged in a war with the Jats, a Hindoo tribe who once possessed a great part of the Punjaub and Moultan, and encountered with success their fleets on the rivers of the Punjaub. The same year (A.D. 1027), he defeated an army of Seljookee Turks, who had invaded his Persian territories, and obtained several advantages over his generals. The last of his successes was the conquest of almost all Irak, which, with Rhé and other territories, he formed into a government for his son Massoud, having declared his other son, Mahomed, heir to his throne. At the commencement of the following year, a violent attack of the stone terminated his career. Just before he expired, he is said to have taken a last and mournful view of his army, his court, and the enormous treasures he had accumulated, as if reluctant to abandon the enjoyment of his wealth and glory.

Of Mahmoud's great talents as a warrior, there can be no doubt, but his claims to eulogy on other grounds are few. The anecdotes of his life represent him to have occasionally exercised a severe and despotic justice, and he appears to have merited the praise of munificence. His court was splendid beyond example; the edifices he erected, were grand; he gave to learned men and poets the most liberal encouragement; and it is to his love of literature we are indebted for almost all

that remains of the history of ancient Persia, as contained in the noble epic of Ferdousi, the *Shah Namah*. But the popular tale which represents his vizier as pretending to a knowledge of birds, and as explaining the speech of an old owl, who, wishing Mahmoud a long life, offered a hundred ruined villages as a dowry to her daughter,—presents, in a truly eastern form, Sir John Malcolm remarks, the picture of a reign marked more by desolation than by improvement.

The limits of this vast kingdom, at the death of Mahmoud, were, the provinces of Georgia and Bagdad to the W. and S.W., the kingdom of Bokharah and Kashgar, N. and N.E., and the provinces of Bengal and the Deckan as far as the Indian Ocean, E. and S.E.;—an extent of territory which rivalled the empires of Shahpoor and Nousheerwan. But the rise of this great dynasty was not more rapid than its downfal, which dates from the death of the sovereign to whom it owes all its lustre in the page of history. His sons contended for the empire, and alternately occupied the palace and the prison. The treasures of the sultan were plundered by a mutinous soldiery. During the reign of Madood, the grandson of Mahmoud, the dynasty of Ghizni lost all their possessions in Persia; and their subsequent history, till their complete extinction about the middle of the twelfth century, exhibits only a disgusting detail of petty wars, rebellions, and massacres. In the reign of Behram Shah, a lineal descendant from Mahmoud, and the eleventh sovereign in succession from him, Ghizni was taken by the Affghans of Ghour, when, for seven days, that noble city was abandoned to a savage and furious soldiery. "Neither age nor sex was spared; and the humble shed, the lofty palace, and the sacred temple, were blended in one common ruin."

Khosrou Malek, the grandson of Behram, was attacked in his capital of Lahore by the same ruthless barbarians, and after an ineffectual resistance, was made prisoner and put to death: in him perished the last of the race." *

The princes of Ghour † derived their proud descent from Zohauk, and boasted that their ancestors had successfully opposed the mighty Feridoon. They rose upon the ruin of the dynasty to which they were at first tributary, not only to the throne of Ghizni, but to that of India. Their glory was, however, still more transitory. Both kingdoms, on the death of Mahomed, the conqueror of Khosrou Malek, fell to slaves who had been educated and adopted by that prince, and who left no children to inherit the fruits of his successes.

The romantic story of Sultan Mahmoud of Ghizni forms an episode in the history of Persia, being more immediately connected with the annals of India. We must now take a rapid view of the Tatar dynasties which, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, ravaged or occupied this once proud and flourishing empire.

The Tatar tribe who derived their name from their chief Seljook, had already extended themselves over a territory stretching from the confines of Khorasan to the Jaxartes, when, by the defeat of the grandson of Sultan Mahmoud, they became masters of that province. Their leader, Toghrul, now assumed the state and title of a sovereign at Nishapore, whence he extended his conquests to Irak and the territory of Mousul. By the reduction of Bagdad, he became

* Malcolm, vol. i. ch. ix. pp. 313—47.

† Ghour is a mountainous territory northward of Ghizni.

master of the person of the khalif, whose spiritual supremacy, however, he affected to respect, and he obtained from him in return a full confirmation of all his conquests. Toghrul was successful in several actions that he fought with the declining empire of Constantinople, which opposed his invasion of Georgia and Iberia. In his seventieth year, his ambition led him to demand in marriage a princess of the house of Abbas, the daughter of the reigning khalif; but he survived his marriage only a few months, and left the throne of Persia to his celebrated nephew, Alp-Arselan (the conquering lion).

This monarch, who succeeded to the empire in the year 1063, united valour and generosity with the love of learning and the sciences. "And if," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "we could regard him in the same light in which he is considered by Mohammedan authors, who deem his cruel and bigoted persecution of the Christians in Armenia, Georgia, and Iberia, the most praiseworthy of his actions,—we should term this monarch one of the best, as he is certainly one of the most renowned of the sovereigns of Asia." He is stated to have fixed a large iron collar (or horse-shoe) on the neck of every Christian that refused to change his religion. His successes and his cruelties at length roused the court of Constantinople to a sense of its danger. The armies of the Mohammedan sovereign had already advanced as far as the province of Phrygia, when Romanus Diogenes, the husband of the Empress Eudosia, took the field, and, by his courage and skill, soon forced the scattered armies of Persia to fall back upon the frontier.* He then advanced through Ar-

* In the army of Romanus, the "legions of Macedonia and the squadrons of Bulgaria," the Uzi or Guzi of Moldavia, (a Turkish horde,) and the mercenary bands of French and Normans

menia into Adjerbijan; but near the village of Konongo, he was met by Alp-Arselan at the head of a very inferior force, who offered liberal terms of accommodation to the Roman emperor. They were haughtily and rashly rejected. Romanus was confident of victory: Alp-Arselan determined not to survive defeat. He is stated, indeed, to have made a display of pious resignation to his fate, by performing the menial office of tying up the tail of his own horse, preparatory to the battle, and by clothing himself in a white robe or shroud perfumed with musk; while the exchange of his bow and arrows for a scimitar and mace, declared the manner in which he was resolved to maintain the combat. The troops of Romanus commenced the action, and had at first the advantage; but the ardent valour of the Emperor led him to advance too far, and the confusion produced by his retreat, was increased by the cowardice or treachery of one of his principal leaders, who withdrew a large division from his support. Alp-Arselan took advantage of the crisis, and a general charge of his whole army achieved the defeat of his enemies. Overwhelmed by numbers and wounded, Romanus was taken prisoner, and led to the conqueror, who could hardly believe his good fortune. Alp treated his royal prisoner with the utmost respect and kindness. In the first conference, he asked him, what he would have done, had fortune reversed their lot. "I would have given thee many a stripe," was the imprudent and virulent answer. The Turkish conqueror smiled at the insolence of his captive, and asked in return, what treatment he expected to receive. "If thou art cruel," said Romanus, "put me to death. If vain-

under Baliol, the ancestor of the Scottish kings, were mingled with the disorderly multitudes of Phrygia and Cappadocia.—See GIBBON, c. lvii.

glorious, load me with chains, and drag me in triumph to thy capital. If generous, grant me my liberty."* The terms of liberty and peace dictated by Alp-Arslan were, a ransom of a million pieces of gold, an annual tribute of 360,000, and the release of all the Moslems who had been taken prisoners. Romanus reluctantly subscribed a treaty so disgraceful to the majesty of the empire, and was dismissed with rich presents and a guard of honour. On reaching the confines of the empire, however, he was informed, that the palace and the provinces had disclaimed their allegiance to a captive emperor. With difficulty he raised and transmitted the sum of 200,000 pieces in part of his ransom, with the tidings of his misfortune. Alp-Arselan was preparing to effect the restoration of his former enemy, when he learned that Romanus Diogenes had been defeated, imprisoned, and put to death by his own subjects.

The power of Alp-Arselan now extended from the deserts of Arabia to the banks of the Oxus. Immediately after he had defeated the Romans, he subdued the greater part of Khaurizm; and desirous of establishing the rule of the house of Seljook over their native country, he ordered a bridge to be thrown over the Oxus, which he passed without opposition. But here, his proud career was destined to terminate. Irritated at the protracted resistance made by the small fortress of Berzem, he ordered the commander to be brought before him, and loaded him with reproaches. The bold and violent reply he received, provoked him to sentence his prisoner to a cruel death; on hearing which, the desperate Khaurismian drew his

* Gibbon's version is: "If you are cruel, you will take my life; if you listen to pride, you will drag me at your chariot-wheels; if you consult your interest, you will accept a ransom."

dagger, and rushed towards the Persian monarch. The guards had raised their battle-axes, when Alp-Arselan, relying upon his unequalled skill in archery, checked their zeal, and seized his bow; but, his foot slipping, the arrow missed its mark, and before he could draw another, he had fallen under the dagger of the assailant, who was instantly cut to pieces. The monarch was mortally wounded, but lived long enough to confess and deplore his rash self-confidence, and to deliver over his empire to his son Malek Shah, with the charge to intrust the chief management of his affairs to the wise and pious Nizam-ul-Mulk, to whose virtue and ability he ascribed the prosperity of his own reign. Alp-Arselan was buried at Merv (or Maru) in Khorasan, and the following impressive sentence was inscribed upon his tomb: "O ye who have seen the glory of Alp-Arselan exalted, to the heavens, repair to Merv, and you will behold it buried in the dust."

This monarch possessed, as Gibbon sententiously remarks, "the virtues of a Turk and a Mussulman." He was brave and generous, and, except where his bigoted zeal warped him from his better feelings, seldom cruel. Under the administration of his able vizier, who enjoyed his unbounded confidence, justice was well administered; learning was encouraged; colleges and mosques were erected in every city; the poor were protected; and the inhabitants of Persia confessed, that the conquest of their country by the dreaded Tatars had proved the greatest of blessings.

The generals of Malek Shah subdued almost the whole of Syria and Egypt; and that prince, more fortunate than his father, not only conquered Bokharah, Samarcand, and Khaurizm, but received the homage of tribes beyond the Jaxartes, and "his name was inserted on the coins, and in the prayers," of the distant

kingdom of Kashgar on the confines of China. The glories of his reign, which have entitled him to be considered as the greatest prince of his age, are thus summed up by the pen of Gibbon.

"From the Chinese frontier, Malek stretched his immediate jurisdiction or feudatory sway to the west and south, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix. Instead of resigning himself to the luxury of his haram, the shepherd-king, both in peace and war, was in action and in the field. By the perpetual motion of the royal camp, each province was successively blessed with his presence; and he is said to have perambulated twelve times the wide extent of his dominions,* which surpassed the *Asiatic* reign of Cyrus and the caliphs. Of these expeditions, the most pious and splendid was the pilgrimage of Mecca. The freedom and safety of caravans were protected by his arms; the citizens and pilgrims were enriched by the profusion of his alms; and the desert was cheered by the places of relief and refreshment, which he instituted for the relief of his brethren. Hunting was the pleasure and even the passion of the sultan, and his train consisted of forty-seven thousand horses. But after the massacre of a Turkish chase, for each piece of game, he bestowed a piece of gold on the poor; a slight atonement, at the expense of the people, for the cost and mischief of the amusement of kings. In the peaceful prosperity of his reign, the cities of Asia were adorned with palaces and hospitals, with moschs and colleges; few departed from his divan without

* This, Sir John Malcolm remarks, must allude to that part only which was under his immediate rule.

reward, and none without justice. The language and literature of Persia revived under the house of Seljúk. ...The Sultan bestowed a serious and learned care on the reformation of the calendar, which was effected by a general assembly of the astronomers of the East. By a law of the prophet, the Moslems are confined to the irregular course of the lunar months. In Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival; but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected; the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days; and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces. The reign of Malek was illustrated by the *Gelalæan* era; * and all errors, either past or future, were corrected by a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style.

"In a period when Europe was plunged in the deepest barbarism, the light and splendour of Asia may be ascribed to the docility, rather than the knowledge of the Persian conquerors. An ample share of their wisdom and virtue is due to a Persian vizir who ruled th empire under the reigns of Alp-Arselan and his son. Nizam, one of the most illustrious ministers of the East, was honoured by the caliph as an oracle of religion and science: he was trusted by the sultan as the faithful vice-gerent of his power and justice. After an administration of thirty years, the fame of the vizir, his wealth, and even his services, were transformed into crimes. He was overthrown by the

* March 15, A.H. 471, A.D. 1079. Gelaleddin, (more properly Jullaledeen,) "the glory of the faith," was one of the titles of the sultan.

insidious arts of a woman and a rival; * and his fall was hastened by a rash declaration, that his cap and ink-horn, the badges of his office, were connected by the divine decree with the throne and diadem of the Sultan. At the age of ninety-three years, the venerable statesman was dismissed by his master, accused by his enemies, and murdered by a fanatic.† The last words of Nizam attested his innocence, and the remainder of Malek's life was short and inglorious. From Ispahan, the scene of this disgraceful transaction, the Sultan moved to Bagdad, with the design of transplanting the Caliph, and of fixing his own residence in the capital of the Moslem world. The feeble successor of Mahomet obtained a respite of ten days; and before the expiration of the term, the barbarian was summoned by the angel of death.

"The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. His vacant throne was disputed by his brother and four sons; and, after a series of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates, confirmed a lasting separation in the Persian dynasty, the eldest and principal branch of the house of Seljûk. The three younger dynasties were those of Kerman, of Syria, and of Roum. The first of these commanded an extensive, though obscure dominion on the shores of the Indian ocean; the second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus; and the third invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor." ‡

* Toorkan Khatoon, the principal sultana, who both hated and feared the minister, because she feared he would oppose the elevation of her son Mahmoud to the throne.

† The assassin was a follower of Hussun Subah, the Chief of the Mountains, a personal enemy of Nizam-ul-Mulk.

‡ Gibbon, ch. lvii.

Sanjar, the third son of Malek Shah, held, at his father's death, the government of Khorasan, whence he extended his power in one direction beyond the Oxus, and in another to the Jaxartes. Behram Shah, the king of Lahore, and Allah-u-deen, the destroyer of Ghizni, successively became his tributaries, and the kingdom of Khaurizm was bestowed on his chief cup-bearer. The death of his brothers and the conquest of his nephews, re-united in his hands the sovereignty of Persia and Irak, which had been divided on the death of Malek Shah. But, after a long reign, marked by singular success, Sanjar was destined to experience the most cruel reverses. Having advanced into Tatary, to attack the monarch of Kara Khatay, he suffered a signal defeat; in which almost his whole army was cut to pieces, his family taken, and his baggage plundered; the Sultan escaping with only a few followers.* Some time after this, he marched against the Turkoman tribe of Ghuz, who had withheld their usual tribute of 400,000 sheep, and was again defeated and taken prisoner. He was at first treated with respect, but latterly endured every hardship and insult that barbarity could inflict. During his long confinement of four years,† his dominions were ruled by his favourite Sultana; but the whole of Khorasan appears to have been over-run and ravaged by the barbarous Turkomans; and when he at length effected his escape, after the death of his Sultana, the desolated state of his territories is said to have plunged him into a melancholy from which he never recovered.

* On his return to Khorasan, "he was reminded by a flattering poet, who made an ode upon the occasion, that the condition of God alone is not liable to change."

† From A.D. 1153 to 1156.

He died at the age of seventy-three, leaving behind him a high character for humanity and justice, as well as valour and magnificence.

For forty years after the death of this monarch, Persia continued to be distracted with the wars of different branches of the Seljoukian family. The last of the race, Toghrul III., after having overcome most of his rivals, gave himself up to every species of excess, and was slain by the monarch of Khaurizm, A.D. 1193, being one hundred and fifty-eight years from the commencement of the reign of the first monarch of that name, the founder of the dynasty.* His conqueror, the sovereign of Khaurizm, was succeeded in his dominions by his son Mahomed, whose reign was, at its commencement, splendid and successful; but his fortune fell before "that great destroyer of the human race," Chenghiz Khan. After his armies had been defeated, his territories ravaged, and almost all his family led captive, he died of a broken heart at a small island in the Caspian, near Asterabad.†

From the time of the decline of the Seljoukian dynasty to the conquest of Persia by Hulakoo Khan, the son of Chenghiz, (a period of more than a century,) that country was distracted by the conquests of a number of petty princes, or governors, called *Attabegs*, who, taking advantage of the weakness of the last monarchs of that race, established their authority over some of the finest provinces of the empire. Many of these petty dynasties acquired a local fame, which has survived to this day in the districts over

* A branch of this family for some time supported the high title of Sultan in the province of Kerman. The dynasties of Iconium and Aleppo fell before the fortune of a Kourdish adventurer, the famous Salah-u-deen (Saladin).

† A.D. 1220. Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 374—81.

which they ruled. But all were swept away by the inundation of the Tatars under Chenghiz Khan.* The most remarkable of these petty dynasties, was that which for nearly two centuries maintained itself at Allahamout, and which was enabled, by the singular influence its chiefs exerted over their followers, to strike awe into the bosoms of sovereigns, and to fill a kingdom with terror and dismay.

Hussun Subah, the first chief of this dynasty, from whom the sect he founded derived the name of Hussunee,† was a school-fellow of Nizam-ul-Mulk, with whom, together with another companion, he had made an agreement to share fortunes if either attained to eminence. The minister was not forgetful of his engagement, and Hussun became mace-bearer to Alp-Arselan. But his eager ambition was not to be satisfied with gradual advancement. After failing in an attempt to supplant and ruin his friend, Hussun retired to Rhe, and thence proceeded to Syria, where he entered into the service of a chief of the Ismailies, and adopted the tenets of that sect.‡ After some

* Sir John Malcolm devotes several pages to the Atta-begs of Adjerbijan, Fars, and Laristan. "The memory of Atta-beg Saad is, to this day, held in great respect at Shiraz. He surrounded that city with a wall, and built the *Musjid-e-Jamah*, or chief mosque, which still remains a monument of his piety and munificence."

† The English word assassin is supposed to be a corruption of this appellation. The Persian names of the sect were *Bâttenee* (the concealed or secret), and *Fedavee* (devoted).

‡ So called from their maintaining that the descendants of Ismail, the eldest son of Jaaffer, the sixth Imaum, who died during his father's life, should have succeeded to that dignity; they, in consequence, reject the right of Aboul Kauzim, the seventh Imaum, and all his successors. The Fatimite dynasty were descended from Ismail. Originally, therefore, the Ismailies are to be regarded as schismatics, rather than heretics from the Mohammedan creed; but upon this fundamental tenet, others of a less harmless nature appear to have been grafted by Hussun.

time, he secretly returned to Persia, and having gained possession of the mountain-fort of Allahamout (Eagle's Nest), near Kazvin, commenced his depredations on the surrounding country. Here he was besieged by a force sent to reduce him by Malek Shah; but, by a successful sally, he compelled the assailants to raise the siege. It was about this time that Nizam-ul-Mulk fell into disgrace, and was assassinated by one of the followers of Hussun. At length, after the death of Malek Shah, Sultan Sanjar resolved to extirpate this band of robbers, whose depredations and murders had spread terror through his kingdom. He had made some marches in the direction of Allahamout, when, one morning, on waking, he discovered a poniard stuck into the ground close to his pillow, with a scroll attached to it, warning him to beware. The warlike monarch trembled, and desisted from the attack he contemplated. Of the astonishing ascendancy which Hussun had gained over the minds of his disciples and followers, another remarkable instance is recorded. When an envoy from Malek Shah came to Allahamout, Hussun commanded one of his subjects to stab himself, and another, to cast himself headlong from a precipice. Both mandates were instantly obeyed. "Go," said he to the astonished envoy, "and explain to your master the character of my followers."

Religious fanaticism seems to be the only principle adequate to produce such blind devotion to a political leader; and Hussun was indebted for his astonishing influence to the credulous reliance which all the Sooffee teachers taught their disciples to place upon their infallible instructor. The religious doctrines taught by Hussun, are said to have blended the Sooffee mysticism with the creed of the Koran. The most

self-denying and abstemious habits were enjoined upon his followers, and obedience to his rule was enforced with the greatest severity.* At the same time, the joys of Paradise formed the bright reversion with which their spiritual leader engaged to reward the devotion of his deluded followers.

Hussun Subah added several other hill-forts to the one which he first seized: that of Roodbar, near Kazvin, was next in consequence to Allahamout. In his manners he affected the utmost plainness and simplicity, and he contented himself with the Arabic title of *Shaik-ul-Jubal*, or Chief of the Mountain.† When Hussun died, he was succeeded by his son, Keah Buzoorg Oormeid ("Keah of Great Hope"), who defeated a strong force sent to reduce his fortress of Roodbar, and concluded an honourable truce with the Sultan he had set at defiance. His envoy was even received at the court of Isfahan with distinction; but the populace of that city, instigated by the moollahs, who regarded the sect of Hussun as still more abominable for their heresy than for their crimes, proceeded to the house of the unfortunate envoy, and tore him to pieces. The feeble-minded Sultan immediately sent a mission to Keah, to disclaim any share in the murder; but Keah demanded that the perpetrators of the outrage should be given up to his vengeance. This demand not being complied with, he despatched a party of his men to Kazvin, who, entering that city in disguise, slew one of the chief magistrates and four hundred of the inhabitants, carrying off an immense booty. This vindictive outrage brought

* Two of his own sons are said to have died under the blows he gave them in punishment of their infraction of the prescribed rules.

† Or *Sheikh-el-Djebel*, improperly translated, Old Man of the Mountain.

on a contest between Keah and Sultan Mohamed, which did not terminate till the death of that monarch; after which, Keah not only defeated the royal troops, but conquered the province of Ghilan, the governor of which he took prisoner and put to death.

Keah died at Roodbar, and was succeeded by his son Mahomed, who resigned the ecclesiastical supremacy to a prince of the family of Ismail, called Hussein Ibn Nasser. The murders committed by this tribe now became daily more frequent: every one who was deemed their enemy, fell by an assassin. One khalif (Murtashed) had been stabbed at Bagdad; and another, Rashid Billah, because he threatened this tribe with vengeance, was murdered as he lay dangerously ill. More than 50,000 men, it is said, gloried in being the devoted members of this mysterious and diabolical confederacy.* The voice of the moollahs of Persia loudly demanded the extirpation of the sacrilegious heretics; but Sultan Sanjar, the reigning monarch, having been once warned, contented himself with sending a mission to Roodbar, to inquire into the tenets of the sect, and he affected to be satisfied with the explanation and assurances on that head, which his envoy received from the chief. Hussein Ibn Nasser, having made himself contemptible by his debauchery, was slain by his own relatives, who placed his son

* The followers of Wahhab have in more modern times exhibited a very similar spirit of devotedness to their leader; and in the general character of their fanaticism, as well as their secresy, perseverance, and address, and the system of assassination they adopt, they bear a striking resemblance to the Hussunees. The sect of Ismailies still exists in a scattered state. A colony settled in the mountains between Tortosa and Tripoli, who made themselves formidable to the Crusaders, and their descendants still remain.—See Mod. Trav. *Syria*, vol. i. pp. 267—70. The *Borahs* of British India are also said to be a branch of this sect.

Allah-u-deen Mahomed at the head of the tribe. After a long and prosperous reign over the Ismailies for forty-six years, this ruler was succeeded by his son, Jellal-u-deen Hussein, who is celebrated for the kindness and generosity of his disposition. He cultivated with success the friendship of neighbouring sovereigns. Even the Khalif of Bagdad "relaxed from his orthodoxy," and showered honours upon the envoy of this prince. Jellal-u-deen engaged in no war except with the governor of Irak; and the first campaign closed, as was usual, with the death of the individual who had ventured to attack the Chief of the Mountain. The conquests of Chenghiz Khan commenced about this period; and an envoy from the court of Allahamout was sent to Transoxiana, to propitiate the Tatar monarch. Jellal-u-deen died the following year, and was succeeded by a boy of ten years of age, who, after a reign of above forty years, was succeeded by his son, Kaher Shah (or Ruken-u-deen), the last of the race. After a weak and ineffectual struggle, he fell before Hulakoo Khan, who took him prisoner, dismantled all his strong holds, amounting, it is said, to a hundred, and put to death upwards of 12,000 Ismailies; an act by which he made some atonement to the nation he subdued, for the evils he inflicted by his inroad.*

On the death of Chenghiz Khan (A.D. 1226), according to the division of his immense conquests made by the Emperor on his death-bed, the kingdoms of Persia, Khorasan, and Caubul had been allotted to his fourth son, Touli Khan. That prince survived his father only three years, and was succeeded by his son Hulakoo Khan, whose first act was the destruction of

* Malcolm, vol. i. 394—408.

the Chief of the Mountain and his followers. The army with which he entered Persia, is computed at 150,000 horse, to which were attached a thousand families of Chinese artificers and engineers, skilled in the construction of military machines and the preparation of inflammable substances. After traversing the whole of Persia, Hulakoo Khan turned his arms against Bagdad. The unfortunate Khalif Mustasim, lulled into fatal security by a treacherous vizier, "trusted to vain anathemas to stop the progress of a fierce warrior, who held him and his religion in equal contempt." The capture of Bagdad, the massacre of the greater part of its inhabitants, the murder of Khalif Mustasim and his only surviving son, and the conquest of the remainder of Persia, of Mesopotamia, and of Syria, (all which events were crowded into one year,) transferred the empire of the Arabian Khalifs of the house of Abbas to the grandson of Chenghiz.*

After completing these conquests, Hulakoo fixed his court at Maragha in Adjerbijan; a delightful situation on a fine plain watered by the Jaghatty, near Lake Oormia.† Here he appears to have spent his last years in a manner worthy of a great monarch. "Philosophers and astronomers were assembled from every part of his dominions, who laboured in works of science, under the direction of his favourite, Nasser-u-deen. The summit of a low mountain, close to Maragha, was levelled, and an observatory built upon it; the foundation of which still remains, and is shewn to travellers as the spot where Nasser-u-deen formed those astronomical tables which have become

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 422.

† Maragha still ranks in consequence next to Tabriz among the cities of Adjerbijan.

so celebrated under the name of the Tables of Eel-Khannee." *

Hulakoo, who died at Maragha, was succeeded (A.D. 1264) by his son, Abaka Khan; a prince who is stated to have united with courage and wisdom the virtues of moderation, justice, and clemency. He married the daughter of the Emperor Michael Paleologus, who had been betrothed to his father, but arrived at Maragha after the death of that prince. This circumstance, together with the connexion he formed with some of the potentates of Europe, when at war with the ruler of Syria and Egypt, gave rise to the opinion that he had embraced the Christian faith. Of this, however, Sir John Malcolm says, there exists no satisfactory proof; but his brother and successor, Neekoudar, is believed to have been baptized in his youth by the name of Nicholas. All the oriental writers agree in praising the character of Abaka, whose great object appeared to be, to repair the ravages which the empire had suffered from the excesses of his father's soldiers, among whom he introduced a strict discipline. His reign was disturbed by two formidable invasions from Tatary: one conducted by Barkah Khan, a descendant of Chaghtai, who advanced from the plains of Kapshak into Georgia, but was arrested by death on the banks of the Cyrus; the other, led by Borak Aghlan, another descendant of Chaghtai, who

* *Eel-Khannee* or *Eylekhauny*, *i.e.* lord of the tribe, was the title assumed by Hulakoo (or Hûlaukû), in honour of whom these tables were named. Nasser-u-deen, whose real name was Mahomed Ben Hassan, the most celebrated philosopher of his age, was an inhabitant of Bokharah, when, by order of the court of Allahamout, whose offers he had rejected, he was kidnapped, and compelled to become the tutor and companion of Allah-u-deen. He was released from this honourable captivity by Hulakoo, who ever treated him with the most marked favour and veneration.

invaded Khorasan with a numerous force, but was defeated by Abaka near Herat, and compelled to flee.

Neekoudar was no sooner raised to the throne by the Moghul lords, on the death of his brother in 1281, than, abjuring the Christian faith, he assumed the name of Ahmed Khan, and became the violent persecutor of those whose creed he had once professed. Not content with destroying all the churches that had been built in his empire, he banished every Christian from his dominions. The Moghul nobles, however, who cordially hated the Mohammedans, were indignant at the conduct of their sovereign; and a formal complaint was made to the Emperor of Tatary, Kublai Khan, the great grandson of Chenghiz, and the acknowledged head of the family. The result was, that, Arghoun Khan, the son of Abaka, was enabled to deprive his uncle of his crown and his life; and he received from the Emperor of Tatary the formal investiture of royalty as sovereign of Persia, Arabia, and Syria. His vizier, the Jew Saad-u-doolah, favoured and protected the Christians in Persia, while he removed the Mohammedans from all stations of trust and profit. Indeed, we are told, he went so far as to command that no person professing that faith should appear at court. While the Pope of Rome (Nicholas IV.) was sending deputations to Arghoun, to express his gratitude for the kindness with which the Moghul prince treated Christians, the moslems trembled lest the temple of Mekka should be converted into a cathedral. But the death of Arghoun put an end to the hopes of the one party, and the fears of the other; and Saad-u-doolah was murdered almost at the same instant that his sovereign expired.

The short and inglorious reign of his brother, Key Khatou, is distinguished by the very remarkable

attempt to repair the ruinous effects of the monarch's prodigality, by the introduction of a paper currency into Persia, in lieu of specie.* Such a medium of exchange had subsisted for nearly sixty years in China. The experiment was made in Persia in the year 1294; but the result was disastrous. On the third day, it was found necessary to yield to the clamours of the discontented people; and the author of the scheme was torn to pieces by the mob. The sovereign himself lost, by the attempt to enforce this arbitrary measure, the confidence of all ranks; and he was, in a few months after, deposed and put to death by a confederacy of his disaffected nobles. Baidu Khan, a grandson of Hulakoo, was then raised to the throne, but enjoyed it only for a few months, at the end of which he was dethroned and slain by the son of Arghoun, the illustrious Ghazan Khan. This enlightened prince refused to ascend the throne of his ancestors till he had been regularly elected, as the most renowned of his race had been, in a *coroultai* or diet of the Moghul nobles, to whom he boldly avowed his resolution to reform the abuses which had grown up in the reigns of his immediate predecessors. Since the death of Hula-

* This monarch is said to have been at this period considerably more than two millions sterling in debt. A proclamation was issued, prohibiting the use of precious metals either as a medium of exchange or in any species of manufacture, except for the royal use. Banking-houses were to be established in every city; they were called *tshau khanah*, the house of stamps. The *tshau*, or bank-note, was an oblong piece of paper, containing a short inscription in Chinese characters, the Mohammedan confession of faith, and, within a circle, the value of the note and the date of issue. They varied in value from half a *dirhem* (2¾*d.*) to ten *dirhems* (4*s.* 7*d.*) The attempt to establish a paper currency in China, under the immediate descendants of Chenghiz Khan (A.D. 1226), is mentioned by Marco Polo. It was abandoned after a trial of some years. A second attempt was made in 1368, by the Emperor Hongvou, but failed.—MALCOLM, ch. i. pp. 431—4.

koo, the government had been in the hands of the more powerful nobles, more than in those of the monarch. Ghazan Khan not only revived and reformed the Institutes of Chenghiz, which had sunk into neglect, but framed a new code of edicts, embracing the reform of the judicial and fiscal administration, the distribution of lands for the support of the army, the regulation of posts and caravanserais, the suppression of robbers, and the fixing of the standard of coins, weights, and measures. The Institutes of Ghazan Khan, which are transcribed at length by the best Persian historians, were adopted by succeeding monarchs, and were admirably adapted to promote the general prosperity of the community. Prior to his elevation to the throne, he had professed the Christian religion, the faith of his Tatar ancestors; but, actuated, it is supposed, by the same policy that led Henry IV. of France to secure his throne by a similar apostasy, Ghazan suddenly announced to his assembled nobles, his conversion to the creed of Mohammed; and nearly 100,000 of his followers, with the true spirit of Tatar soldiers, followed their leader into the pale of Islam. This event took place in June 1265. The step was boldly followed up by his directing that the name of the Khakan of Tatary should no longer appear on the coins of Persia; an act equivalent to renouncing his allegiance to the Emperor, and it led to an invasion of Khorasan, in which, however, the Tatars werer epulsed with great loss.

The principal wars which this monarch carried on, were with the Sultans of Egypt, who were at that period deemed the defenders of the religion of Mohammed against the combined efforts of the Christian powers. A policy strangely at variance with his

adopted creed, led him consequently to seek the aid of the states of Europe; and Pope Boniface VIII., by a display of his alliance with the Persian Khan, endeavoured to excite the Christian princes to another crusade. Syria was the seat of the contest which Ghazan carried on with the Sultan of Cairo, and in which he was at first successful; but latterly, he experienced a complete reverse of fortune; and disappointment, preying upon his spirits, accelerated his death, which took place in 1303, at a town near Rhe, which he had built and called Sham Ghazan, the Damascus of Ghazan. In his person, this monarch was remarkable for the lowness of his stature and the unsightliness of his appearance, but his mind was richly endowed. A Christian monk long resident at his court, after describing a battle in which the Persian monarch displayed the greatest conduct and courage, adds: "It is astonishing how so many virtues can reside in so diminutive and ugly a person." Cyrus is said to have been his model: it is not known whether he studied his character in the page of Xenophon.

Ghazan was succeeded by his brother, Ouljaitou Khan, better known under his title of Sultan Mahomed Khodah-bundah (Mahomed the slave of God), who is said to have been a just prince. He was the first monarch of Persia who proclaimed himself of the sect of Aly, causing the names of the twelve imaums to be engraved on all the money which he coined. He built the city of Sultaneah, and made it the capital of his dominions; an honour which it retained during the reign of his immediate successors. Part of the mausoleum of its founder is the only remaining vestige of its magnificence. Mahomed Khodah-bundah was succeeded by his son, Abou Seyd Behauder, a youth of twelve years of age; during whose minority, the

kingdom was again thrown into confusion by the disputes of the nobles. He closed a reign undistinguished by any great event, in the year 1335, being cut off by a fever caught in the unhealthy province of Shirwan, whither he had repaired to repel an invasion of the Tatars of Kapshak. He was the last monarch of the house of Hulakoo who enjoyed any power. The princes who were subsequently raised to the throne, were mere pageants, whom the nobles set up or cast down as it suited their ambitious views. Hussein Buzoorg, an immediate descendant of Arghoun, seized upon Bagdad, and became the founder of a petty dynasty, which terminated with his grandson Ahmed, who fled before the conqueror Timour, and was slain in an attempt to recover his dominions, after Timour's death, by a Turkoman chieftain. The province of Fars was seized, on the death of Mahomed Khodah-bundah, by a chieftain named Mubariz-u-deen Mahomed, who assumed the title of Ul Muzuffer, the victorious. The history of this petty dynasty, which lasted about eighty years, presents the usual detail of murders and petty wars. It closed with Shah Munsoor, who fell in a brave encounter with the Tatar monarch. Hafiz, the Anacreon of Persia, was at Shiraz, the capital of this dynasty, when it was taken by Timour, and was honoured with the marked favour of the conqueror. Almost every province of Persia, after the death of Mahomed Khodah-bundah, was seized by some powerful chief; and the empire, thus disunited and dismembered, became an easy conquest to the most warlike monarch that had yet issued from that nursery of heroes, the country of the Tatars.

The Ameer Timour, surnamed *Lung* (or *Lenc*), the lame,* (corrupted into Tamerlane,) was born at

* Demir or Timour signifies, in the Turkish language, Iron,

Shaher-e-Subz (the verdant city), in the district of Kesch,* in the year 1336 of the Christian era. His father was the chief of the tribe of Borlaus (or Berlass), who professed allegiance to the Khans of Tatary; and one of his ancestors had been vizier to Chaghtai or Zagatai, the son of Chenghiz. The confusion into which the country was thrown by the extinction of the immediate descendants of Chaghtai, afforded him the first opportunity of discovering the address and ambition which marked his character. Toghluk Timour Khan, Chief of Budukshan and Kashgar, laying claim to Transoxiana as his inheritance, on the ground of relationship to the family of Chenghiz, entered that province at the head of a powerful army. At his approach, the governor of Kesch, Hajee Borlaus, the uncle of Timour, fled to Khorasan, while the more politic nephew threw himself on the clemency of the invader, and was rewarded with the government of his native province. It was not long, however, before Timour revolted from his allegiance, and was compelled to seek safety by flight. During many years, he led a wandering and perilous life, seldom accompanied by more than a hundred followers, often without one; but still, as the chief of a tribe, he had his secret adherents; and he appears never to have despaired of ultimate success. After the death of Toghluk Khan, many of the friends of his family joined him; and they became at length strong enough to make a stand for the independence of their country. The son of Toghluk was eventually compelled to retire to his native kingdom; and Timour, after the defeat

* In Transoxiana or Maver-ul-nahr. It is situated about 130 miles E. of Bokharah, and 30 S.E. of Samarcand. Gibbon calls the place of Timour's birth, Sebzar, in the fruitful territory of Cash.

and assassination of a powerful rival, Ameer Hussein, found himself the sovereign of Transoxiana.

For eleven years subsequent to his elevation (A.D. 1369—1380), Timour found occupation in settling his own kingdom and in conquering Kashgar and Khaurizm. He then determined on the invasion of Khorasan, which soon submitted to his arms; notwithstanding which, Timour levied so severe a contribution upon Herat and the other cities in the province, that the inhabitants were reduced to beggary. Candahar and Caubul next yielded to his sword, and Seistan and Mazanderan were laid waste by the destructive ravages of his Tatar forces. Even submission did not exempt the unhappy natives from pillage and massacre. After these countries had been completely subdued by his troops, Timour (in 1384) crossed the Oxus in person at the head of an immense army, and traversing Persia, easily overthrew the degenerate descendants of Hulakoo. Having taken and destroyed their capital of Sultaneah, he carried his successful arms across the Araxes, overran Georgia, and received the submission of the Khan of the Lesghees and of the ruler of Shirwan.* Then turning his arms against the Turkomans of Van, he took and pillaged that city. In the mean time, one of his generals subdued the Turkoman chief of Laristan, who had rendered himself peculiarly odious to all good moslems, by plundering a caravan of pilgrims bound for Mekka.

* Ibrahim, Prince of Shirwan or Albania, brought to the imperial footstool, his peace-offerings of silks, horses, and jewels, each article nine in number, together with eight slaves. According to the Tatar usage, there should have been the same number of these also. "Where is the other?" said Timour. "I am myself the ninth," said the prince, stepping into the rank; and his flattery was rewarded with his re-appointment to the principality.

Timour's next conquest was the city of Isfahan, at that time subject to the monarch of Fars.* The city having opened its gates at his approach, the conqueror contented himself with levying a heavy contribution upon the inhabitants, and retired, leaving a garrison of about 3000 Tatars. Accident is said to have determined the patriotic but fatal insurrection which subsequently took place, and in which the whole of the Tatar soldiers were slaughtered. The rage of Timour, on hearing of the fate of his soldiers, exceeded all bounds. The inhabitants, knowing what they had to expect, made a desperate but ineffectual resistance: the city was carried by storm, and 70,000 heads, built into pyramids, attested the savage revenge of the conqueror. After this horrid massacre, Timour proceeded to Shiraz, which, with the whole of Fars, submitted to his authority. The chiefs of Yezd and Kerman hastened also to tender their allegiance.

Timour had scarcely time to establish rulers over the provinces he had subdued, before he was recalled to repel an invasion of his native territories by the ruler of Kapshak (or Kipzak). The next five years were employed in chastising the invaders, and in extending the limits of his empire to the extremity of Tatary. One body of his troops spread dismay to the wall of

* Fars was at this time governed by Zein-ul-Abdeen, a prince of the race of Muzuffer, who had extended his authority over Isfahan and a great part of Irak. Shah Shujah, the father of this monarch, had courted the friendship of Timour, and, at his death, recommended his son to his protection. Zein-ul-Abdeen, instead of obeying the summons of the conqueror to attend his court, distrusting, perhaps, his friendship, confined the envoy who brought the mandate; and this contumacy afforded Timour a specious pretext for his invasion of Irak and Fars. Zein-ul-Abdeen saved himself by timely flight. Gibbon confounds this invasion (1387) with that in which Timour was encountered by the son and successor of that monarch, six years after.

China, while another army subdued the whole country as far as the Irtish, and a third marched to the banks of the Volga.*

In the year 1392, Timour again turned his arms against Persia, advancing by the route of Mazanderan, all the chiefs of which hastened to acknowledge his supremacy. Amid the general ruin which he spread, he did the country the service of extirpating, upon this occasion, a band of assassins by whom the north-western provinces of Persia were infested, and who, under the assumed name of *Fedavee*, the Devoted, probably concealed the tenets of the sect of Ismailee. Early in the next year, Timour detached a division of his army through Adjerbijan and Kourdistan towards Bagdad, while the main body, under his own orders, moved by the province of Irak to the cities of Khorumabad † and Shuster. The strong hill-fort of

* Timour had, by his powerful aid, re-established Tochtamush Khan on the throne of Western Tatary, or "the Mogul empire of the North," when he fled before his enemies. "But after a reign of ten years," says Gibbon, "the new Khan forgot the merits and the strength of his benefactor; the base usurper, as he deemed him, of the sacred rights of the house of Zingis. Through the gates of Derbend, he entered Persia at the head of 90,000 horse. With the innumerable forces of Kipzak, Bulgaria, Circassia, and Russia, he passed the Sihoon, burned the palaces of Timour, and compelled him, amid the winter snows, to contend for Samarcand and his life. After a mild expostulation and a glorious victory, the emperor resolved on revenge; and, by the east and the west of the Caspian and the Volga, he twice invaded Kipzak with such mighty powers, that thirteen miles were measured from his right to his left wing. In a march of five months, they rarely beheld the footsteps of man; and their daily subsistence was often trusted to the fortune of the chase. At length, the armies encountered each other." Tochtamush was defeated, and fled to the Christian duke of Lithuania, but again returned to the banks of the Volga, and after fifteen battles with a domestic rival, perished in the wilds of Siberia.—Gibbon, ch. lxv.

† About eighty miles from Kermanshah, in lat. 33° 32′ N., long. 47° 43′ E.

Kullah Suffeed (the White Fort), situated about 76 miles N.W. of Shiraz, had been deemed impregnable: and the conquest, achieved by stratagem, formed one of the principal feats of Roustum, the Persian Hercules. It was taken, however, by Timour, in this expedition: he then advanced on Shiraz. During his absence in Tatary, the brave Shah Munsoor, having succeeded his father in the government of Fars, had reconquered the greater part of his hereditary possessions; and in the plains of Shiraz, he now disputed the further progress of the conqueror. At the head of between three and four thousand chosen warriors, well mounted and in complete armour, he twice charged and broke the centre of Timour's army; and Timour himself had nearly fallen beneath the sword of this gallant antagonist: his helmet saved him.* But Munsoor's impetuous bravery was ill supported by the two wings of his little army; and he was suffered to be surrounded and overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the enemy. He fell, and his head was immediately struck off, on seeing which, the Persian leopards, to use Timour's own expression, were turned into deers. The Tatars entered Shiraz, and all the princes of the race of Muzuffer submitted, and were put to death.

Timour next marched against Bagdad, then under the dominion of Sultan Ahmed Eel Khannee, of the race of Hulakoo, who fled at his approach. After receiving the submission of that place, he invested the fortress of Tukreel, supposed to be the ancient Birtha, between Bagdad and Mosul; it was then held by a

* Timour appears to have been taken by surprise, and unarmed. He had only fourteen or fifteen attendants with him, when Shah Munsoor came up to him, and struck the emperor's helmet twice with his scimitar; but the blows glanced along his arms. Timour stood firm as a rock, and never changed his posture.

notorious bandit named Hussun, whose depredations on the surrounding country rendered him an object of universal terror. The walls of the fort seemed impregnable, but Timour proceeded by sap, and for many days, 72,000 men of his army are stated to have been incessantly employed in undermining the fortifications. A breach having been made by springing the mine, the Tatars rushed in, and took the place by storm, Hussun and all the garrison being put to the sword.

The Tatar armies, after this arduous conquest, were dispersed over Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Kourdistan, and Georgia, all of which countries were subdued. In 1395, Timour again entered Tatary, to chastise Tochtamush Khan, the ruler of Kapshak, who had ventured to make an inroad into Shirwan. He was now attacked in his own territories, defeated,* and deprived of his crown. After traversing Kapshak, Timour entered the territories of the Oorooss Khan, or Lord of Russia, and marched as far as Moscow, which he took and plundered, A.D. 1396. The next year, he destroyed Astrakhan, and overran Georgia and Circassia, making himself master of all the strong holds of those mountainous countries.†

* Owing, it is said, to the treachery of his standard-bearer.

† It must have been in this *second* expedition, that the pursuit of a retreating enemy "carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia," when "a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amid the ruins of his capital."—GIBBON. In this invasion, the Tatars carried off a great number of women and girls of all ages, and of extraordinary size and beauty. Gibbon throws doubt on the statement that Timour reached Moscow, which had been taken by Tochtamush six years before; but he admits that it trembled at the approach of the Tatar. His "Auruss Khan" is no other than the lord of *Oo Roos* or Russia. "On the banks of the Don or Tanais," he adds, Timour "received a humble deputation from the consuls and merchants of Egypt, Venice, Genoa, Cata-

After these conquests, he returned to Samarcand, to make preparations for new and still more splendid conquests in the East.

It was not to be expected, that India should escape the desolating ravages of this mighty destroyer. His generals had already subdued the country of the Afghauns and the greater part of Mooltan, when (in A.D. 1398), at the head of 92,000 horsemen, Timour invaded India in person.* A hundred thousand prisoners are said to have been taken before the army reached Delhi; and lest their numbers might embarrass his further operations, Timour, with unparalleled barbarity, ordered the whole of them without exception to be put to death. Delhi fell, after a short siege. The

lonia, and Biscay, who occupied the commerce and city of Tana or Azoph, at the mouth of the river. They offered their gifts, admired his magnificence, and trusted his royal word. But the peaceful visit of an emir, who explored the state of the magazines and harbour, was speedily followed by the destructive presence of the Tatars. The city was reduced to ashes; the Moslems were pillaged and dismissed; but all the Christians who had not fled to their ships, were condemned either to death or slavery. Revenge prompted him to burn the cities of Serai and Astrachan, the monuments of rising civilization; and his vanity proclaimed, that he had penetrated to the region of perpetual daylight,—a strange phenomenon, which authorised his Mahometan doctors to dispense with the obligation of evening prayer."—GIBBON, ch. lxv.

* In crossing the Indian Caucasus, great numbers of men and horses perished in the snow. "The emperor himself was let down a precipice on a portable scaffold: the ropes were 150 cubits in length, and, before he could reach the bottom, this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Timour crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of the Attok, and successively traversed, in the footsteps of Alexander, the *Punjab*, or five rivers, that fall into the master-stream. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, on the edge of the Desert, the Macedonian hero halted and wept: the Mogul entered the desert, reduced the fortress of Batner, and stood in arms before the gates of Delhi, which had subsisted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings."—GIBBON.

neighbouring city of Meerut was taken by storm, and all the male idolaters were flayed alive, the women and children being carried into captivity. In this atrocious policy, Timour professed to be guided by the precept of Mohammed. He then marched to subdue all the chieftains of the mountainous territory near the sources of the Ganges.* The conquest of Hindostan appears to have been completed in a single campaign; after which, Timour returned to Samarcand.

In the mean time, several of the deposed chiefs of the Persian and Georgian provinces had taken advantage of his being thus occupied, to recover their possessions. A season was spent before Georgia could again be reduced to subjection. Bagdad also was doomed a second time to feel the vengeance of the remorseless conqueror. † He then turned his arms against the Turks of Anatolia.‡ In the plains of Angora, the decisive action took place, in which Sultan Bayazeed (Bajazet Ilderim) lost his kingdom and his liberty. Every city which offered resistance to Ti-

* Gibbon states, that he advanced 100 miles to the N.E. of Delhi, and, after fighting several battles by land and water, penetrated to the famous rock of Coupele, the mouth of the cow, which "*seems* to discharge" the mighty Ganges. His return was along the skirts of the northern hills.

† "On the ruins of Bagdad he erected a pyramid of 90,000 heads."

‡ "The Mogul and Ottoman conquests now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzeroum and the Euphrates; nor had the doubtful limit been ascertained by time or treaty. Each of these ambitious monarchs might accuse his rival of violating his territory; of threatening his vassals and protecting his rebels; and by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life or liberty he implacably pursued. The resemblance of character was still more dangerous than the opposition of interest; and in their victorious career, Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a superior."—GIBBON.

mour's progress, was laid in ashes, and its inhabitants were massacred. This was the fate of Smyrna, to the attack of which Timour was invited by a report of the riches its citizens had acquired by its commerce with Europe. "We may form some judgement," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "of the comparative superiority of the Moghuls over the Turks in the art of war, by their having taken this city in fifteen days, which, with the same means of defence, had resisted the attack of Bayazeed for seven years."*

The authority of Timour, which had already been established in Syria, was now acknowledged from the Irtish and the Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Mediterranean and the Bosphorus. Nor was this all. The Greek Emperor submitted to pay to the King of the World the same tribute which he had stipulated with the Turkish Sultan, ratifying the treaty by an oath of allegiance. The Sultan of Egypt acknowledged, by the honours of the prayer and the coin, the supremacy of Timour; and "a rare gift of a cameleopard and nine ostriches represented at his court the tri-

* Our limits will not allow of a more detailed account of Timour's Syrian and Ottoman wars, which are passed over by Sir John Malcolm, but more particularly noticed by Gibbon. Aleppo was surrendered either by cowardice or treachery; its plunder enriched the Tatars, and its streets streamed with the blood of their victims. At Damascus, Timour was "rudely encountered, and almost overthrown by the armies of Egypt;" but he afterwards gained possession of the city, by perfidiously violating a truce; when the inhabitants were massacred, and the city reduced to ashes. The losses and fatigues of this campaign obliged Timour to renounce the conquest of Palestine and Egypt. On his return to the Euphrates, he delivered Aleppo to the flames. It was after this inglorious campaign, that he entered Asia Minor, and overthrew the Turkish sultan, Bayazeed.—See MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, &c. vol. ii. p. 103.

bute of the African world." On the throne of Samarcand, Timour gave audience to the ambassadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tatary, Russia, and Spain, the last of whom presented a suit of tapestry which eclipsed the pencil of the Oriental artists. With the most imperial magnificence he celebrated the nuptials of his six grandsons; and for two months, the pomp of the ancient khalifs was revived and surpassed in the festivities of the Mogul court.*

In effecting these vast conquests, Timour had found it unavoidable to destroy a great number of true believers; and he now resolved, in his seventieth year, to attempt a pious achievement, the merit of which should expiate all his sins. This was nothing less than the extermination of the idolaters of China. The race of Chenghiz had been expelled from that empire, and Timour considered it as a point of national honour, as well as a religious duty, to reconquer the country. All his preparations being complete, he passed the Jaxartes when frozen, in the March of A.D. 1405. But his career had now reached its term. Illness compelled him to halt at the city of Otrar (or Tarab), seventy-six leagues from Samarcand;† and here, this great destroyer of his kind met with an enemy whom he could neither conquer nor elude. His character is thus impartially summed up by Sir John Malcolm.

* Gibbon. The Spanish monarch who sent two embassies to Timour, was Henry III. of Castile. "There appears likewise to have been some correspondence between the Mogul Emperor and the court of Charles VII., King of France."

† "Neither age nor the severity of the winter," says Gibbon, "could retard the impatience of Timour," who passed the Sihoon on the ice. "Fatigue and the indiscreet use of iced water accelerated the progress of his fever;" and he expired in the seventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Zagatai.

" From the age of twenty to that of seventy, scarcely a day of this conqueror's life was passed without action or danger; and his experience as a soldier was, perhaps, as great as that of any man that ever lived. Timour naturally valued himself upon those qualities in which he excelled; and he considered other men as useful, only as they were good warriors. To all such, he was the best of monarchs. 'I ordained,' Timour states, 'that the right of the warrior should not be injured; that the soldier who had grown in years should not be deprived of his station or wages; and that the actions of the soldier should not be suppressed; for those men,' he adds, 'who sell their permanent happiness for perishable honour, merit compensation, and are worthy of reward and encouragement.'....Such a leader must have been idolized by his soldiers; and with an army of six or seven hundred thousand men attached to his person, he was careless of the opinion of other classes of the community. The object of this monarch was fame as a conqueror; and a noble city was laid in ashes, or the inhabitants of a province were massacred, on a cold calculation that a dreadful impression would be made, which would facilitate the purposes of his ambition. He pretended to be very religious, was rigid in performing his sacred duties, and paid attention to pious men, who, in return for his favour, used to assure him that God had given the countries of other monarchs to his victorious sword. The parade which he made of these prophecies, proves that he either believed in them, or that he thought they might produce an effect favourable to his designs... Timour, though one of the greatest of warriors, was one of the worst of monarchs. He was able, brave, and generous, but ambitious, cruel, and oppressive. He considered the happiness of every human being as

a feather in the scale, when weighed against the advancement of what he deemed his personal glory; and that appears to have been measured by the number of kingdoms which he laid waste, and the people he destroyed. The vast fabric of his power had no foundation: it was upheld by his individual fame; and the moment that he died, his empire dissolved. Some fragments of it were seized by his children, but it was in India alone that they retained dominion for any length of time. In that country, we yet perceive a faint and expiring trace of the former splendour of the Moghul dynasty. A pageant, supported by the British nation, still sits upon a throne at Delhi: we view in him the gradual decline of human greatness, and wonder at the state to which a few centuries have reduced the lineal descendants of the great Timour."*

Timour had bequeathed his crown to his grandson, Peer Mohammed Jehangheer; but that prince was at Candahar when his father died, and Khulleel Sultaun, another grandson, who was with the army, being supported by several powerful chiefs, obtained possession of Samarcand. A civil contest ensued, which was terminated by the assassination of Peer Mohammed through the treachery of his own minister. Khulleel did not long enjoy his elevation. The successor of Timour was the slave of a beautiful and extravagant mistress; and the treasures which had been amassed by the conquest of half the world, were squandered by her infatuated lover to gratify her vanity or ambition. The high-born ladies of the haram saw with disgust a woman of low birth and dissolute character raised above them. A conspiracy was the result of

* Malcolm, vol. i. ch. xiii. See also Gibbon, ch. lxv. The latter historian accumulates in a single note nearly 300,000 heads, the monuments of his cruelty.

the general dissatisfaction. Khulleel was seized, and sent a prisoner to Kashgar, while the beautiful Shad-ul-Mulk was led in chains through the streets of Samarcand, amid the insults of an irritated populace. It is not a little remarkable, that her life, as well as that of her royal lover, should have been spared. On hearing of the expulsion of his nephew, Sultan Shah Rokh, the fourth son of Timour, who held the government of Khorasan, hastened to make himself master of the empire; and Khulleel willingly resigned the throne of Samarcand to regain his beautiful mistress, together with the province of Khorasan. On his death, which happened a few years afterwards, Shad-ul Mulk stabbed herself, and the lovers were buried in one tomb in the city of Rhé.

Shah Rokh was a humane and generous prince, who, imitating the virtuous son of Chenghiz, Octai, sought to repair, rather than to extend the ravages committed by his father. He rebuilt the walls of Herat and Merve, and restored tranquillity and prosperity to his dominions. His splendid court was the resort of men of science and learning; and a curious account has been preserved of the pacific embassies which passed between him and the Emperor of China. During a reign of thirty-eight years, the only wars in which he appears to have been engaged, were with the Turkoman tribes of Anatolia, who had taken possession of Adjerbijan; and his success appears to have been confined to the recovery of that province. He died in the year 1446, at the age of seventy-one, and was succeeded by his son, Ulugh Beg. This prince inherited the pacific and enlightened character of his father. He assembled all the astronomers of his kingdom, and the celebrated tables which are known by his name, were the result of their labours. His

reign was short, and its termination most calamitous: he was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death by his own son, Abdul Lateef, who, at the end of six months, was slain by his own soldiers.

After the death of Ulugh Beg, the descendants of Timour contended with each other for the various provinces of the dismembered empire, till they were all compelled to yield to the victorious Uzbegs and Turkomans. Baber, the grandson of Shah Rokh, succeeded in maintaining himself in Khorasan; and at his death, was succeeded by Abou Seyd, the great grandson of Timour, and the grandfather of the justly-celebrated Mohammed Baber, the emperor of Hindostan. Abou Seyd lost his life in an expedition against the Turkomans. On his death, Sultan Hussein Meerza, a descendant of Timour, and the patron of the celebrated Persian historian, Khondemir (Cantemir), made himself master of the empire, and, by his successes against both his rivals and their common foes, obtained the title of *Ghâzee*, the victorious. But his fortune declined before that of the Uzbeg conqueror, Sheibani Khan; and his son and successor, the last of the race of Timour who reigned in Persia, fleeing before the invaders of his territory, took refuge under the protection of Shah Ismail, the first monarch of the Suffavean dynasty. He settled at Tabriz, and when the Ottoman emperor, Selim, took that city, Hussein became his prisoner, and died at Constantinople.

The prince from whom Sultan Abou Seyd sustained his overthrow, was Uzun Hussun (Hussun the Long) or Kassim, the chief of the Turkomans of the White Sheep,* who had established a powerful principality

* The tribes of *Kara-koin-loo* and *Ak-koin-loo* were so called

in Diarbekir. The more powerful tribe of the Black Sheep had taken possession of Adjerbijan, whence they extended their conquests over Georgia, part of Irak, Fars, and Kerman. Between the ruling families of these two tribes, a deadly feud existed, which terminated in the defeat of Jehan Shah, the chieftain of the Black Sheep, and the extermination of his family. Uzun Hussun, the victor, by this means became the master of Persia. But his career of greatness was arrested by the superior genius of the Ottoman emperor, Mohammed II., from whom he sustained a signal defeat. The Republic of Venice had sent an envoy to the court of Uzun Hussun, to solicit his aid against the Turks, who informs us, that his army amounted at that time to 50,000 horse. After a reign of eleven years, he died at the age of seventy. His sons, grandsons, and nephews contended with each other for his territories, and by their dissensions, which accelerated their own ruin, prepared the way for the establishment of a dynasty of a very different character.

Shah Ismail, who may be considered as the restorer of the Persian monarchy, was, on his mother's side, the grandson of Uzun Hussun. His father traced his descent from Moossah, the seventh imaum; and the family had long maintained a reputation for hereditary sanctity. The first of his ancestors who had acquired any distinguished reputation, was Shaikh Suffee-u-deen ("the purity of the faith"), from whom this dynasty takes its name of Suffavean. He was succeeded by Sudder-u-deen ("the pre-eminent of the faith"), whose odour of sanctity attracted even the great Timour to his cell. The conqueror asked the holy man,

from their carrying the figures of a black and a white sheep in their respective standards.

what favour he could confer upon him. "Release those prisoners you have brought from Roum" (Turkey), was the noble answer. Timour complied with the generous request; and the grateful tribes declared themselves the devoted disciples of the saint to whom they owed their liberty. Their children held sacred the obligation of their fathers, and the descendants of the captives of Timour enabled the son of a devotee to ascend the throne of Persia.

Juneyd, the grandfather of Shah Ismail, who inherited the sacred mantle of his father,* was attended by so great a crowd of disciples, that Jehan Shah, the chief of the tribe of Black Sheep, became alarmed at their numbers, and banished him from Ardebil. He repaired to Diarbekir, where he met with the warmest reception from Uzun Hussun, who gave him his sister in marriage. Juneyd lost his life in a conflict with the ruler of Shirwan, in which province he had attempted to establish himself. His son, Sultan Hyder, the nephew and son-in-law of Uzun Hussun, was equally unfortunate in an attempt, many years afterwards, to revenge his father's death: he was defeated

* "The mantles or patched garments which are used by ascetics or Sooffee teachers, have always been, in the East, objects of religious veneration. The legacy of the mantle is, in fact, the mode by which these holy men transfer their empire over the minds of their disciples, to their successors. Their power is grounded upon their sacred character; and that rests upon their poverty and contempt of worldly goods. Their mantle is in general their all; and its transfer, therefore, marks their heir. Some of these mantles can be traced several centuries; and their value increases with their age. They become relics, which are almost worshipped; and their envied possessor has many disciples and followers who venerate the tattered and patched garment more than the person who wears it."—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 497. This custom strikingly illustrates the conduct of Elijah in bequeathing his mantle to his successor.—See 1 Kings xix. 19. 2 Kings ii. 13, 14.

and slain by the governor of Shirwan. His remains were honoured with canonization; and the tomb of the warlike martyr, as he was deemed, became a place of resort to his followers. In the anarchy which followed the death of Uzun, the three sons of Hyder were for some time held state prisoners, being objects of jealousy to the ruling prince. They at length made their escape to Ardebil, but, before they could collect their adherents in sufficient force, Aly, the elder brother, was slain. The other brothers fled to Ghilan, where the elder of the two died.

Ismail, the third son of Sultan Hyder, was only fourteen, when, placing himself at the head of his adherents, he marched against the great enemy of his family, the king of Shirwan, whom he defeated. A second victory over the tribe of the White Sheep, whose ruler advanced to crush the young warrior, rendered Ismail master of Adjerbijan. The next year, he marched into Irak, and overthrew Sultan Moorad, another Turkoman prince, in a great action fought near Hamadan. Following up these successes, in less than four years from his leaving Ghilan, the son of Hyder became the acknowledged sovereign of Western Persia. After he had reduced the whole of the Persian provinces to his authority, he attacked and took Bagdad, annexing its territory to his dominions. In the following year, he encountered the Uzbegs in Khorasan, defeated and slew their chief, Shahibeg Khan, and gained possession of that large and valuable province. He next proceeded to Bulkh, which he also subdued, and then returned to Koom. He subsequently repelled with success a fresh invasion of the Uzbegs. But this career of uninterrupted success was destined at length to receive a check from the powerful head of the orthodox moslems, Sultan Selim, who

advanced from Constantinople, at the head of a numerous army, to chastise the heretic Sheeahs* of Persia and their royal saint, whom the Turkish Soonees denounced as the slave of Satan. An action took place (A.D. 1514) on the frontiers of Adjerbijan, in which the Persian monarch suffered a complete defeat. Among other officers of rank, Meer Syud Shereef, the *sudder ul suddoor* or chief pontiff of the kingdom, was slain. Ismail, who had contemplated victory in this holy contest as the consummation of his glory, exerted himself with the most desperate valour at the head of his cavalry; but the cannon of Selim decided the action in favour of the Soonees; and the effect of this defeat upon the sanguine mind of Shah Ismail was so deep and lasting, that he was never afterwards seen to smile. The death of Selim encouraged him to cross the Araxes, and to attack Georgia, which he subdued; but this was the last of his conquests. He died at Ardebil, in the year 1519, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage to the tomb of his father.

* "It was in his active and invincible hatred to all Soonees, (that is, to all persons who believed in the superior right of the three caliphs who preceded Aly,) that the disciple of the family of Suffee recognised himself as a zealous follower of the new faith he had adopted; and the very name of *sheeah* (sectary), which his enemies had given as a reproach, was changed into a title in which he gloried.... Ismail took full advantage of the enthusiasm of his disciples to cherish feelings so essential for the political greatness of the empire he governed..... He is styled in their histories *Shah Shean*, the king of the Sheahs; an appellation which marks the affection with which his memory is regarded."—MALCOLM, vol. i. pp. 502—5. On the other hand, Selim proclaimed his expedition against Ismail to be a religious war; and the arrogant style of the orthodox defender of the faith was supported by the Turkish Ulema, who declared, in the *fetwahs* issued at the commencement of the war, that there was more merit in killing one Persian Sheah, than in destroying seventy Christians.—D'OHSSON, *cited by Malcolm.*

Shah Tamasp was only ten years of age when he succeeded to the throne, and his reign extends over a period of fifty-three years. He was the contemporary of the Turkish Emperor Soliman, and the English Queen Elizabeth. The early part of his reign was disturbed by civil contests between the chiefs of rival tribes, the periodical irruptions of the Uzbegs, and a Turkish invasion. The war with Turkey was maintained with varying success during many years; but the disorders which prevailed in the Ottoman empire during the latter years of the reign of Soliman, gave Persia a respite from that quarter, and favoured the age and indolence of Shah Tamasp, who, having fixed his residence at Kazvin, gave over the charge of his armies to his generals. One of the most distinguishing events of his reign was the munificent reception which he gave to the fugitive sovereign of Hindostan, the Emperor Hoomâyoon. All the resources of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest, and they were not less liberally furnished to assist in replacing him on the throne; an act which obtained for the Persian "Sophy" the applause of distant nations. In this reign, Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, a British merchant, was sent out by Queen Elizabeth to visit the court of Persia, with the view of opening a commercial intercourse between the two countries. On being introduced to his majesty, the first inquiry made by Tamasp related not to the object of his mission, but to the belief of the envoy, whether he was a *gaur* (unbeliever) or a moslem. The Englishman replied, that he was neither, but a Christian; on which the monarch said, that he was in no need of infidels, and bade him depart.*

* Malcolm, i. 513. Queen Elizabeth's letter, which was in Latin and English, is given by Hakluyt.

Shah Tamasp had bequeathed the crown to his fifth son, Hyder Meerza; but the faction which supported the interests of his fourth son, Ismail, prevailed, and Hyder was massacred. The first act of Ismail was to put to death all the princes of the blood at Kazvin, except one, who was deprived of sight. His own death, occasioned by a debauch, alone prevented the execution of the mandate which had been issued, to put to death Mahomed Meerza, the eldest son of Tamasp, with all his family, including the infant Abbas, who was destined to restore the glory of the Persian empire.

The short reign of Sultan Mahomed Meerza (surnamed Khodah-bundah, the slave of God) was unfortunate and inglorious. Conscious of his own insufficiency, he intrusted the direction of affairs to his able vizier, Meerza Soliman, to whom he was indebted for the first successes of his reign. The triple invasion of the empire by the Turks, the Uzbegs, and the Tatars of Kapshak, was ably repelled; and two impostors who personated the deceased Ismail, were successively defeated and put to death. But in Khorasan, the nobles declared for the young prince Abbas; and Meerza, after an ineffectual attempt to reduce that province to obedience, fell into disgrace, or rather, was abandoned by his weak and ungrateful sovereign to the rage of his enemies, by whom he was put to death. The fortunes of Mahomed were upheld for some time by the valour and character of his eldest son, Humza Meerza; but the gallant prince fell under the blow of an assassin, and the power of the father terminated at the death of his son. In the confusion which ensued, Murshud Kooli Khan, one of the ambitious chieftains who supported Abbas as a means of establishing their own power, marched with the young prince to Kazvin,

of which he took possession without opposition, Mohamed having repaired to Shiraz, to suppress a rebellion in that city. From this time, Abbas was recognised as the sovereign of Persia, although Murshud Kooli Khan exercised all the functions of royalty. The mind of Abbas was not framed, however, to be content with the shadow of power, and he resolved to free himself from this bondage by causing his protector to be put to death.

The elevation of Shah Abbas to the throne dates from A.D. 1585. The first two or three years of his reign were occupied in restoring internal tranquillity to his dominions, and in repairing the disastrous effects of foreign invasion.* No sooner had he quitted Khorasan, to secure his throne, than the Uzbegs invaded that province. Herat, after a defence of nine months, fell into their hands, and was given up to plunder; and in the following year, Mushed, the capital, was taken by the same savage invaders, and all its inhabitants were massacred. As their chief object was plunder, they always retired before the Persian forces; but at length, in the year 1597, Abbas succeeded in bringing them to action near Herat, and obtained a complete victory, which gave the province a long respite from their periodical inroads. While the king was extending his territories in that direction as far as Bulkh, his generals were employed in reducing the mountainous district of Laristan, and the islands of the Persian Gulf.

It was on the return of Shah Abbas to his capital, after his victory over the Uzbegs, that the two bro-

* Irritated by the repeated rebellions of the province of Ghilan, whose chief was attached to the Turkish interest, Abbas is stated to have ordered a general massacre of its inhabitants on reducing it in A.D. 1593.

thers, Sir Anthony and Sir Robert Sherley, at the head of twenty-six followers, "gallantly mounted and richly furnished," presented themselves to the Persian monarch, as English soldiers of fortune who desired the honour of entering his service. Pleased and flattered with the occurrence, Shah Abbas gave them the most gracious reception; and to the counsel and instructions of the two brothers, the Persians were indebted for the introduction of European discipline into the army, and the use of artillery.* While Sir Robert remained at the Persian court, to superintend these improvements, Sir Anthony volunteered his services as a diplomatist, and was intrusted with a special mission to the Christian sovereigns of Europe, the object of which was to obtain their co-operation in opposing the Turks. † He proceeded first to the court of Moscow, where, however, he was regarded with suspicion and jealousy, and was for some time imprisoned. On obtaining his release, he prosecuted his journey to the court of the German emperor, by whom, as well as by other sovereigns, he was warmly welcomed.

* In Purchas's Pilgrims occurs the following curious passage, written by a contemporary: "The mighty Ottoman, terror of the Christian world, quaketh of a Sherly fever, and gives hopes of approaching fates. The prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war; and he which before knew not the use of ordnance, hath now five hundred pieces of brass and sixty thousand musketeers: so that they which at hand with the sword were before dreadful to the Turks, now also in remoter blows and sulfurian arts, are grown terrible."

† In the credentials which Abbas gave Sir Anthony Sherley, (who is styled Meerza Antonio,) the Mohammedan monarch called upon all the princes who believed in Jesus, to embrace his friendship. At the same time, he issued a firmaun, securing to all Christian merchants who might trade with Persia, the fullest protection of their persons and property, and the free exercise of their religion. Translations of these curious documents are given by Sir John Malcolm.

In the year 1602, Shah Abbas commenced the war against the Emperor of Constantinople, for which he had long been making preparations, by the capture of Nahavund, the fortifications of which he levelled with the ground. He then marched into Adjerbijan, and having defeated the Turkish commander, made himself master of Tabriz, which had been for eighteen years in the possession of the Turks. Erivan, which the Persians proceeded to invest, fell early in the next season. In the mean time, the Turks had raised an immense army, amounting, according to some accounts, to a hundred thousand men, supported by artillery, while Shah Abbas had little more than half that number to oppose to them. On the 24th of August, 1605, a decisive action took place, in which the new tactics of the Persian Shah obtained a complete victory. Five Turkish pashas were taken; the same number were slain; and the king continued to receive the heads of his enemies till midnight, when they amounted, it is said, to 20,545. Sir Robert Sherley received three wounds in this action. Following up his successes, Shah Abbas expelled the Turks from all their possessions along the shores of the Caspian, as well as from Adjerbijan, Georgia, Kourdistan, and the territories of Bagdad, Mosul, and Diarbekir; and though a constant skirmishing was kept up on the frontier provinces, even after a formal proclamation of peace between the courts of Isfahan and Constantinople, the Turks were unable, during the reign of Abbas, to recover any of the ground they had lost.

In this reign, one of the most fatal blows was struck against the empire of the Portuguese in the East, by the capture of the island of Ormuz, which had been in their possession for more than a century, and had become the emporium of the Indian trade. Abbas beheld

with envy its prosperity, the source of which he ill understood; and he imagined that its conquest would add to both the glory and the wealth of his kingdom. But he was well aware that it would be impossible to succeed without the aid of a naval equipment; and by high bribes and boundless promises, the agents of the English East India Company were induced to become the instruments of destroying this noble settlement. The island of Kishme first surrendered to the English, to avoid falling into the hands of the Persians. Ormuz was bravely defended; but, worn down at length by hunger and fatigue, and hopeless of succour, the garrison acceded to a convention with the British, which secured them a safe passage to Muscat or India. The city was given up to the Persians, by whom it was soon stripped of every thing valuable, and left to a natural decay. Abbas was overjoyed at the conquest; but all the magnificent plans he had formed, terminated in his conferring on Gomberoon the name of Bunder Abbas (Port Abbas). The sanguine expectations of commercial advantage which had been cherished by the agents of the East India Company, were completely frustrated by the positive refusal of Abbas to allow his allies to fortify Ormuz or any other island in the Gulf. The history of the English factory at Gomberoon, from this date till it was finally abandoned, presents a series of disgraces, dangers, and losses; and though Shah Abbas continued to treat the Sherleys with every mark of confidence and favour, and gave an honourable reception to an English mission,* his ministers defeated every attempt to establish a beneficial commerce between the two nations.

* Sir Thomas Herbert, who attended Sir Dodmore Cotton, the British ambassador, has given the history of this mission; and he ascribes its failure to the intrigues of the favourite minister of

The internal administration of this accomplished despot has entitled him to be remembered by the natives with grateful veneration. The long tranquillity which the country enjoyed, is to be ascribed chiefly to the wisdom and energy of his measures; and a more striking proof cannot be given of the salutary and efficient character of his beneficent despotism, than the fact, that the population of the kingdom was more than doubled during his reign. He made Isfahan his capital; and its principal mosque, the noble palace of Chehel Setoon, the beautiful palace and gardens called *Chár Bágh* (Four Gardens), the principal bridge over the Zeindehrood, and several other public edifices, were all the work of this prince. Mushed also was greatly ornamented by him; and the cities of Ashraff and Ferrahabad, in Mazanderan, were adorned with several royal mansions. "But these," adds Sir John Malcolm, "were his meanest works. He carried, at an immense expense, a causey across the whole of Mazanderan,* and rendered that difficult country passable for armies and travellers at all seasons. He threw bridges over almost all the rivers of Persia; and the traveller in that country found, in every direction, the most solid and spacious caravanserais, which had been erected by the royal munificence of this monarch." The Armenian colony which he formed at Isfahan,

Abbas, whom he styles "a most pragmatical pagan." Sir Dodmore Cotton and Sir Robert Sherley died a few months after their arrival at court, and the rest of the mission returned to England.

* The causey of Mazanderan runs from Kiskar on the S.W. of the Caspian, several leagues beyond Asterabad, being about 300 miles in length. In some parts, it is hardly more than twenty yards wide, with ditches on each side; and there are many bridges upon it, under which the water is conveyed to the rice-fields. The pavement is still perfect in many places, although it has hardly ever been repaired.—KINNEIR'S *Memoir*, p. 166.

remains an honourable monument of his wise and liberal policy. In his wars with the Turks, he had taken prisoners a number of Armenian families; and instead of making them slaves, and compelling them to change their religion, as his predecessors had done in similar cases, he settled them in different parts of his kingdom, and not only gave them liberty to build churches, but granted them many other important privileges, and afforded them the most liberal encouragement. In 1603, when Shah Abbas marched to Julfa, in Armenia, the inhabitants rose against the Turkish officers, and carried both the keys of the town and the revenue that had been collected, to the Persian monarch, who ever afterwards treated them with marked favour and indulgence. Five thousand were transplanted to a new suburb of Isfahan, built for their accommodation, which received the name of Julfa; and by the great trade which they carried on with India and other quarters, these industrious emigrants speedily enriched themselves, and advanced the general prosperity of the empire. Abbas sought to benefit his favourite province of Mazanderan by a similar establishment;* but its unhealthy climate defeated his project, a great proportion of the colonists dying in a few years. To all classes of Christians in his dominions, Abbas was particularly favourable; and he is even reported, on credible authority, to have stood godfather to the first-born child of Sir Robert Sherley by a Circassian lady whom the monarch had bestowed upon him as a wife.† Yet, he affected a

* "That country," he pleasantly observed, "as it abounded with wine and hogs, would be a paradise to Christians."

† Preacher's Travels in Harleian Voyages. Malcolm, vol. i. p. 559. It even appears that Shah Abbas was at one time formally baptized; an event to which the Jesuits ascribed all the victories

rigid piety as a Moslem, except in reference to the law of the prophet forbidding wine. There was hardly a year in which he did not perform a pilgrimage to some holy shrine. He went on foot from Isfahan to Mushed, to mark his respect for the imaum Mehdee, whose tomb is in that city; and during the fortnight that he passed at Nujuff, he daily swept the tomb of Aly; an honourable office, which none but persons of exemplary life are allowed to discharge.

In his judicial administration, Shah Abbas is represented to have been very strict and severe, "not sparing to hang up his chief caddi or judges," in cases of notorious malversation. The kingdom to which he succeeded, was in an unsettled state: the nobles were bold and seditious; the governors were addicted to extortion and oppression. Under such circumstances, it was, perhaps, necessary to make some dreadful examples of offenders, in order to secure the tranquillity of the country. To repress the ambition of the *Kuzel-bash* clans, Abbas put to death several of the principal chiefs, and reduced the number of that formidable body to 30,000 men. At the same time, he formed a clan of his own, to which he gave the title of *Shah Sevund*, the king's friends; and this tribe of personal adherents soon became extremely powerful and numerous. Besides these, he formed a new corps of ten thousand horse and twelve thousand foot, composed chiefly of captives from Georgia, Iberia, and Armenia, who constituted a royal body-guard. The infantry, called *tuffungshee*, or musketeers, were the first ever imbodied in Persia.*

with which his arms were crowned against the Turks and Tatars; and he allowed the Catholics to establish a small convent at Isfahan.—MURRAY'S *Hist. of Discoveries*, vol. iii. p. 45.

* Abbas is said to have intended them chiefly to oppose the

In his domestic character, Abbas appears at once in an execrable and a pitiable light. His four sons, on rising to manhood, became the objects of a restless jealousy, for which it is impossible to say how far their conduct, or that of intriguing nobles, might furnish cause. The history of Persia abounds with instances of sons who have become parricides to anticipate their succession to the throne, and of fathers who have imbrued their hands in the blood of their heirs. The eldest son of Abbas was murdered at his own instigation, under the idea that the young prince sought his life; and the younger two (the second being already dead) were both deprived of sight by order of their unhappy parent. The grief and remorse into which he was plunged by the execution of his fatal orders, must be admitted as a proof that he was not inaccessible to tender emotions; and his last days were imbittered, if not shortened, by the domestic tragedy.* He died in his favourite palace at Ferrâ-

yangi-chera or janissaries of Turkey. The *Shah Sevund* still exists in Persia, though with diminished numbers. It could once boast of more than a hundred thousand families. *Kuzel-bash* (golden heads) was the name given to the seven Turkish tribes to whom Shah Ismail was chiefly indebted for his elevation and success, and which they derived from their red caps. They were the sworn defenders of the Sheah tenets, and appear to have been originally transplanted by Timour from Syria and Anatolia.

* After the death of his eldest son, Abbas, we are told, a prey to remorse, shut himself up in his palace for a month, covered his eyes for ten days, and wore mourning for a year. He ever afterwards wore the plainest clothes, and made the place where the prince died, a sanctuary for criminals. He put to death every one of the courtiers who had poisoned his mind against his son. For the assassin he reserved a more inhuman punishment. He commanded him to bring him the head of his own son. When the devoted slave presented the dreadful offering, Abbas demanded with bitter scorn, how he felt. "Miserable," was the reply. "You should be happy," said the monarch, "for you are ambitious, and in

hâbad, in Mazanderan, at the age of seventy, A.D. 1628, and in the forty-fourth year of his reign.

To sum up his character in the words of the Historian whom we have chiefly followed: "There have been few sovereigns in the universe, who have done more substantial good to their country, than Abbas the Great. He established an internal tranquillity throughout Persia, that had been unknown for centuries. He put an end to the annual ravages of the Uzbegs, and confined those plunderers to their own dominions. He completely expelled the Turks from his native territories, of which they held some of the finest provinces when he ascended the throne. Justice was in general administered according to the laws of religion; and the king seldom interfered, except to support the law, or to punish those who thought themselves above it. Though possessed of great means, and distinguished as a military leader, he deemed the improvement of his own wide possessions a nobler object than the pursuit of conquest. He attended to the cultivation and commerce of Persia beyond all former monarchs, and his plans for effecting his objects were almost all of a nature that shewed the greatness of his mind. The bridges, caravanserais, and other useful public buildings that he erected were without number. The impression which his noble munificence made upon the minds of his subjects, has descended to their children. The modern traveller who inquires the name of the founder of any

your feelings you are at this moment the equal of your sovereign." The death of his son Khodah-bundah was still more tragical. On learning that Abbas discovered a doating fondness for his granddaughter Fatima, the unhappy parent resolved to destroy his own child, to revenge himself on his cruel father. He learned with joy the rage and despair the unnatural deed produced in the mind of Abbas, and concluded the scene by swallowing poison.

ancient building in Persia, receives the ready answer, 'Shah Abbas the Great;' which is given, not from an exact knowledge that he was the founder, but from the habit of considering him as the author of all improvement. We cannot suppose that a prince of this character could delight in cruelty; and to whatever actions the stern dictates of policy, the jealousy of power, the infirmity of age, or the artful intrigues of base flatterers, may have led Abbas in his latter years, we must not hastily consign to execration, the memory of a monarch, who restored Persia to a condition of greatness beyond what that country had known for ages; who was brave, generous, and wise; and who, during a reign protracted to near half a century, seemed to have no object but that of rendering his kingdom flourishing, and his subjects happy. An eminent and impartial writer, Chardin, has, in stating one historical fact, furnished us with the noblest eulogy upon the character of Abbas. 'When this great prince,' he observes, 'ceased to live, Persia ceased to 'prosper.'" *

Shah Suffee (Sam Meerza), who succeeded his grandfather, was a cruel and capricious tyrant, and his reign was alike calamitous and inglorious. His jealousy led him to put to death, or to deprive of sight, almost every prince of the blood, every minister, and every general who had enjoyed office or distinction in the reign of Abbas. His own mother, who had enraged him by her free remonstrances, is said to have shared the fate of all who ventured to give him counsel; and in a fit of intoxication, he stabbed his favourite queen. Yet, he was suffered to reign in peace for fourteen years, and died at Kashan, A.D. 1641. In

* Malcolm, vol. pp. i. 566, 7.

this reign, Bagdad was lost to the Turks, and Candahar revolted in favour of the sovereign of Delhi.*

Abbas the Second was only ten years old when he ascended the throne on the death of his father; and he, of course, fell into the hands of his ministers, who happened to be persons of very religious and austere habits. All drunkards were removed from office; the use of wine was strictly prohibited; and the manners of the court underwent a total transformation. As the young monarch advanced in years, he grew impatient, however, of these trammels; and his love of wine, in which he often indulged to excess, was the cause of all the evils of his otherwise happy and prosperous reign. Naturally humane and generous, in his drunken frolics he committed the most wanton cruelties. Yet, as the consequences of these excesses were for the most part limited to the circle of his court, his subjects at large knew this prince in no other character than that of one of the most generous and just of rulers. "To the public officers of government, he was severe; but, to the poor, mild and lenient; and the lives and property of his subjects were efficiently protected. He was as tolerant to all religions as his great ancestor whose name he had taken. To Christians, indeed, he always shewed the most marked favour. He used often to declare the principle by which his conduct on this point was regulated. '*It is for God*,' Abbas was wont to observe, '*not for me*,

* Sir John Malcolm supposes that the cruelties of Shah Suffee proceeded more from cowardice than from natural depravity. His countenance was remarkable for its soft and pleasing expression; but he had been brought up a state prisoner amid women and eunuchs, and was consequently licentious, effeminate, the slave of his passions, and intoxicated with power. In this reign, the system of intendants or receivers-general was introduced into the central provinces, in lieu of hereditary military governors or feudal lords.

to judge of men's consciences; and I will never interfere with what belongs to the tribunal of the great Creator and Lord of the Universe.'" *

In this reign, Candahar was recovered. Two fugitive princes of the Uzbegs were successively received by the Persian monarch with the most generous and splendid hospitality. With the Ottoman court, peace was maintained throughout, the life of Abbas; and his vanity was gratified by embassies from almost all the courts of Europe, as well as from India and the remotest regions of Tatary. His conduct towards the captive Khan of Georgia, whose life had been spent in hostility to him, affords an honourable instance of generous clemency. Abbas not only pardoned him, but loaded him with favours, and obtained the release of his grandson, who was a prisoner or hostage in Russia. This monarch closed, at the early age of thirty-four, a prosperous reign of nearly twenty-five years, A.D. 1666; the victim, there is reason to suppose, of his intemperance.

The long reign of his son, Suffee Meerza, who assumed the title of Shah Soliman, is unmarked by any event of importance. He was a weak, effeminate, and dissolute prince, but was fortunate in his ministers, owing to whose virtues and able character, the country remained tranquil; strangers were encouraged and protected, and foreigners from every quarter resorted to Persia.† The splendour of Soliman's court equalled that of the most magnificent of his predecessors. The Uzbegs, however, renewed in this reign their annual invasions of Khorasan; the shores of the Caspian suffered by the predatory incursions of the

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 583.

† One of the most splendid embassies was from France, which reached Isfahan in 1673.

Tatars of Kapshak; and the island of Kishme, in the Persian Gulf, was seized by the Dutch. No attempt was made by the pusillanimous monarch to repel or to punish these aggressions; and the power and spirit of the nation were evidently on the decline. The first twenty years of Sultan Hussein, his son and successor, passed in that deep calm which often precedes a storm. Eunuchs and moollahs filled all the stations of power and dignity; the Sooffees and all other sectaries were persecuted at the instigation of intolerant priests; and it was, perhaps, Sir John Malcolm remarks, one of the most dangerous symptoms of the condition of the nation, that the conduct of its weak and superstitious monarch provoked neither opposition nor revolt. At length, the storm which had been long collecting, burst upon this devoted nation. While the Soonee tribes of Kourdistan, growing bolder through impunity, ravaged the north-western provinces to the very walls of Isfahan, and the Arabs of Muscat made themselves masters of the islands in the Gulf, the Affghans of Herat and Candahar, in league with the Uzbegs, invaded, at different points, the eastern provinces of Kerman and Khorasan. The general gloom which these misfortunes spread over the kingdom, was deepened by earthquakes and meteorological appearances, which were converted by superstition into portents and symbols of the Divine wrath.*

The last of the Suffees had not the poor consolation of being overthrown by an illustrious or powerful enemy. The Affghan army by which, in 1722, the

* In 1721, Tabriz was completely destroyed by an earthquake, in which nearly 80,000 persons are supposed to have perished. During ten days, the sun was veiled, and the horizon assumed a red or bloody colour. The clouds being denser than usual, the sun continued to have a blood-red appearance for nearly two months.

capital was invested and taken, is said not to have amounted to 20,000 men, and they were wholly unprovided with artillery. Yet, by this insignificant force, a Persian army with a train of twenty-four pieces of cannon, was defeated under the walls of Isfahan. Unable to reduce the city by assault, the Affghan invaders laid waste the fertile country in its vicinity; and the lapse of a century has not repaired the ruin which his barbarous policy effected by the toils of his army for more than a month. Broken canals, sterile fields, and mounds of ruins, still attest the zeal and success with which they laboured in this work of destruction. The famine upon which the invader calculated, soon commenced; and during a cruelly protracted negotiation for the surrender of the city, its horrors deepened, till, every loathsome article of food beginning to fail, the last dreadful and unnatural resource was adopted, of devouring human flesh.* In a climate less pure, the air must soon have become infected by the numbers of unburied corpses; but, although the waters of the Zeindeh-rood were so contaminated as to be hardly drinkable, no contagion appeared. The capital and the empire might have been saved by a vigorous sally; but the people in vain demanded to be led against the enemy. The infatuated monarch listened only to the artful counsels of a traitor. At length, on the 22nd of October, 1722, after taking a solemn leave of his subjects, Hussein

* Towards the end of August, (the siege lasted from March till the close of October,) a horse's carcase sold for one thousand crowns. Dogs, though esteemed unclean, were greedily devoured as long as they were to be obtained. The leaves and bark of trees and leather afforded a partial supply. At last, "the citizens slew each other, and parents murdered their children to furnish the horrid meal." All who tried to escape, were massacred by the Affghans.—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 641.

signed a capitulation, by which he resigned his crown to Mahmoud the Affghan; and he did homage in person, with all his nobles, to the Affghan sovereign of Persia.

The measures which Mahmoud adopted at the commencement of his reign, were politic and conciliatory. His first care was to relieve the inhabitants from famine; his next object, to inspire his new subjects with confidence. He received into his favour all those nobles who had maintained their fidelity to the deposed monarch, while he banished or put to death those who had proved false to their duty. The European factories were confirmed in all their privileges; and Christians of all nations were allowed the public performance of their religious rites. But this fair prospect was soon clouded. The difficulties of his situation proved too great for the virtue or courage of Mahmoud, who soon found it to be more easy to conquer than to reign. He stood amid the wreck of a mighty empire, which had fallen at his touch, "trembling at his own success, and alarmed at the magnitude of the ruins with which he saw himself surrounded." The measures to which he had recourse to secure himself on the throne, were cowardly and savage almost beyond a parallel. The horrors of the siege were but a prelude to the bloody tragedy which was to follow, the different acts of which were, the murder of three hundred nobles with all their male children; the destruction of three thousand guards whom he had taken into pay; the massacre of every Persian who had been in the service of the former government;* the plunder of European and other

* Mahmoud's object was to reduce the number of his enemies by a system of extermination; and after a massacre of fifteen days, a very small proportion of male adults were left in the depopulated

foreigners; and the murder of thirty-nine princes of the blood. Such atrocious and impolitic cruelties betrayed a mind distracted with apprehensions, and already under the influence of incipient insanity. By means of new levies, chiefly Kourds, Mahmoud proceeded to make himself master of some of the principal cities of Irak, in almost all of which a part of the inhabitants were massacred. Shiraz was taken by the Affghans in April 1724, after a blockade of eight months, when great numbers were slain; but the sword did not destroy so many as had already perished from famine. In the mean time, an Ottoman army, taking advantage of the defenceless state of the country, had made themselves masters of Kourdistan and great part of Adjerbijan; while the Russians, under Peter the Great, had invaded the Caspian provinces, and taken possession of Derbund and Bakou, and the greater part of Ghilan.* To add to the embarrassment of Mahmoud, mutinous clamours were excited in his own army, by the failure of an attack upon the city of Yezd. It was under these circumstances that, in the hope of propitiating the Divine favour, the dis-

capital. Such was the cowardly despondency to which misery had reduced the whole population, that it was common, we are told, to see a single Affghan leading three or four Persians to execution; and not an example occurred of the victims even struggling with their fate.—HANWAY'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 190.

The conduct of the brave inhabitants of Tabriz deserves honourable mention. Though part of their city was in ruins from an earthquake, the Pasha of Van, at the head of 24,000 Turks, was astonished to find himself opposed by its inhabitants, who, barricadoing the streets, repeatedly repulsed the assailants with great loss. At length, the besieging army being re-inforced, they consented, after a desperate resistance, to capitulate, on condition of being permitted to retire to Ardebil. Nearly 30,000 men had fallen in the siege, and they left the conquerors a city without an inhabitant, which had been dearly purchased by the loss of more than 20,000 Turkish troops.

tracted monarch had recourse to the extraordinary expedient of undergoing a severe penance, which seems to have completed the overthrow of his reason. * During a fortnight, he remained self-immured in a dark vault, taking scarcely any sustenance; and when he emerged again into light, he was reduced to the lowest state of nervous weakness, starting at the approach of his best friends. Soon afterwards, he was seized with madness in its most outrageous form, in the paroxysms of which, according to some accounts, he not only tore off his own flesh, but devoured it. The prayers of the Armenian clergy were offered upon the head of the royal maniac; but the malady increased; and at length his mother, seeing his situation hopeless, directed that he should be smothered, to put an end to his miserable existence.

Ashraff, the cousin of Mahmoud, succeeded to the sovereignty in April 1725. He commenced his reign by cutting off some of the bravest leaders of his own tribe, whose ambition he dreaded more than the resentment of the natives; and the few Persian nobles who remained at Isfahan, shared the same fate, on the pretext that they were in correspondence with Tamasp, the son of the deposed monarch, Sultan Hussein. That prince had made his escape from Isfahan during the siege, but was unable to effect any diversion in favour of his father: he now assumed the title and state of royalty, and maintained in Mazan-

* "The usage of *Tápassá*, or abstraction of the soul from the contemplation of all sublunary objects till it becomes absorbed in the Divinity, has spread from India over all the nations of Asia; and the Persian sooffee, the Mahomedan faquir, and the Hindoo joghee or sunnasee, vie with each other in efforts to subdue nature by rigid austerities....This superstition is common with the Affghans."—MALCOLM, vol. ii. p. 56.

deran a feeble struggle for the empire. He had endeavoured at different periods to negotiate with both the Russian and the Turkish courts; and at length, a treaty was concluded with the Czar, by which the Persian prince agreed to cede all the provinces bordering upon the Caspian, on being placed by the Russian armies on the throne of his ancestors. In the partition treaty which was concluded, in 1725, between the powers of Russia and Turkey,* the pretensions of Shah Tamasp were, however, so little respected, that, in case of his refusing to accede to the terms of that treaty, another prince was to be set on the throne of Persia. But all these arrangements were precluded and annulled by unexpected events. Ashraff, at the commencement of his career, discovered the most consummate ability, worthy of a better fate. He represented to the Turkish leaders, that they had engaged in an unlawful war against an orthodox Soonee monarch for the purpose of restoring a heretic dynasty; and he seconded this argument so powerfully, by defeating their armies in repeated encounters, and then by his wise moderation in sending back all the prisoners he had taken, that the Porte found itself compelled to conclude a peace with the Affghan sovereign, and to acknowledge his title to the throne of Persia, on condition of retaining their conquests. But scarcely had he begun to enjoy his good fortune, when his alarms were wakened by intelligence, that Shah Tamasp, having been joined by Nadir Kooli, a powerful chieftain of high reputation,

* The French ambassador at the Porte had the merit of negotiating this treaty between the Courts of Petersburgh and Constantinople, which was ratified by both sovereigns. It gave Russia all the provinces on the Caspian to the confiux of the Kur and the Araxes.

had entered Khorasan; that both Mushed and Herat were reduced; and that the fall of those cities had been followed by the submission of nearly the whole province.

Ashraff, who had hitherto beheld the exertions of this prince with indifference, now hastened to avert the impending danger by attacking the foe before he drew near the capital. The armies met near the town of Dâmghân, and the Affghans sustained a complete defeat, which was followed by a precipitate flight. In a second desperate engagement, which took place six weeks after, about 40 miles N. of Isfahan, the Affghans left 4000 of their bravest men on the field of battle. The remorseless Ashraff, on abandoning a capital which he found himself unable to defend, stained his hands with the blood of the unfortunate Shah Hussein, who still survived his misfortunes. For this act of vindictive cruelty, it is difficult to assign even the pretext of policy. Shah Tamasp, who arrived in Isfahan soon after its evacuation by the Affghans, entered his capital amid the acclamations of the people; but he is said to have burst into tears as he walked through the solitary and defaced halls of his ancestors.* Ashraff had led off his forces towards Shiraz, carrying with him all the ladies of the royal family of Persia, together with all the spoil and treasure he could collect. He was pursued by Nadir

* Hanway mentions a very touching incident. "As soon as the king entered the haram, an old woman threw her arms about his neck in transports of joy. As he knew that Ashraff had carried away his sisters and other relations, he was the more surprised to find this person to be his mother. This lady had, ever since the invasion of the Affghans, disguised herself in the habit of a slave, and submitted to all the offices of drudgery which are ordinarily imposed on persons in that situation."—HANWAY'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 278.

Kouli, who again defeated the dispirited Affghans near Persepolis. The chiefs had already agreed to purchase their own safety by giving up their monarch to his mercy, when Ashraff made his escape with two hundred followers. He attempted to reach his native plains by the route of Seistan, but the lawless tribes of Beloochistan intercepted his retreat in every direction. After escaping numberless dangers, he was discovered wandering in the desert with only two attendants, and fell by the ignoble hand of a Belooche, who sent his head to Shah Tamasp.

The miseries endured by the greater part of the Affghans, and by some of the principal chiefs, were only more protracted: few of them escaped death, and scarcely any returned to their native country. They either perished from want or fatigue in the desert, or were taken and sold as slaves.* For seven years, a small army of foreigners, in the midst of a great nation, had held the mass of the population in abject subjection. Within that short period, nearly a million of the inhabitants had perished, the finest provinces had been converted into deserts, and the proudest edifices were levelled with the dust. The charm was at length dissolved by the daring spirit of Nadir Kouli; and their power, which had no foundation but in the broken spirit and pusillanimous fears of the people they oppressed, passed away like a pestilent exhalation.

The total destruction of the Affghans, however, instead of establishing Tamasp on the throne, proved

* A large division reached the coast, and proceeded to Lâhsa, on the Arabian shore, where they were all put to death by the governor. Several years after, a nephew of Ashraff and an Affghan officer who had been governor of Lar, were water-carriers in the town of Muscat.

only the prelude to the extinction of the little power he had before enjoyed. While his victorious general was employed in quelling a rebellion of the Affghans in Khorasan, the weak monarch had ventured to place himself at the head of his army, and had lost in one month to the Turks, all that the genius and valour of Nadir had gained from them in the preceding campaign. To crown these disasters, he had agreed to a disgraceful peace, by which he ceded the whole country beyond the Araxes, and five districts of the province of Kermanshah. Nadir, on receiving accounts of these proceedings, was filled with indignation; and he immediately issued a proclamation, denouncing the treaty to be contrary to the will of Heaven. He despatched an envoy to Constantinople, charged with this simple message: "Restore the provinces, or prepare for war." He then marched to Isfahan, and after upbraiding Tamasp with his conduct in making peace with Turkey, invited him, under the mask of a pretended reconciliation, to a feast, at which the unsuspecting prince was seized, and sent a prisoner to Khorasan. The son of Tamasp, an infant only eight months old, was then invested with the nominal sovereignty, under the title of Abbas III., Nadir assuming the name and power of regent of the empire.*

Nadir now commenced hostile operations against the Porte, by marching to the attack of Bagdad; but here, for the first time, he was defeated, and narrowly

* On a former occasion, Nadir had declined the title of sultan when offered him by Tamasp, but had accepted a diadem set with jewels, together with the grant of the four provinces of Khorasan, Mazanderan, Seistan, and Kerman. He had also coined money, in those provinces, in his own name, which amounted to a virtual assumption of the independent sovereignty of those parts.

escaped with life. The loss of the Persians amounted to upwards of 20,000 men, and Nadir did not reassemble the whole of his dispersed forces till he reached the plains of Hamadan, distant more than 200 miles from the field of action. Upon no occasion did the character of this extraordinary man appear to more advantage. Instead of reproaching his soldiers, he loaded them with praises and favours, remunerated them for their losses, and rendered them, by this conduct, more than ever attached to his person. In less than three months, he descended again into the plains of Bagdad with an army more numerous than the first, overthrew the Turkish forces, and concluded a treaty with the pasha; he then crossed the Araxes, and, after a decisive action, recovered the disputed provinces. The Porte was glad to conclude a peace, which settled the boundaries of the Turkish and Persian empires as they had been prior to the Affghan invasion. On his return from this successful expedition, the opportune death of the infant monarch presented to Nadir a vacant throne. At the great festival of Nouroze, A.D. 1736, on the plains of Mogam, Nadir was requested by the assembled nobles to accept the crown, which he affected to decline. At length, he complied with their solicitations, on condition that the Sheah schism should be abolished, and that the general concord of Mohammedans should be restored by their embracing the Soonee faith. The change was, of course, assented to, although it appears to have been by no means acceptable to the nation at large, who, after the death of Nadir Shah, again espoused their favourite heresy. Nadir's object is supposed to have been, to destroy the veneration which the Persians cherished for the Suffavean dynasty; but it is probable, that he sincerely wished, as he professed, to put

an end to the unmeaning distinction which was the source of so much animosity between the two sects, and by this means at once to conciliate the Porte, and to bind more closely together his Persian and Tatar subjects.

After passing a short time in his capital, Nadir Shah* resolved to chastise the hitherto unconquered Bukhteari tribes, who infested the surrounding country; and in the course of a month, these barbarous mountaineers were tracked and hunted from all their cliffs and glens, their chief was taken and slain, and a number of them were received into Nadir's army. His next expedition was against Candahar. While he was besieging that city, his eldest son, Rezâ Kouli, defeated the sovereign of Bulkh, and after taking that city, crossed the Oxus, and gained a signal victory over the Uzbegs. Nadir, after the fall of Candahar, made himself master of Caubul, and, crossing the Indus, rapidly advanced to Delhi, receiving the submission of almost all the governors of the provinces through which he passed. In the plain of Karnal, on the right bank of the Jumna, the feeble-minded and dissolute emperor of India, Mahomed Shah, made an attempt to arrest his progress; but, after a battle of two hours, the Hindoos were completely defeated with a loss of

* *Nadir* signifies, both in Turkish and in Persic, wonderful, and is an epithet applied by the Moslems to the Deity, as we say the Almighty. *Kouli* signifies slave, and Nadir's original name, therefore, might be translated, Slave of the Wonderful, *i.e.*, Servant of the Most High. But Kouli was his patronymic, his father being named Imam Kouli. When promoted by Shah Tamasp, (or, as Hanway writes it, Tæhmas,) to the dignity of a Khan, Nadir took the name of that monarch, (one of the highest dignities, according to Hanway, that can be bestowed by the monarchs of Persia,) and was then called Tamasp Kooli Khan. Afterwards, on ascending the throne, he re-assumed his name Nadir, (dropping the family name Kouli,) with the addition of Shah.

20,000 slain, and more than as many prisoners. An immense treasure fell into the hands of the victor, and the emperor soon after surrendered himself to Nadir Shah, who treated him with the highest honours, and generously restored to him the crown.

Nadir entered Delhi in March 1739, and the strict discipline which his troops preserved, restored general confidence; but, on the third night, a report that Nadir was dead, emboldened the inhabitants to rise upon the Persian troops, and all that were divided into small parties, were murdered. Nadir, in attempting to quell the tumult, was fired at; and not till then, he laid aside his moderation, and ordered a general massacre. Eight thousand persons had fallen in the indiscriminate carnage, when, at the intercession of the emperor, Nadir gave orders that the massacre should cease. The gloom and consternation which this transaction spread over the dissolute capital, soon gave way to the festivities which attended the nuptials of Nadir's second son and the daughter of the emperor; and when, at the end of two months, Nadir prepared to return to his dominions, numbers of the inhabitants, we are told, regretted the departure of the Persians.* "Never was a conquest of such magnitude made by an Asiatic prince," remarks Sir John

* The reason assigned by Nadir himself for his lenient and generous conduct towards Mahomed Shah, and recognised in the treaty of peace, was his regard for the illustrious house of Timour, of which the emperor was a lineal descendant. "We ourselves are of a Turkoman family," says Nadir in one of his letters, "and Mahomed Shah is a Turkoman, and the lineal descendant of the noble house of Gurgan." The tribe of Affshar, to which Nadir belonged, was one of the seven Turkish tribes distinguished by the name of *Kuzel-bashee*. The causes which led to his invasion of India were not groundless: the monarch had given protection to the fugitive Affghans, and had treated Nadir's complaints with contempt.

Malcolm, "with less crime on the part of the individual."

The march of Nadir from India was literally encumbered with spoil, which the lowest calculation makes to have been upwards of thirty millions sterling in value: a great part consisted of precious stones, of which Nadir was immoderately fond. He was hailed on his return by his subjects with enthusiasm, to which his having issued orders for remitting all taxes for three years, must not a little have contributed. Unwilling, however, to let his troops repose, Nadir, after passing the Indus, led them through the desert of Scind, to chastise a feudatory chief who had established himself in the province of Sewee or Seree. After plundering his capital, and receiving his submission, Nadir marched to Herat, where he celebrated his triumphant return by a series of public entertainments and festivities, at which he made a proud display of his immense spoils. From Herat, he moved towards Bulkh, and crossing the Oxus, had advanced by rapid marches to within twelve miles of Bokharah, when the submission of the Uzbeg sovereign propitiated the wrath of the monarch he had defied; and Nadir replaced him on the throne, on condition that the Oxus should remain the boundary of the two empires. Thence, turning his arms against the ruler of Khaurizm, he invaded that country, defeated the army which encountered him, and putting to death the captive monarch, conferred his territories on a cousin of the sovereign of Bokharah. On his return to Khorasan; he passed three months at Mushed, which he had made his capital; and during that time, the city was made the scene of constant festivities. It seemed that the most glorious days of Persia were returned, under the sway of a conqueror, who, within

five years, had not only rescued the country from a foreign yoke, but had extended the limits of the empire to the Oxus, the Indus, the Caspian, and the Tigris.

Hitherto, Nadir Shah had exercised his power with comparative moderation, and had even displayed on several occasions great magnanimity. But shortly after, an event occurred, which seemed to produce a dreadful change in his disposition and character. While marching through one of the forests of Mazanderan, in an expedition against the Lesghees, a ball from a concealed assassin wounded him in the hand, and killed his horse. His suspicions fell upon his eldest son, the brave Reza Kouli, and those suspicions being inflamed by the insidious misrepresentations of designing courtiers, in a moment of rage he ordered the prince to be deprived of sight. "Your crimes have forced me to this dreadful measure," said the unhappy father. "It is not my eyes you have put out," replied Reza Kouli, "but those of Persia." The prophetic truth of this answer sank deep into the mind of Nadir, who, from that moment, a prey to self-reproach and gloomy anticipations, "never knew happiness, nor desired that others should enjoy it." Fifty noblemen who had witnessed the execution of his mandate, were put to death on the pretext that they should have offered their lives as sacrifices to save the eyes of a prince who was the glory of his country.* All his future actions were those of an

* Hanway appears satisfied that the assassin was really employed by Reza Kouli, whose character appears to have been violent, oppressive, and daring. During Nadir's absence in India, a report prevailed that he was slain; on which, Reza Kouli, assuming regal authority, put to death the unhappy Tamasp, with all his family, who were prisoners at Sebsawar.—HANWAY'S *Trav.*, vol. ii. pp.

avaricious and gloomy despot; and when these had the natural effect of exciting insurrection in all quarters, which was artfully fomented by the Sheah priests, the violence of Nadir rose to outrageous fury. The inhabitants of whole cities were massacred by his orders; and in the language of a native historian, "men left their abodes, and took up their habitations in caverns and deserts, in the hope of escaping his savage ferocity." We are told, that while on his march to subdue one of his nephews who had rebelled in Seistan, he proposed to put to death every Persian in his army. His mind was evidently in a state of frenzy which amounted to insanity. Some of his principal officers, having learned that their names were in the list of proscribed victims, resolved to save themselves by assassinating the tyrant; and among those to whom the execution of the plot was entrusted were, Mahomed Ali Khan, a chief of his own tribe of Affshar, and Salah Beg, the captain of his guards. Nadir had slain two of the meaner assassins in the scuffle, when a blow from Salah Beg deprived him of life, A.D. 1747, at the age of sixty-one, and in the twelfth year of his reign.

"The character of this wonderful man," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "is, perhaps, exhibited in its truest colours in those impressions which the memory of his actions have left upon the minds of his countrymen. They speak of him as a deliverer and a destroyer; but, while they expatiate with pride upon his deeds of glory, they dwell with more pity than horror upon the cruel enormities which disgraced the latter years of his reign; and neither his crimes, nor

397—9. Sir John Malcolm, however, assigns strong reasons for concurring in the testimonies borne to the innocence of Reza Kouli, as regards the attempt on Nadir's life.

the attempt he made to abolish their religion, have subdued their gratitude and veneration for the hero, who revived in the breasts of his degraded countrymen a sense of their former fame, and restored Persia to her independence as a nation."

"In the beginning of his reign," Hanway remarks, "Nadir dispensed justice with an equal hand, and affected the name of a just king." Never was a usurpation more completely justified by the exigencies of the country, and by the patriotic services of the individual whom the unanimous voice of the nation recognised as their deliverer. Few among Asiatic sovereigns (with whom alone it is fair to compare him) ever reigned by a more valid title, or ruled at first with greater moderation. Brave, temperate, indefatigable, magnanimous, he united in his character all the elements of greatness; and his crimes must be in part attributed to the turbulent and perfidious character of the nation he had to govern.* "Had the people been less vicious," remarks Hanway, "the vices of the usurper could not have been so destructive." On the subject of religion, Nadir is supposed to have had no fixed sentiments. His penetration led him to despise the superstition and fanaticism of the Persians; † and he

* An arrow was once shot into his quarters, with a label affixed, on which was written, "If thou art a king, cherish and protect thy people; if a prophet, shew us the path of salvation; if a god, be merciful to thy creatures." Copies of this paper were distributed throughout the camp, with the following answer annexed: "I am neither a king, to protect my subjects, a prophet, to teach the way of salvation, nor a god, to exercise the attribute of mercy; but I am he whom the Almighty has sent in his wrath, to chastise a world of sinners." Hanway gives the answer with a trifling variation. (Vol. ii. p. 442.)

† Nadir took frequent occasion to mention with contempt the feats of Aly, arraigning his conduct as a commander. "And why," he would say to the Persians, "instead of praying to Aly, do you not call on God?"—HANWAY, vol. ii. p. 403.

charged the priests, not without reason, with having absorbed the revenues and caused the decline of the empire. He is said to have been a predestinarian. Before a battle, it was his constant custom to prostrate himself for the space of a minute, and offer an ejaculatory prayer; this being, we are told, the chief, if not the sole act of religion, of which he gave any demonstration.* He was not altogether destitute, however, of a liberal curiosity on the subject. Soon after his return from India, he directed a translation of the four Evangelists to be made into Persic. Unhappily, it was entrusted to incompetent hands;† and when extracts from this imperfect version were read to him, he is said to have amused himself and his hearers with ludicrous remarks on the supposed discrepancies in the several accounts given by the evangelists, and on the mysteries of the Christian faith. The tenets of the Jews and the traditions of the Mohammedans were treated with the same freedom; and Nadir broke up the motley assembly of priests, rabbies, and moollahs, by observing, that he must remain under the same difficulty that he was in before, but that, if it pleased God to spare his health,

* Hanway, vol. ii. p. 446.

† The affair was put under the direction of his secretary, Meerza Mehdy, (the author of the life of Nadir Shah, translated by Sir W. Jones, and chiefly followed by Sir John Malcolm,) who confided the translation to some Armenian and Romish ecclesiastics. Only one Romish priest, born in Persia, was sufficiently a master of the language to enter upon a task of so critical a nature; and few of the Armenians, though natives, understood the Persic fundamentally. Father Des Vignes, a French missionary, was also employed in this work, in which he made use of the Vulgate. The translation, which was finished and copied in six months, was "dressed up with all the glosses which the fables and perplexities of the Khoran could warrant: their chief guide was an ancient Arabic and Persian translation."—HANWAY, vol. ii. p. 404.

he would make a religion much better than any which mankind yet possessed. He then dismissed the translators with some trifling presents. Whatever levity and precipitation he discovered on this occasion, he took the right method to judge for himself of the Christian religion by consulting its sacred writings; and one must regret that his orders were not executed under happier auspices.

The chiefs who had murdered Nadir, agreed to place his nephew Aly upon the throne. His first act was to circulate a proclamation, taking to himself the credit of having authorized the assassination of the tyrant, with a view to restore tranquillity to the nation, and remitting the revenues of the current year, as well as all extraordinary taxes for the following two years, in consideration of the dreadful extortions of his predecessor. His next act was to put to death the unfortunate Reza Kouli and thirteen of the sons and grandsons of Nadir; Shah Rokh, then fourteen years of age, being the only one of his house that was spared. Aly assumed the title of Adil Shah, "the just king;" and he endeavoured to secure popularity by dispensing, with a prodigal hand, the wealth amassed by his uncle. But his reign was short and inglorious. He was defeated, taken, and deprived of sight by his brother Ibrahim Khan, to whom he had intrusted the government of Irak. His reign was still shorter: he was deposed and murdered by his own troops; and Adil Shah was also put to death. Shah Rokh was then placed on the throne; but, in the short space of two years, he was deposed and deprived of sight, again restored by his victorious general, a second time deposed and imprisoned, and finally reinstated by the new king of the Affghans, as prince

of Khorasan. In the mean time, almost every provincial governor declared himself independent; * and during ten years, several little monarchies rose and fell in succession, till Kurreem Khan Zund was at length left without a competition for empire.

This excellent prince, "though born in an inferior rank, obtained power without crime, and exercised it with a moderation as singular as his humanity and justice." He was originally a chief of the small tribe of Zund, which claimed a high rank among the native tribes of the country, and had joined the standard of a Bukhteari chieftain, named Ali Murdan Khan, who, occupying Isfahan, placed on the throne a pageant, under the title of Shah Ismail, a nephew of Sultan Hussein. The assassination of that chief, together with the defeat of the ruler of Adjerbijan, and of his still more powerful rival, Mahomed Hussein Khan, who had possessed himself of Mazanderan, rendered Kurreem Khan the undisputed master of the whole of western Persia. Although he deemed it prudent to confine the pageant to whom Ali Murdan Khan had given the name of king, he styled himself only *Vakeel*, or lieutenant of the kingdom. Having firmly established his authority, he continued to display the same moderation in the exercise of his power that he had shewn in the attainment of it. During the latter years of his reign, the country enjoyed general peace and security. Under his auspices, agriculture and commerce had revived, and though himself illiterate, his court was the resort of learned men, to whom he

* Asterabad and Mazanderan were in the possession of Mohamed Hussein Khan Kujur, grandfather to the present sovereign of Persia; Adjerbijan was under the rule of an Affghan; and Ghilan had declared its independence.

was a liberal patron. The Armenians were greatly favoured by this enlightened ruler, and enjoyed as much consideration as he was able to give them. Shiraz, which he made his capital, and which he greatly improved and ornamented, more especially flourished in his reign. Kurreem Khan died at an advanced age (nearly eighty), A.D. 1779, after having ruled Persia for twenty-six years, regretted by all his subjects.

"The character of this prince," says Sir John Malcolm, "has few of the common features of a despotic monarch. He had ambition; but it was free from the turbulence which almost always mixes with that passion. He preserved, equally amid scenes of violence and of repose, an undisturbed temper; and was, through life, distinguished by a manly simplicity of mind which kept him as remote from the pomps and vanities of his high rank, as from that affectation which endeavours to conceal its pride under the garb of humility. This prince, though humane, sometimes punished severely; and he employed others of a disposition very different from his own,† to spread terror among his enemies and rebellious subjects; but his clemency was hardly ever refused to a fallen or repentant foe.‡.....He was possessed of

* He built or repaired the tombs of Sadi and Hafiz, and endowed them with lands.

† In particular, his brother Zuckee Khan, the terror inspired by whose cruelties was certainly instrumental in preserving the general tranquillity.

‡ Azâd Khan, the governor of Adjerbijan, and Futteh Ali Khan, who had also fought against Kurreem, threw themselves on his clemency, after their defeat, and were both pardoned. The former was promoted to a high rank, and became a warm and attached friend of his former rival. Zuckee Khan, also, at one time openly rebelled, and was compelled to throw himself on the clemency of his brother, who restored him to employment.

that noble courage which dares to pardon; and the generous confidence with which he treated those whom he forgave, appears to have almost always attached them to his person. The virtues of this prince had nothing of a romantic character: they were, like all his other qualities, plain and intrinsic. He was reputed pious, and was exact in the performance of his religious duties; but his religion was not austere. His natural disposition was, indeed, gay and cheerful; and he continued to the last to enjoy the pleasures of this world, and anxiously desired that others should do the same. His love of pleasure never, however, degenerated into intemperance, nor was he ever unfitted by indulgence for the active performance of his duties as a sovereign..... Though his rule was always firm, and at times harsh, his general manner to the meanest of his subjects, was familiar and kind. He lived happily, and his death was that of a father, amid a family whom he had cherished, and by whom he was beloved. The inhabitants of Persia to this day venerate his name; and those who have risen to greatness on the destruction of the dynasty which he founded, do not withhold their tribute of applause to his goodness. These, indeed, when meaning to detract from his fame, often give him the highest possible eulogy. 'Kurreem Khan,' they say, 'was not a great king; his court was not splendid, and he made few conquests; but it must be confessed, that he was a wonderful magistrate.'" *

In Persia, the character of the reigning monarch is every thing,—the foundation of law, the bond of security. The successors of Kurreem Khan forfeited, by

* Malcolm, vol. ii. p. 143—152.

their crimes, the power which he had obtained by his virtues. The four sons who survived him, became in turn the tools and victims of the rival chiefs who contended with each other for a crown which was their inheritance. The moment Kurreem Khan died, the reins of government were seized by his ferocious brother, Zuckee Khan, who, to cover his usurpation, declared the second and third sons of the deceased monarch, his joint successors; but his cruelties raised the indignation even of his own body-guard, by whom he was assassinated at Yezdikhaust. Aboul Futteh Khan, the second son of Kurreem,* was then proclaimed king, and he entered Shiraz amid the acclamations of the people; but jealous, weak, and dissolute, he proved incapable of maintaining his authority, and another uncle, Sadûk Khan, deprived him of his throne and his eyes. Sadûk Khan was, in his turn, dispossessed and put to death, by his nephew and step-son, Aly Moorad Khan, who, after a brief and troubled reign of four years, sank under the aggravation of a severe illness, occasioned by fatigue, while on his march to subdue the revolt of Jaaffer Khan, the son of Sadûk. That prince immediately ascended the throne, which he filled for nearly three years, when he was poisoned at the instigation of two of his nobles whom he had imprisoned. He was succeeded by his son, Lootf Ali Khan. This brave young prince was indebted for his elevation to Hajee Ibrahim, the first magistrate of Fars; a man of singular wisdom and integrity, and highly venerated. No event could

* The eldest son was never raised even to nominal power; he was deprived of his sight by his cousin, Akbar Khan, and his third brother shared the same fate. The second son was also blinded on being deposed; the fourth had the good fortune to die before his father; and a fifth was mutilated by Akbar Khan.

appear more propitious to the country, or more likely to restore the fallen fortunes of the Zund family. Lootf Ali, whose appearance was singularly adapted to command admiration, already ranked, though not twenty years of age, among the bravest cavaliers in the country. But proud and violent, faithless and unrelenting, the slave of his passions, he soon grew jealous of the minister who had placed the crown upon his head; and the mutual distrust which ensued, rendered the fall of one party inevitable. Among the competitors for empire who had started on the death of Kurreem Khan, was Aga Mahomed Khan, of the tribe of Kujur, the son of Mahomed Hussein Khan, who had disputed the empire with Kurreem Khan himself. This able chief, having escaped from Shiraz, raised his standard in his native province of Mazanderan, and was now master of Tehran and Isfahan. He had already commenced a contest with Lootf Aly Khan, which threatened to inflict upon the country the misery of a protracted struggle; and when Hajee Ibrahim lost his confidence in the prince he had raised to the throne, and felt his own safety to be at stake, he determined upon a step which should place Persia again under one master.*

When Lootf Aly Khan had advanced some marches on his way to Isfahan, Hajee Ibrahim, by the aid of a small corps of citizens, seized the two noblemen who had been left in charge of the garrison and citadel of Shiraz, and made himself without bloodshed master of the city. On receiving information of what was pass-

* "None," said this extraordinary man to Sir John Malcolm many years after, "except some plundering soldiers, cared whether a Zund or a Kujur was upon the throne; but all desired that Persia should be great and powerful, and enjoy internal tranquillity."

ing, Lootf Aly hastily returned with a few followers, (for the greater part of the army shewed signs of insubordination,) and encamped under the walls. The families of those soldiers had been placed by the prince's jealous policy in the capital; and now when Hajee Ibrahim called upon them to return to their homes as they valued the safety of those they loved, the appeal had full effect, and their deserted leader was compelled to flee. He succeeded, however, in raising some fresh troops, and in the following year, he once more appeared before Shiraz, and commenced a blockade of the city. The unsubdued spirit and daring valour which he displayed, raised the hopes of his friends, and gained him many followers. It is probable, indeed, that he would have recovered his capital, had he not had to contend with a man of Hajee Ibrahim's firm and sagacious character, who anticipated the danger, and took timely measures to avert it. After the revolt of the army had led to the desertion of their leader, the troops had returned in a very disorderly manner to Shiraz, and their arrival had increased the number of men of the military tribes of Fars within the walls to about 12,000. The infantry or city militia, composed of shopkeepers and artificers, did not amount to a fifth part of that number; and on them only could Hajee Ibrahim rely for support in transferring the sovereignty into the hands of a Kujur. In this emergency, Hajee Ibrahim resolved upon the extraordinary expedient of disarming and expelling from Shiraz this multitude of soldiers; and he took his measures with a precaution and promptitude which eluded all suspicion.

"Having given orders to secure the streets which communicated by a back road from the place of his residence to the gateway of the city, he sent notice to

the military tribes to be ready at an appointed time to receive a donation which he meant to give them. They assembled as directed, and one hundred were admitted at a time into the interior court of his mansion. From the height of the walls which surrounded it, those who were without, could know nothing of what was passing within. The first party admitted found themselves surrounded, but were told, no injury was intended to them if they resigned their arms; which they did; and while these were given to citizens, to increase the corps upon whom Hajee Ibrahim could depend, the unarmed soldiers were conducted by the back road beyond the gates of the town. The whole were disarmed, and party after party joined their astonished companions under the walls. The measure was carried into execution without confusion and without bloodshed. When the whole body were expelled, they were directed to proceed to some villages in the vicinity. Being deprived of the power of resistance, they were forced to obey. Some of them joined Lootf Aly Khan, and others remained at their places of destination, watching the progress of events."

The sequel was attended by circumstances not less romantic in their character. Two detachments successively sent by Aga Mahomed to the support of Hajee Ibrahim, were attacked and defeated by the brave Lootf Aly Khan, and his enemy was under the necessity of advancing in person with an overwhelming force, exceeding that of the prince in the proportion of nearly a hundred to one. Yet, still undismayed, Lootf Aly Khan determined to make one desperate struggle for the crown. He surprised and defeated the advanced guard, and pursuing the fugitives to the camp, attacked, with a band of a few hundred men,

an army of more than thirty thousand. Favoured by the darkness of the night and the terror which his name inspired, he had dispersed almost the whole of the enemy, and was about to enter the tent of the Kujur chief, when he was stopped by receiving the assurance from one of his followers, that Aga Mahomed was among the fugitives. Deceived by this report, he directed his men to halt, and not to enter the royal pavilion, the treasures of which he wished to reserve to himself; and they dispersed to plunder in other directions. But, when morning dawned, he heard with dismay the public crier calling to prayers, which announced to all that remained of Aga Mahomed's army, that their sovereign was still at his post. He had never left it, but, with singular fortitude, had remained at his quarters, surrounded by some of his guards, expecting, from the small number of the assailants, the probable issue; and he had given orders to the crier to announce morning prayers in the usual manner, to give both his own army and the enemy to know that he was undisturbed by all that had passed. Lootf Aly Khan, awakened from his dream of victory, found himself compelled to flee with the utmost speed, to save himself from being made prisoner.

From this time, Aga Mahomed may be regarded as the actual sovereign of Persia.* Lootf Aly Khan, whose mind was still unsubdued, made good his escape, first to Kerman, and thence to Khorasan. After a variety of fortune, he obtained a sufficient number of adherents to take by assault the city of Kerman, where he once more assumed the style of a sovereign; but this was the last of his glorious

* That is, of Irak, Fars, Kerman, Asterabad, Mazanderan, and Ghilan.

achievements. Aga Mahomed hastened with all the forces he could collect, to crush a foe who seemed to rise with renewed energy from every fall; and he invested the city. The siege had lasted four months, when treachery opened the gates of the citadel to the enemy. Lootf Aly Khan, though beset on all sides, maintained the contest in the town during three hours, till, favoured by night, he crossed the ditch by a bridge of planks, and succeeded, with three attendants, in breaking through the enemy's lines, and making his escape. When, at day-break, Aga Mahomed found that "the lion had burst his toils," his rage knew no bounds, and he wreaked his vengeance upon the innocent inhabitants. The mind sickens at the recital of such horrors. Every male adult was either slain or deprived of sight; and the executioners grew weary with the work of blood, before the execrable cruelty of their monarch was satiated. Nearly 20,000 women and children were granted as slaves to his soldiers.* Lootf Aly Khan was shortly afterwards betrayed into the hands of his merciless enemy, who, after treating him with the most brutal indignities, tore out his eyes, and sent him a prisoner to Tehraun, where he was afterwards put to death. Such was the fate of the last prince of the Zund dynasty, whose valour and heroism might entitle him to rank with the Roostum of Persian romance; and almost every person of the tribe, who could be suspected of forming the most remote pretensions to the throne, was either put to death or deprived of sight by the cruel caution of their implacable enemy. Nor could this satisfy his barbarous revenge, which sought to vent itself on the

* The number of those who were deprived of their eyes, is said to have been 70,000, and this was exceeded by the number of those massacred.

ashes of the dead. He ordered the bones of the virtuous Kurreem Khan to be dug up, and removed to Tehraun, where, together with those of Nadir Shah, they were deposited at the entrance of the palace, that he might enjoy the gratification of every day trampling upon the graves of the two principal foes of his family. In this instance, the policy which usually regulated the actions of Aga Mahomed Khan, and which enabled him either to dissemble or, in some cases, to renounce his resentments, gave way to a callous malignity of mind alike unmanly and disgusting.

One almost resents the attempt to do justice to the talents and better qualities of such a man: yet, to his strong and merciless rule, combined with wise and steady policy, his rigid administration of justice, and his penetrating judgement, Persia was indebted for the restoration of internal tranquillity, and the revival of agriculture and commerce. The leading events of his reign, were, his subjugation of Georgia * and Khorasan. The sack of Teflis, the capital of Georgia, in 1795, was attended by every brutal excess of cruelty that national hatred, inflamed by bigotry and infernal policy, could dictate. Youth and beauty were alone spared in the general massacre, to become the slaves of the conquerors. The churches were levelled with the ground, and every priest that could be found, was put to death; fifteen thousand captives, besides ten thousand from other towns and districts, were led into bondage; and the Persian army marched back laden with spoil.

* Georgia was at this time under the government of the aged prince Heraclius, who, taking advantage of the distracted state of Persia after the death of Kurreem Khan, had, by a formal act, renounced his dependence upon Persia, and placed himself under the protection of the Russian Empress.

In the following year, Aga Mahomed marched to Mushed, receiving the submission of all the petty chiefs in his route. His professed object was to pay his devotions at the tomb of the holy Imaum Reza, and to punish those who had sacrilegiously plundered it of its wealth. His real motives were, to establish his power over Khorasan, to check the inroads of the Turkomans, and to possess himself of the wealth which still appertained to the descendants of Nadir. As the Persian army drew near the city, the unfortunate Shah Rokh went forth to meet its leader, who, after receiving the submission of the sightless monarch, walked on foot, attended by all his nobles, to the Imaum's tomb. This farce performed, he demanded of Shah Rokh the precious stones which he was known to possess, but which he had concealed from even his sons. In vain the unhappy old monarch persisted in denying with the most solemn oaths, that he possessed them. Torture in all its forms was applied, and discoveries, it is said, kept pace with the pains inflicted upon him. But not till he was nearly expiring under his agonies,* would he reveal the ruby which had decorated the crown of Aurungzebe, and which was the chief object of the search. Aga Mahomed then directed that the torture should cease, accusing the prince of being himself the author of the miseries he had suffered. He was then ordered to be conveyed with his whole family to Mazanderan; but the unhappy grandson of Nadir died a few days after leaving Mushed, in consequence of the tortures inflicted upon him, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

Aga Mahomed was preparing to invade the territo-

* A circle of paste was put upon his head, and boiling lead was poured into it.

ries of the ruler of Bokharah, the famous Beggee Jaun, when he was recalled by the intelligence that the Russians had crossed the Araxes, and were threatening Adjerbijan. The death of the Empress Catherine in November 1796, relieved Persia from the impending danger; but, notwithstanding the recal of the invading army by her successor, Aga Mahomed, early in the ensuing spring, determined again to visit Georgia. He had advanced as far as Sheshâh, when his career was arrested by the hand of violence. Two menial attendants, whom he had sentenced to death for a trivial offence, entered his tent while he was asleep, and with their poniards put an end to the existence of one of the ablest and most cruel tyrants that ever ruled in Persia.*

"This prince," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "had suffered, in the early part of his life, the most cruel adversity,† and his future conduct seems to have

* It is said, that his powers of mind had begun to fail him, and reports were spread that he was deranged. He was subject to epileptic fits, and these had probably weakened his intellect.

† When between five and six years of age, he was seized by order of Adil Shah, and emasculated. In consequence of this barbarous treatment, the young prince became distinguished by the title of aga (master), which is given to the principal chamberlain of the haram. His person was so slender, that at a distance he appeared like a youth of fifteen; and his beardless and shrivelled face resembled that of an aged and wrinkled woman, assuming, when clouded by displeasure, a horrible expression. Of this he was himself conscious, and could not bear to be gazed at. His callous, insensible temperament, his early intelligence and application, and his calculating and vindictive character, are not to be wondered at. Kurreem Khan used to call him Peeran-wisa, for his sagacity. His iron frame was capable of enduring any fatigue, and he had a great contempt for all luxury. Being extremely fond of hunting, he almost lived on horseback; and after a march, or when fatigued with the chase, he would seat himself on the ground, and share with his principal officers the plainest repast. One day, he was eating some of the hard black bread and sour milk which form the

taken its strongest bias from the keen recollection of his misery and his wrongs. The first passion of his mind was the love of power; the second, avarice; and the third, revenge. In all these he indulged to excess, and they administered to each other; but the latter two, strong as they were, gave way to the first, whenever they came in collision. His knowledge of the character and feelings of others was wonderful; and it is to this knowledge, and his talent of concealing from them all the secret purposes of his soul, that we must refer his extraordinary success in subduing his enemies. Against these, he never employed force till art had failed; and even in war, his policy effected more than his sword. His ablest and most confidential minister, when asked if Aga Mahomed Khan was personally brave, replied: 'No doubt, but still I can hardly recollect an occasion where he had an opportunity of displaying courage. That monarch's head never left work for his hand.' The first great effort of his life was to acquire power; the second was to render it permanent in his family.....This monarch, we are told, had fully persuaded himself that the means which he took to preserve the throne, were not directed to a selfish object; and he used often to exclaim, when speaking of his successor, the present monarch of Persia, 'I have shed all this blood, that the boy, Bâbâ Khan, may reign in peace.'" To his two nephews, Futteh Ali Khan, (whom he always called by the endearing name of Bâbâ, child,) and

common fare of the Persian soldier, when one of his principal ministers, seated near him, began to follow the royal example. The monarch instantly commanded him to desist. "Eat as much as you like of your rich pillaus and sweetmeats; but never," said he, "let me again see a fellow of a secretary (*meerza*) like you, touch the food of my soldiers."—MALCOLM, vol. ii. p. 311.

Hussein Kouli Khan, he always acted as a kind parent; and it was avowedly for the sake of the young prince whom he had destined for his successor, that he treacherously murdered his own half brother, the brave Jaaffer Kouli, to whom he had been chiefly indebted for his own elevation.

After the first confusion produced by the assassination of Aga Mahomed Khan had subsided, Futteh Ali Khan was proclaimed king by Hajee Ibrahim, who had till the last enjoyed, as prime minister, the confidence of the deceased monarch. A feeble effort to oppose his succession was subdued without an action, and the internal tranquillity of the empire has never since been disturbed." Owing to the comparative mildness and justice of his rule, the inhabitants of Persia have, under the reigning monarch, enjoyed a state of quiet and prosperity which in this devoted country had long been unknown. With respect to the north-western frontier, Futteh Ali Shah has not been so successful in maintaining his pretensions. Georgia has become a province of Russia, and the garrisons of that nation now extend to the banks of the Araxes, and along the southern shores of the Caspian. In Khorasan, the greater part of the chiefs yield a nominal obedience and an occasional tribute. Herat is in possession of the King of Caubul, but the Persian monarch receives an annual subsidy from Mahmoud Shah, as the condition of his quiet possession. The character of the reigning monarch and of the existing government, is thus summed up by an enterprising Traveller, to whose researches in Persia modern geography is under peculiar obligations.

"Futeh Allee Shah succeeded his uncle, Aga Mahomed Khan, on the throne of Persia, in the year 1798. He was then about forty years of age. The

preceding twenty had been passed under the shadow and protection of his powerful uncle; and his earlier youth, through the mildness and tolerance of Kurreem Khan, was passed in tolerable ease.* His character, therefore, has not been formed in the school of adversity; and it was not naturally of a very marked description. For one brought up with the exercise of uncontrolled power, his dispositions are by no means bad: for a Persian monarch, he is considered as neither cruel nor disposed to injustice. He is sincere in his religious professions, a good father, temperate in his habits, seldom tasting wine and spirits; † and his life is unstained with the more disgusting debaucheries that disgrace too many of his subjects. He has no title to courage; on the contrary, he is reported to have behaved in a very questionable manner on the few occasions where he was required to face danger; neither can he lay claim to generosity. In fact, he is a man possessed of very little talent and no strength of mind; sufficiently calculated to live as a respectable private character, but quite unfit to be the king of such a country; and he could neither have succeeded to the throne nor kept his seat there, had not his powerful and crafty uncle worked for him, removing, by force or guile, every individual likely to give him

* "It is related of Kurreem Khan, that when, after his successful struggle for the throne, hostages from the families of his opponents were brought him from all quarters, and among others, from the Kadjer (Kujur) tribe; Baba Khan, the present King of Persia, then quite a child, being one, the king looked at him once or twice with great interest, and at length exclaimed: 'Why have you brought that boy? I have no business with him; his head is made for a crown. Send him home to his mother.' He presented him with a khelaut, horses, and attendants, and dismissed him to Mazanderan with honour."

† The king indulges moderately in English beer by recommendation of his physicians.

trouble, and had not the surrounding countries been so circumstanced that no danger could reach him from abroad. The ruling passion and besetting sin of Futeh Allee Shah, which has proved more injurious to his country and his power than all the efforts of his enemies, is avarice, an insatiable desire of accumulating wealth....The king will stoop, for gain, to the meanest and most ludicrous shifts, or perpetrate the greatest crimes; and as all about him well know the monarch's passion, they, in their turn, use every means for accumulation, that they may be prepared to purchase favour or avert persecution by adequate presents. The king not only desires to possess treasures himself, but aims at being the sole depositary of the kingdom's wealth. He knows that the surest way to repress the turbulent dispositions of the Persian nobles, is, to keep them poor; and, in truth, he acts pretty well up to this rule; for, as he possesses the best information of the pecuniary situation of most of his subjects, so, when he learns of any considerable hoard, he takes care to cause it to change masters, in the shape of present, fine, or quit-money....In his thirst for money, his majesty has had recourse to expedients hitherto unknown to any monarch in Persia. He has disposed not only of his daughters, but of his wives, to individuals of the nobility, but of unusually inferior rank, for large considerations in money, and not always with the consent of either party.*....The presents he makes, and the *khilauts* he bestows, are contemptible. If he orders a shawl to be presented, it is generally old,

* This writer affirms, but without citing his authority, that the king himself confesses his desire for accumulating to be now unappeasable; and that one of his great delights is, to have large trays of golden coin set before him, that he may contemplate and count over his riches.

coarse, and shabby; if a dress, it is found to consist of the poorest trash, superficially covered with a flimsy coat of gold and silver of no intrinsic value.* When he can prevail on himself to part with money, he does it in sums inadequate to the most reasonable expectation. This penurious meanness has greatly tended to alienate the affections of his servants, sufficiently mercenary themselves, and to destroy every spark of zeal for his service.

"The king's personal character exactly describes that of his government: the policy he observes is narrow, short-sighted, and contemptible. He views Persia, not as his country, which he should love, protect, and improve, but as a property of which he has a lease, uncertain in its duration, and of which it behoves him to make the most he can while in his power. The throne having come into the hands of his family by conquest, he treats the whole country (except, perhaps, the seat of his own tribe in Mazunderan) like a conquered nation; and his only concern is, how to extort from them the greatest possible amount of money. So long as he thinks he succeeds in this, he cares little about laws, regulations, police, &c. He leaves these, for the most part, to the governors he appoints; and it is not until the revenue fails, or till the cry of distress becomes too great to be suppressed, that the state of a province is ever inquired into. The great object being to gather in as much, and expend as little as possible, the principle is carried to a length

* When the British envoy, Colonel Macdonald Kinnier, was introduced to his Persian majesty, in 1824, the king made *no* return for the magnificent present which he received, although he was otherwise very gracious. Such conduct in a Persian monarch is unprecedented.

which often defeats itself. There are many ways in which a small sum of money, judiciously applied, might produce a large additional revenue; but this would imply a far greater spirit of speculation and forecast than exists in Persia. Should a mine be discovered, or a canal be required to fertilize a district, the king will do nothing: individuals must run the risk, or the matter must lie dormant. And thus, many rich veins of metals are left unworked, many tracts that might be cultivated, remain waste, because no individual dares do what the king will not undertake or encourage. There are no roads nor bridges made by government; no public establishments, caravanserais, nor medressas built. Should the king desire to render his name popular or well regarded on any particular occasion, he *gives orders* that a certain sum shall be sent to such a mosque, or shrine; or he *directs* such a caravanserai, or medressa, to be repaired; but the expense seldom lights ultimately on himself. Repairs, in particular, are, for the most part, effected by the joint labour of the district, for which the labourers seldom receive much pay. Upon the same principle, all the old palaces and royal gardens, in various parts of the kingdom, are suffered to fall into decay, for want of an allowance for their maintenance and repairs. Nothing of this sort is allowed, except in those instances where his majesty makes an occasional visit; and even then, nothing beyond a superficial patching is ever performed. The only species of speculation involving outlay, which still continues to be practised in Persia, is that of commercial adventure, in which the nobles of the country not unfrequently engage, and the king himself, it is said, trades largely. But it is a mistake to suppose that merchants are entirely

exempt from the arbitrary exactions to which all others are exposed." *

This melancholy view of the present state of the country will be amply substantiated by our topographical details. The personal character of the reigning monarch is placed, however, in a somewhat more pleasing light by other travellers. "Except where money is concerned," says an officer attached to the suite of the British envoy, "his majesty is the most sensible man in his dominions. He is beloved by his subjects; his rule is mild, and he seldom punishes with severity, except unpardonable offenders." † "The king," says an elegant and accomplished "Traveller in the East," "has elegant manners and many accomplishments. Among others, he is a poet, and has written a book of odes, of the merits of which the critics of Persia speak in perfect raptures....He pursues with great ardour the sports of the field, is an excellent horseman, and a good shot. Being fond of his fame as a literary man, he devotes some time to the society of the learned, and enjoys hearing poetry and entertaining stories recited. He has, however, I am told, more boyish amusements, in which those of his favourite attendants and domestics who join, are admitted to great familiarity.....Notwithstanding the habits of his condition and the severe and cruel acts to which that has often led him, there is naturally a kind disposition in the present king of Persia, which has made me always regard him as deserving of estimation." ‡

* Fraser's Khorasan, pp. 192—200.

† Alexander's Travels from India to England, p. 208.

‡ This sketch was taken in the year 1800, when his majesty had the appearance of being little more than thirty. In his conversation with the British Envoy, Sir John Malcolm, as detailed by this

The darkest stain upon this monarch's character, (for the murder of his uncle, Saduk Khan, admits of the palliation of state necessity,) is his cruel and ungrateful conduct to his aged vizier, Hajee Ibrahim, who placed the crown upon the heads of both himself and his predecessor. The death of the king's mother (in 1802), who knew his value and protected him, was the signal to his enemies, who fabricated every accusation that could work upon either the pride or the fears of the king, to make him destroy one whom they at once dreaded and hated. The aged minister was aware of their machinations, but disdained to take any measures for his own security. * He was

Writer, he certainly displayed a superior degree of intelligence, and conversed familiarly on various subjects. He made particular inquiry into the frame of the English government; and, on being told that, in England, no man is so high as to be able to do any thing contrary to the law of the land, and no man so low, but that he might do every thing not contrary to that law,—the Shah observed, after a pause: "Your king is, I see, only the first magistrate of the country. Such a condition of power has permanence, but it has no enjoyment: mine is enjoyment. There you see Suliman Khan Kajir, and several other of the first chiefs of the kingdom—I can cut all their heads off; can I not?" said he, addressing them. "Assuredly, Point of adoration of the world (*Kibla-e-Alem*), if it is your pleasure." "That is real power," said the King; "but then it has no permanence. When I am gone, my sons will fight for the crown, and all will be confusion. There is, however, one consolation; Persia will be governed by a soldier." —*Sketches of Persia*, vol. ii. pp. 137, 8, &c. "The lady of Dr. M'Neil, the physician to the Mission (in 1824), was one day in the zenanah, when she observed one of the princes, a boy of ten years of age, with a handkerchief tied over his eyes, groping about the apartment. Upon inquiring what he was doing, he said, that, as he knew when the Shah, his father, died, he should have his eyes put out, he was now trying how he could do without them."—ALEXANDER'S *Travels*, p. 210. Mr. Fraser relates a similar story.—FRASER'S *Khorasan*, p. 204.

* In the farewell interview which Sir John Malcolm had with Hajee Ibrahim, on leaving Tehraun in 1800, the minister com-

degraded and condemned to lose his eyes; and when he exclaimed, with Persian freedom of speech, against the injustice and ingratitude of the monarch, Futteh Ali Shah ordered his tongue to be cut out. He did not long survive; and, according to the barbarous usage of the country, his sons and brothers were included in the proscription. Though residing in different parts of the kingdom, they were all seized on the same day and hour; some were put to death, others lost their eyes, and all their property was confiscated. Thirst for their supposed wealth is, indeed, believed to have been as powerful a motive with the king, as jealousy of his minister's power, in inducing him to listen to the false accusations brought by his enemies; and touched with remorse, he has been known to reproach his ministers with the loss the country had sustained through their intrigues, exclaiming, on occasions of emergency, "Where is Hajee Ibrahim?"

In reference to a country subject to such perpetual

municated his anticipation of being soon put to death. "The king and his ministers," said he, "are all anxious to destroy me. Your arrival has delayed for a short time the execution of their designs, but it is only for a short time. I could easily save myself, but Persia would again be plunged in warfare. My object has been to give my country one king; I cared not whether he was a Zend or a Kajir, so that there was an end of internal distraction. I have seen enough of these scenes of blood; I will be concerned in no more of them. I hope I have made my peace with God, and shall therefore die contented." Sir John, who had succeeded in effecting an outward reconciliation between Hajee Ibrahim and the other ministers, besought his friend to treat these personages with more consideration, and to bear with more patience than he manifested, the occasional fits of ill-humour and violence in the king. "I cannot alter my nature," was his reply; "it is plain and downright. Besides, the conduct you recommend would be of no use; it would only precipitate my fate. The fears of my enemies would lead them to conclude that it covered some deep design."—*Sketches of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 153. The fate of this able minister will recal that of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the vizier of Malek Shah. See p. 146.

fluctuations, and in which the first principles of government are so little understood, it is next to impossible to arrive at either precision or certainty in any statistical estimates. Chardin rated the population of the empire, in the reign of Shah Abbas, at about forty millions; while Pinkerton, taking for his standard the supposed population of Asiatic Turkey, assigns to Western Persia (that is, the territory included in the present kingdom) a population of only six millions, and to the provinces of Candahar four millions. This estimate, which gives about a hundred souls to every square mile, Sir John Malcolm thinks, is not very remote from the truth.* Though diminished in a very considerable degree since the Affghan invasion, the population has, he says, increased during the present reign, and is at this period on the increase.† The despised Jews, however, are much decreased in numbers; the persecuted Guebers, whose residence is confined to a quarter of the city of Yezd, are probably over-estimated at 4000 families; and the Armenians, according to a census taken by order of the Bishop of

* The population of Asiatic Turkey, however, is immensely over-rated in this estimate, being only about twenty-five souls to a square mile; and that of European Turkey is only fifty-three.—See MOD. TRAV. *Turkey*, pp. 4—6. Mr. Fraser estimates the population of an area of 21,000 square miles, in one of the most populous districts of Persia, at only 164,000 souls, or little more than eight to a square mile.—FRASER'S *Khorasan*, 169.

† "There are, no doubt, many and powerful checks upon population in Persia; the unsettled state of the government; its oppression; the continual civil and foreign wars; and above all others, the debauchery and vice of a great proportion of the inhabitants. But on the other hand, when we consider the salubrity of the climate, the cheapness of provisions, (barley being often sold at ½*d.* per lb., and a good sheep at from 6*s.* to 8*s.*) the rare occurrence of famine, the bloodless character of their civil wars, and the obligation to marry, we may conclude that the population has not diminished so much within the last century as is generally supposed."—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 519.

Julfa, do not amount to 12,500 souls, which is not more than a sixth part of their number, prior to the Affghan invasion.

When the king takes the field, it is said, that he generally makes up a force of a hundred thousand fighting men, which, with camp-followers, is doubled or even trebled. He had fully that number, Mr. Fraser says, according to report, in his bootless expeditions into Khorasan. His personal guards (*gholaums*), which is the only permanently embodied corps, amount to only between three and four thousand men. The only force which approaches the character of a regular standing army, is that which has been raised by Abbas Meerza, the heir-apparent and governor of Adjerbijan. This is computed at 9,400 infantry, and 10,640 cavalry, and, with the irregulars drawn from this province, and the troops of Erivan, may amount to between 40 and 50,000 men. When Abbas Meerza took the field against the Turks in 1822, he could, however, barely muster 35,000 men, including a large portion of inferior troops. "The most efficient troops in the king's command are those levies which the chiefs of tribes are bound to furnish at the call of their sovereign, consisting entirely of cavalry, and which, though still sufficiently hardy and active, have greatly degenerated from their ancient character for courage and zeal. There is, likewise, a species of militia, consisting of men bound to serve on foot upon emergency; but the equipment of these is so bad, and their disposition so questionable, that there is little reliance placed upon them....Not only is the present ruler of Persia unwarlike himself," adds Mr. Fraser, "but he has taken every possible step to break the martial spirit which he found in the country, and to destroy all he succeeded to of an army."

The chief sources of revenue in Persia are, 1. The regular taxes (*mūleyāt*), comprising the taxes upon land and cattle,* capitation-taxes, transit and town duties upon merchandise ;† 2. The irregular assessment (*saādurāut*), including occasional levies and impositions ; and 3. Presents, fines, and confiscations, which are computed by Mr. Fraser to amount annually to not less than 500,000 *tomauns*, or half as much as the land revenue.‡ The following is given by Mr. Fraser as the result of the best information he could procure concerning the nett amounts received from the several provinces and governments.

	Tomauns.	*Tomauns.*
From the Province of Fars	300,000	
Deduct disbursements for the expenses of the province and princes	150,000	
		150,000
From the Province of Kerman		50,000
——— Mekran		
——— Khorasan §		
Carried forward,		200,000

* The land-tax formerly levied in Persia, was one-tenth of the gross produce; but lands held in *teeool* or fief, or for payment of military service, were exempt. An additional tenth has recently been levied as a composition in lieu of the irregular imposts, originally raised to supply the exigencies of government, so that the government-dues are now one-fifth; yet, the *saādurāut* continue to be levied, and form one of the heaviest grievances of the *ryot* or cultivator. Oxen and buffaloes used in agriculture are not separately taxed; but horses are rated at a real a head per annum; sheep and goats are rated one-third; asses and cows, four-fifths; bees, one-sixth per hive.—FRASER, p. 212.

† All merchandize pays an entry-duty at the first Persian town, averaging at 5 per cent. (*bis-yek*, one in twenty). But there are other transit-duties levied at the numerous *goomruk-khanehs*, or custom-houses. Shops and bazars pay a duty to the crown, of from two to twenty reals a year, according to their size.

‡ On the festival of Nou-rooze alone, it is calculated that the king receives in presents, from 1,000,000 to 1,200,000 *tomauns*.

§ The maintenance of this province costs money.

	Tomauns.	*Tomauns.*
Brought over,		200,000
From the Province of Senna (in Ardelan)		30,000
—— Governments of Cashan, Cazvin, and Zunjān		30,000
—— Yezd		54,000
—— Adjerbijan*		
—— Province of Mazanderan †		15,000
—— Ghelan	200,000	
Deduct allowance to the prince	40,000	
		160,000
From the Province of Irak (that part under the government of the *Sudr-ameen*)		500,000
—— Kermanshah		
		939,000
Assumed amount of presents, fines, and contingencies,		1,500,000
		2,439,000

Against this sum, not greatly exceeding a million and a half sterling, being the whole cash receipts of the royal treasury, are to be set, as disbursements, the maintenance of the royal establishment; ‡ the cost of presents and *khilauts* (dresses of honour); the pay of the *gholaums* or household troops; and the salaries of officers about the royal person. It may, therefore, be safely inferred, that, with all his meanness and avarice, the Persian monarch cannot be laying by very largely. Under a well regulated government, the country might soon be made to yield a regular revenue, vastly

* The maintenance of this province costs money.

† This province yields little revenue, because it furnishes the greater part of the army, to which purpose the revenue is applied.

‡ The royal harem includes, besides the Mohammedan complement of four chief wives, "three hundred married wives," according to Mr. Frazer; Lieutenant Alexander says, "one thousand ladies;" and, slaves and eunuchs included, the whole establishment may be estimated at 1500 persons. Futteh Ali Shah is believed to be the father of about 50 sons and at least 100 daughters; and, as many of the princes have families of twenty or thirty children, it is supposed that the royal progeny exceeds a thousand individuals.

exceeding the sum now raised by extortion and oppression.

In its present reduced state, Persia must be considering as occupying a very low rank among the nations both in civilization and in power; and as derived its political importance almost entirely from its geographical position, between the Russian and British territories. The late Emperor of France was believed to entertain the project of invading British India by the route of Persia and Caubul;* and it was with a view to baffle this chimerical scheme, that the ministers of Great Britain were induced to court the friendship, and to purchase the alliance of the Persian monarch by splendid embassies and annual subsidies.† The subsidy has at length been put a

* "Buonaparte," says the Author of the Sketches, "had laid his plans for chaining the bear of Russia and the lion of Persia, with the design of harnessing them to his war-chariot, that he might drive in triumph over the rich plains of India. His name was familiar to numbers in Persia." "Happen what will," said an old age, "he is a magnificent fellow, a perfect Faringee (European) Chengliz Khan."

† The attention of our Indian Government was first drawn to Persia by events occurring within its own sphere. When it was discovered that Tippoo Sultaun had sent an embassy to the Shah, it was deemed expedient to despatch a mission to counteract it; and Mehdee Ali Khan, a Hindoo gentleman of Persian extraction, was sent out in 1798, by Mr. Duncan, governor of Bombay. Neither party drew any result from these negotiations. The Indian envoy appears, indeed, to have indulged somewhat largely in the Persian style of embellishment, and Sir John Malcolm subsequently found occasion to contradict some of his exaggerations. "Your predecessor was a Persian, and we all exaggerate," said the Shah: "you speak truth. But why did you send a Persian to my court? I suppose it was to find out what kind of a being I was, and whether my country was settled, before you deputed one of your own nation." (*Sketches of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 134.) After the subversion of the power of Tippoo, India was thrown into alarm by the irruption of Zemaun Shah, king of the Affghans; and it was on this occasion, that Captain (afterwards Gen. Sir John) Malcolm

stop to; and Great Britain has of late assumed a somewhat more dignified attitude towards this haughty barbarian power, as mediator between the Courts of Tehraun and St. Petersburg. The last treaty of peace concluded between those two powers, and signed at Gulistân in October 1813, was negotiated under the mediation of Sir Gore Ouseley, the British ambassador at the Persian court. The want of precision in the demarcation of the frontier line, in that treaty, is represented to have been the remote cause of the renewal of hostilities.* The commissioners respec-

was despatched, in 1801, on an embassy to Futteh Ali Shah, which had for its object to induce the Persian monarch to make a diversion by attacking the Affghan territories. The mission fulfilled all its objects. The Shah gladly embraced the opportunity to invade Khorasan; and his conquests had the anticipated effect of recalling the Affghan chief from his Indian expedition. In the treaty of alliance concluded between Persia and the British Government, which was to be binding for ever, all Frenchmen were to be prohibited from entering Persia. Many years, however, had not elapsed, when it was discovered that a French agent, M. Jouannin, was in the highest favour at the Persian court, where he was employed in disciplining the troops after the European manner. In 1806, the Shah sent an embassy to Paris, which was returned on the part of the French Emperor, with a very splendid mission under General Gardanne; and when General Malcolm was again sent out, to counteract, if possible, the intrigues of the French, he learned that their influence was quite paramount in the court of Persia, and proceeded no further than Busheer. But soon after this, the failure of the French in their promises to procure the evacuation of Georgia, together with the news of the Spanish revolution, had so deeply shaken French influence at the court of Tehran, that Sir Harford Jones, who was sent out from Great Britain on a direct mission from the King, on arriving in 1808, met with a most auspicious reception. All the demands of the British minister were conceded, and General Gardanne received his dismissal. After the departure of Sir Harford, Sir Gore Ouseley was, in 1810, sent out as His Britannic Majesty's ambassador extraordinary to the court of Tehran.

* The boundary-line commences from the beginning of the plain of Adinah Bazar, and runs direct through the desert of

tively appointed to adjust the new boundary line, conformably to the treaty, were unable to come to any agreement; and the Russians, conscious of their superiority, had, at the death of the late Emperor, forcibly possessed themselves of the disputable territory extending along the north and north-eastern shores of Lake Gokcha, and of a district bordering on Kara-baugh, between the Capan and Mogree rivers. The former district is waste and unfertile, but commands the Pass of Ganja, affording to Persia an easy entrance to Georgia, and to Russia the means of rapidly overrunning the province of Erivan. Each power, therefore, has manifested a natural reluctance to abandon its claim to this territory. For an account of the present relative position of the belligerent parties, we are indebted to Lieutenant J. E. Alexander, who was attached to the suite of Colonel Macdonald Kinneir, Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Tehraun, from the Governor-General of India.

"It had been," he remarks, "a great object of the Emperor Alexander's crafty policy, to secure the Heir Apparent to the Persian throne in his interests, in order to facilitate his designs of pushing the Russian frontier to the Arras. With this view, he con-

Mogham, to the west of Yedibolek (or Eddi Boulak), on the river Arras, and then along the northern bank of that river, until its junction with the river Capanek (or Mogree-chai), at the back of the Mogree (or Muggari) hills. From the right bank of this river, the frontier line runs along the summits of the chain of black mountains of Pembek and Aliguz, which divide the province of Kara-baugh from the Persian district of Nakshivan. It then continues from the top of the Pembek mountains to the angle of the boundary of Shuragil, separating Erivan from Shamshadil and Kazak; thence, passing over the snowy summit of Mount Aliguz, and running nearly due W., through Aked, along the limits of Shuragil, to the Arpachai river, where the Russian frontier borders on the Armenian territories of the Porte.—PORTER'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 513.—ALEXANDER, p. 269.

sented to a stipulation in the treaty of Gulistan, which, though it merely bound Russia to recognise as the lawful heir to the throne of Persia, that son of the Shah whom his majesty should appoint as his successor, was in effect, as secretly understood, a guarantee that Prince Abbas Mirza should be supported by Russia to the prejudice of his elder brother; and upon his nomination by the Shah as heir apparent, he was so recognized by the Court of St. Petersburgh. By the death of that brother, Abbas Mirza's right to the succession became indisputable.*

"Previously to this event, however, Abbas Mirza felt so much his dependency upon the Russian Emperor, that the latter acquired such an influence at the Court of Tabreez, as was viewed by the Shah's ministers with considerable jealousy and alarm. The intrigues carried on at that court, under the able management of the Russian minister, M. Amburger, were of the most deep and dangerous character; and the Prince, who secretly entertained a dislike to Russia and a regard for the British, was prevailed upon, partly by his hopes and fears, and partly by misrepresentations, to look passively upon the encroaching system of Russia, and to listen to projects which were hostile to the interests of Great Britain in the East.

"The death of Alexander, the diminished dependence of Abbas Mirza upon the Russian Court, the growing suspicions engendered by the conduct of

* Mahomed Aly Meerza, prince-governor of Kermanshah, who, previously to his death in 1824, kept up the most effective military establishment in Persia, with which he had overrun the greater part of the pashalik of Bagdad, and was threatening the capital, when the *cholera morbus* broke out among his troops, and occasioned his precipitate return to Kermanshah, where he died soon after.

that Court, and, perhaps more than all, the skilful and unremitted exertions of Major Hart and Dr. Cormick at the Court of Tabreez, who possess much of the Prince's confidence, brought about a decided change in the sentiments and policy of his Royal Highness. Accordingly, when the mission of Prince Menzikoff was announced to the Court of Tabreez,* the Prince Royal, in reporting it to the Shah, desired that he might be authorized to oppose the Russian ambassador's advance to Tehran, unless he previously consented to the evacuation of Gokcha. The Shah appeared at first to be disposed to listen to his son's proposal, more especially as he wished to avoid the embarrassment of being obliged to receive the Envoy at his Court, and to refuse him an audience, as he had determined to do, in the event of a refusal to evacuate Gokcha. The Shah was, however, persuaded by his ministers, who were supported by our own *chargé-d'affaires*, not to refuse the Russian Envoy admission to his Court, which might be a rejection of favourable overtures from the new Emperor. Some reports likewise prevailed at Tehran, that a civil war was likely to occur in Russia, through disputes regarding the succession to the crown.

"While Prince Menzikoff was still in Georgia, a detachment of Russian troops advanced to Aberan, on the frontier of Erivan, which has always been regarded as Persian territory. This simultaneous march of a Russian force into Persia, and the appointment of a special mission to the Court of Tehran, were incongruities inexplicable by the ministers of

* The ostensible object of the Prince's mission was, to announce the accession of the Emperor Nicholas; but he was authorized to make proposals for adjusting the dispute with regard to the frontier districts.

the Shah, and led them naturally to believe that the mission was a mere blind, and that submission to former insults had emboldened Russia to commit further aggressions.

"Upon the arrival of Prince Menzikoff on the Persian frontier, he was received with great respect, and experienced a friendly reception from Prince Abbas Mirza, at Tabreez. He proceeded thence to the royal camp at Sultaneah, where he was treated with distinction; and although he did not experience at his audience those marks of favour with which the British Envoy was honoured, this circumstance was partly attributable to a failure in etiquette.* Negotiations were immediately opened by the Persian ministers. Upon their inquiring the powers of the Russian Envoy, he declared that he had no authority to recede from the engagements entered into by the Georgian authorities in concert with Futteh Ali Khan (the Persian envoy from the Prince Royal); that he had nothing to offer beyond this, and could not consent to the evacuation of Gokcha, until the Persians retired from the territory bordering on Capan.

"In the mean time, the aggressions and the insolence of the Russian authorities in Georgia, and more particularly their interference with the religious tenets and prejudices of their Mahomedan subjects, had excited the resentment of the warlike tribes on the Georgian frontier, who offered to co-operate with

* Prince Menzikoff states, that the letter from the Emperor was not taken from his hands by the Shah, conformably to the ceremonial previously regulated; but when he offered it, his Majesty signified by a sign, that he should lay it on a cushion. The prince was not asked to sit, nor were his suite permitted to enter the royal tent, but stood in a line outside. "For all this," the Writer says, "the Russians had themselves alone to blame, for they still insist on wearing their boots."—P. 207.

the Persians in a war with Russia. The Mooshtaed, or head of the Persian church, was applied to, in order that he might use his endeavours for the same end. All the moollahs took up the cause, and loudly called upon the Shah in the name of Allee, to avenge the insults offered to their religion, on pain of being loaded with the curses of the faithful. The petitions of the discontented and injured Georgian chiefs; the representations of his prime minister, by whom the petitions were recommended; the denunciations of the moollahs; and the urgent solicitations of the Prince Royal, who now became as eager for war with Russia as he had formerly been subservient to her policy; did not induce the Shah to precipitate his subjects into a contest with so powerful an empire as Russia. In this resolution, his Majesty was supported by some of his ministers. He declared, indeed, that if Russia positively refused to relinquish Gokcha, he would declare war; because he felt that the safety of Erivan depended upon the preservation of that apparently insignificant district.

"The Persian ministers, assembled at the tent of the premier, made a further effort to extort from Prince Menzikoff some concession, however trifling, which might save the honour of the Shah, and preserve him from the appearance of retracting the declaration made to his subjects. The only proposal which Prince Menzikoff offered, was to suspend the negotiations till he could receive fresh instructions from St. Petersburgh, and in the mean time to visit the points on the frontier which were in dispute. The Persian Government consented, proposing only that the Gokcha district should be abandoned by the Russians, with the understanding that the Persians should not occupy it till the result of the reference to

the Russian Court was known. To this proposition, however, Prince Menzikoff could not be prevailed upon to consent. The ferment in Persia now increased; the moollahs called upon the Shah to redeem his pledge; the tribes on the frontiers were already in arms; and the enthusiasm inspired into all ranks throughout Persia, gave the expected contest the aspect of a religious war, and made it impossible for the Persian ministers to disappoint the wishes of the people.

"The reflections of the Persian Government upon the conduct adopted by the Russian Court, impelled it to believe that the latter was bent upon war; otherwise so easy an expedient to prevent that evil as the temporary evacuation of the Gokcha territory, which Russia had always the power to re-occupy, would not have been declined by the Envoy. The delay occasioned by a reference to St. Petersburgh would at all events have retarded hostilities for a year, since, before the return of an answer to the reference, the approach of winter would have forced the Persian troops to retire to their own country.

"The Shah felt keenly the disappointment of his hopes, when he found that the special mission, which he expected would evince the desire of the Emperor Nicholas to maintain amicable relations with him, was sent merely to demand the ratification of Futteh Ali Khan's agreement with General Yermoloff, which had already been formally refused by his Majesty. Sensible that he was committed to the nation, urged by the importunity of the border chiefs and the ecclesiastics of Persia, and conscious that, should he submit to the humiliation of concession, under existing circumstances, he could have no security against future encroachments, the Shah determined at length upon

resistance, though with a full sense of the danger. It was, nevertheless, still intimated to Prince Menzikoff, that the negotiations which were broken off, might be resumed at some town on the frontier; and Mr. Willock was requested by the Shah to communicate with the Russian Envoy (unofficially), with a view of interposing his good offices to prevent a rupture between the two states. This interposition, however, had no effect in procuring a pledge for the evacuation of Gokcha, the Envoy declaring he had no control over General Yermoloff. Prince Menzikoff therefore left the royal camp at Sultania on the 26th of July. The Shah proceeded from Sultania to Ardebeel, thence to Achar, and war was formally commenced on the part of Persia.

"About this period, the Russian subjects in Dagistan, Shervan, and Shekee were in arms. In Talish, the people rose and cut off the detachments dispersed throughout the country; they then took Askeran, and, in concert with a Persian army, laid siege to Lankeran on the Caspian, which had been taken by the Russians in the last war. It was now garrisoned by a weak battalion of regulars, who, alarmed probably by the massacre of the troops in Askeran, withdrew in the night to the island of Sari, leaving in the fort six pieces of cannon, military stores, and provisions in abundance.

"The exasperation of the inhabitants of the Georgian provinces had risen to such a height, that the Russians were cut off by them whenever they were met with and could be overpowered. The insurgents bitterly complained of the tyranny and barbarity of the Governor-General, Yermoloff, and his subordinate officers, who paid no regard to the religious prejudices of the Mahomedans, ill-treated the women,

and were guilty of great enormities. General Yermoloff is reported to have amputated the right hands of a whole tribe, because a Russian detachment in the Caucasus was fired at; and a Russian soldier having been murdered near a village, the inhabitants of which refused to surrender the perpetrator of the deed, men, women, and children, horses, dogs, and every living creature within the walls, were exterminated by the general's order. The conduct of the other party was nearly as barbarous, as the following occurrence will prove. The Russian commandant at Karakalissa, threatened by the Surdar of Erivan, sent for a reinforcement to Ganja, which was garrisoned by a battalion one thousand strong. The officer in command at Ganja conceived that, if the people were sworn to fidelity on the Koran, they would remain true to the Russian cause. The people took the oath, having been told by their moollah, that there would be no sin in taking it, and none in breaking it. Seven hundred of the garrison then marched for Karakalissa, leaving three hundred behind in Ganja. The moollah, having secretly distributed a quantity of spirits amongst the soldiers, invited the officers to an entertainment, in the midst of which they were murdered, together with their intoxicated men. The moollah then set out, with about four hundred horse, after the detachment on its march to Karakalissa; he overtook them on a halt: proceeding to the commanding officer's tent, he told him that he came with news of the disaffection of the people of Ganja, and requested him to return. Whilst the moollah held the officer in conversation, his horsemen mixed with the unsuspecting Russians, and, at a signal, attacked and cut them up; two hundred only escaped.

"When the Russian envoy, Prince Menzikoff,

reached Tabreez, on his return to Teflis, he was treated with much disrespect. His couriers had been stopped, and one or two murdered, between Tabreez and Sultania, and their despatches detained. He wished to procure the attendance of the English serjeants at Tabreez, on his journey to the frontiers, as he had no European escort except a serjeant's guard of Lancers. But the British officer in command of the troops was obliged to refuse his request, as they formed part of Abbas Mirza's army. On his arrival at Erivan, August 16th, the Envoy was arrested by the Surdar of that province, and detained there for twenty-five days, experiencing many affronts. Prince Menzikoff communicated this outrage upon the law of nations to the British Envoy (Col. Macdonald), who instantly made such strong remonstrances upon the subject to the Shah's ministers, that a royal firman was despatched to the Surdar of Erivan for the immediate release of the prince and his suite. In order to obviate any difficulty or impediment which might be created by the Surdar, Major Monteith was sent to Erivan with another firman, to effectuate their liberation if it had not already taken place, and to accompany the Russian envoy across the frontier to Teflis, or any other Russian station. The Prince, however, had been released, and had reached Teflis, when the Major arrived at the Surdar's camp. It appears that the cause of this detention of the Russian envoy was a rumour that General Yermoloff had been removed from his office of governor-general, and that Prince Menzikoff was appointed his successor: the Persian Court therefore thought, that, if the envoy was detained, the troops in Georgia would be left without a head.

"The army under the orders of the Prince Royal,

which took the field against the Russians, amounted in number (including irregulars) to forty-five or fifty thousand men. The *Surbaz* (resolute), or disciplined battalions, were twelve thousand strong; there were also a few companies of foot artillery, and several hundreds of Russian deserters. The Shah's military force, except ten or twelve thousand disciplined *Janbaz* (contemners of life), is but an untrained rabble, who plunder their own countrymen more frequently than their enemy, and, under pretence of collecting contributions for the prosecution of the war, rob the villagers, as well as travellers, of their valuables. The Russian force on the southern side of the Caucasus, consisted of 32,000 infantry, 1,200 dragoons, 6000 Cossacks, and two battalions of artillery; but they were mostly dispersed in detachments throughout Georgia.

"Previously to the two armies coming into actual contact, several affairs had taken place, in which both parties had been, at different points, successful.

"The Surdar of Erivan, who had distinguished himself during the previous war, was not idle. A Russian force, 7000 strong, with twelve battering guns, under the direction of the chief engineer, had been collected at Karakalissa, evidently with a view of reducing Erivan. The Surdar had, however, taken Goomree, slaughtering the male inhabitants (who were Armenians), whose heads he sent into camp. He recovered Gokcha, Balikloo, and Aberan, from the Russians, and had taken about five hundred prisoners. Karakalissa was evacuated on his approach, the Russian force which occupied it retiring upon Looree, a stronger position, after the reinforcement from Ganja had been cut off by the moollah of that place, as already mentioned. The Surdar and his troops are

represented by the Persian accounts to have had a narrow escape upon entering Karakalissa: the Russian commandant had dug a mine, intending to blow up the Surdar's army as they entered the town; but it exploded too soon, and did no harm.

"The Prince Royal directed his march towards Sheesha, in Karabaugh, at the end of July. This is a rich and beautiful country; the valleys are covered with forests of the finest timber, from whence it derives its name of 'The Black Garden.' Wild oats wave luxuriantly over the plains for miles together, far, indeed, as the eye can reach; whilst the landscape is improved and the soil fertilized by the clear streams of numerous rivers which meander through the valleys, where herds of deer abound.

"Sheesha is a considerable town; its inhabitants are partly Tartars and partly Armenians. It is built on a lofty precipitous rock, and the houses, upwards of two thousand in number, appear to hang in a very perilous situation. The Russians had sustained some loss in this quarter: the garrison of Sheesha having sent a detachment to attack a Persian force which had collected in the neighbourhood, the inhabitants of Karabaugh had cut them off.

"The Persian army, under the Prince Royal, having advanced to the Arras, crossed the river, and pitched near a noble bridge called Khoda Afereen, where he made prisoners a detachment of Cossacks sent to reconnoitre. From these he learned, that the Russian troops, ignorant of the war, were dispersed throughout Karabaugh; and that a battalion of infantry, 1,200 strong, with four field-pieces, quartered near Gourous, could be cut off. On the 26th July, he marched, and hearing that the Russian battalion was retreating towards Sheesha, the Prince sent forward his

son, Ismael Mirza, with the Karabaugh cavalry, and the Ghoolam Tafunchees, to harass their rear and impede their march, whereby he was enabled to come up with them. He attacked the Russians in a pass called Kunjerik: 400 Russians were killed and wounded; the rest laid down their arms; one lieutenant-colonel, eight other officers, and four guns, fell into the hands of the Persians.*

"The Prince, encouraged by this success, and urged by Mhatee Koulee Khan and Abul Futteh Khan, the exiled chiefs of Karabaugh, † proceeded to Sheesha, took the town, and invested the hill-fort, containing a garrison 2000 strong, but unfurnished with provisions.‡ While the Prince Royal lay before Sheesha, he despatched his eldest son, Mahomed Mirza (governor of Hamadan), accompanied by Ameer Khan, maternal uncle of the Prince Royal, and a body of 10,000 men, with six field-pieces, on the road to Teflis. They encountered a Russian force of 6000 infantry and 3000 cavalry under General Mududoff §, who had previously sent a detachment of 600 men to surprise a Persian post; but this body falling in with Mahomed Mirza's

* The colonel, Mizemooski, assigned as the cause of the defeat, "that they had fought for nine hours in the heat of the day, at a spot where they could not procure a drop of water; that, totally overcome by heat and thirst, after 400 had been killed or wounded, one gun dismounted, and a tumbril blown up, they were obliged to throw down their arms."

† "There were also in camp, the discontented chiefs of Shirwan, Shekee, and Talish, the chiefs of the Lesghees, and the son of the Waly."

‡ Owing to the abominable misconduct of the Russian governor, who sold all the grain in the magazine, (there having been a scarcity in the adjoining provinces,) and "pocketed the proceeds of the sale."

§ An Armenian by birth, educated by a Russian priest, who, on entering the army, "Russianized himself by adding *off* to his Arabic name, *Mudud* (assistance.)"

army, sustained a loss of 200 men. A battle took place between the two armies on the 2nd of September, near Shamkhar, five *fursungs* from Teflis, when the Persians were defeated. They lost a considerable number of men, and also Ameer Khan, whose head was laid at the feet of the Russian general. Notwithstanding the provocations given to the Russians, by the heads of their slain being sent to the royal camp, and built into pyramids, Mududoff ordered the head and body of Ameer Khan to be decently interred. The Russians, after this success, advanced to Elizabethpol, or Ganja, from which they drove the Persians with great loss. The Persians had previously slaughtered the unwarlike Armenians, and swept off a colony of German Moravians settled near the town, whom they sold as slaves to the Kourds, for three and four *tomauns* each.*

"The Prince Royal, upon receiving the news of these disasters, hastily raised the siege of Sheesha, and marched towards Teflis, to revenge the death of his uncle and the disgrace of his son. The Armenians of Karabaugh continued hovering on his flanks and rear, and cutting off stragglers during his advance. A considerable portion of his army was engaged in foraging and marauding excursions; but, as he advanced by slow marches, he collected 40,000 men, half Nizam or disciplined troops (for he had been joined by Alaiar Khan, the prime minister of Persia, with a considerable force); the remainder, cavalry and irregulars, with twenty field-pieces.

"On the 25th September, the Prince Royal found himself opposite to the Russian army, commanded by

* On this being communicated to his Persian majesty, he asked if any of the German women were handsome: being answered in the negative, "then let the Kourds keep them," he replied.

General Paskevitch, which was strongly posted about five miles from Elizabethpól, waiting his approach. The Prince resolved to attack them, and divided his army into three bodies, with the cavalry in the intervals and on the flanks. After a cannonade had been kept up for some time on both sides, the Prince, finding that the heavy metal of the Russians (they had brought battering guns of large calibre into the field) was doing great execution amongst his troops, ordered a general charge upon the Russians, who were drawn up in hollow squares. When the Persian troops approached the enemy, the latter quickly formed line, and met the advance of the Persians, whose first line, being broken, fell back upon the second, and threw it into disorder. The reserve, seeing the fate of the other troops, fled towards the camp without firing a shot. Several standards and four field-pieces fell into the hands of the Russians; the other guns, under the direction of Serjeant Dawson, were saved. The gallant artilleryman retreated in so masterly a manner, that he kept the Russian light infantry completely at bay. The loss sustained by the Persians amounted to 2000; the Russians lost 500 killed and wounded.

"The Prince, perceiving the fate of his army, fled with a few horsemen, and did not halt till he was fifty *fursungs* on the Persian side of the Arras. His troops made for the camp, to collect their effects; a general scramble ensued, and the cash-chest of the Prince was plundered by his own soldiers. All order and discipline being at an end amongst the wreck of the army, each soldier betook himself to his home.

"When the news of this total overthrow was communicated to the Shah, he was of course extremely dejected: he at length broke out into invectives against

the Prince Royal, for his rash sacrifice of so fine an army in a single day; but, subsequently relenting, he invited his son to the royal camp. Abbas Mirza replied to the invitation, by acknowledging that he was ashamed to appear in the presence of his father and brothers. After some delay, he ventured to visit his royal father, and his approach was announced, unexpectedly, to the camp. Major G. Willock was deputed by the British Envoy to meet and console him. The spirits of the Prince seemed to be quite sunk; he confessed that he had acted with great imprudence in attempting to contend against a well-appointed and disciplined army in the open field; and declared that, had he acted differently, agreeably to the advice he had received, he might easily have driven his enemies out of Georgia. In passing the lines of the Janbaz infantry, loud expressions of dissatisfaction, and even hootings, were heard, which were extremely galling to the feelings of the unfortunate Prince. The Shah received him graciously, and endeavoured to cheer the drooping spirits of his favourite son, whilst the governors of the different provinces were despatched immediately to re-assemble their respective troops.

"The Surdar of Erivan, having also sustained a check in his advance, and having intercepted a correspondence between the Armenians of Yeuch Kalissa and those in Georgia, which proved that they were disaffected towards him, fell back and occupied the Three Churches, sending the priests into Erivan.

"General Mududoff making a demonstration of his intention to march upon Erivan, the Shah broke up his camp, and marched to Tabreez. A tremendous storm of wind and rain burst upon the plain of Achar, just as his majesty was about to leave the ground. He refused to sleep in Tabreez, but remained for some

days outside the city, in a garden-house belonging to the Prince Royal. The Shah finally encamped about twenty miles from Tabreez, in the direction of Murand. In the early part of October he returned to Tehran.

"General Mududoff finally took up a position opposite to Aslandoos (where the Persians had sustained a defeat during the last war), and made incursions, at the head of 5000 men, into the Persian territories, in the direction of Erivan. Retaliating upon the unhappy people the disorders and cruelties committed by the troops of Persia in Georgia, he laid waste the country, burnt the villages, and massacred the inhabitants.

"The Prince Royal, having collected another army, took post upon the Arras. His troops hovered about the frontier, and occasionally penetrated into Georgia on marauding expeditions. Nothing, however, of any moment occurred on either side; and towards the close of October, it appears, his Royal Highness retreated towards Ardebeel, having closed the campaign until the spring. It was generally believed in Persia, that the Russians would attempt no enterprise of any moment till next season, although they had transported, by the co-operation of the Georgians, a heavy battering train from Teflis, destined probably for the siege of Erivan; and great preparations wese making at St. Petersburgh to supply the arsenals with shells and rockets for the prosecution of the war.

"The interposition of the British Government, it may be rationally expected, will be the means of preventing another campaign.

"If the Russian Cabinet, however, has really instigated the measures of the local government of Georgia, and is determined, in spite of the mediation of a

friendly power, to profit by the present opportunity of accomplishing the schemes of aggrandizement which it has cherished from the time of Peter the Great, success is not so easy of attainment as may at first be supposed. Persia, though not provided with artificial bulwarks of defence, is strong by nature; and if the greater part of her army is undisciplined and ill calculated to cope with the Russians in pitched battles, and according to the system of European warfare, yet, the bulk of her population consists of warlike tribes, who, if a proper impulse were given to them, would furnish a more effectual defence to Persia than if the country were studded with fortresses. Nor is such an impulse wanting in the present contest, which has arisen from a belief that the Russians have insulted the Moslem religion. The war is regarded by the Persians as a holy war; they are persuaded by their moollahs that their religion has been invaded; and no motive is so well calculated to excite all the energies of a Mahomedan population, as a belief that their faith is menaced by an infidel power.

"Should the Russians, therefore, continue the war, and march their heavy dragoons and infantry into Persia, the Persians need only remove the provisions, forage, &c., from their line of march, and harass the invaders with their numerous and superior cavalry, in order to impede effectually the enemy's advance across barren plains. The successes of the Persians at the commencement of the present war, shew that there is less inequality than might be expected between the respective forces; and the result of the last war, in which, after ten or twelve years' exertion, Russia was unable to push her boundaries to the Araxes, affords a strong proof of the same fact. In the present war, the Russians labour under greater disadvantages

than during the last; they have to convey their munitions of war over an immense tract of country, in which they must leave strong posts, not merely to keep up the communication with their magazines, but to overawe their disaffected subjects in Georgia.

"Upon the whole," remarks this intelligent Officer, "it may be concluded, that, although Persia may be compelled to submit to some further sacrifices if the war continues, the conquest of that empire by the Russians is perfectly chimerical, and the invasion of India by them a mere bugbear."*

* Alexander's Travels, pp. 269—89. Upon the subject of an invasion of India, into which it scarcely falls within our province to enter, our readers are referred to the Observations of Mr. Macdonald Kinneir, "Journey through Asia Minor, &c." 8vo. pp. 512—539; and to Mr. Fraser's Remarks in his "Journey into Khorasan," pp. 231—240. "The idea of invading Hindostan by the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf," the former gentleman remarks, "can be regarded in no other light than as chimerical, by all who are in any way acquainted with those seas and the countries adjoining them." An attempt to penetrate into India through Asia Minor and Persia, is shewn to be equally visionary. It would require that both the Turkish and the Persian empires should first be either overthrown or completely gained over to the interests of the invaders; and even then, the distance to be traversed, (upwards of three thousand miles,) and the physical difficulties arising from the nature of the country, would render the enterprise impracticable to an army of any formidable strength. The route by which a European power could with least difficulty penetrate into India, would be from the Bay of Mangushluk on the Caspian, by Khyvah in Khaurizm, along the Oxus, to Balkh and Bokhara, and thence over the Hindoo-Coosh. By this route, a land journey of upwards of a thousand miles through an ill furnished or desert country, would be obviated, as there are means of water-carriage to within about 250 miles of Caubul. The Russians have of late discovered a great anxiety to establish themselves at Mangushluk, and to open an amicable intercourse with Khyvah and Bokhara, to which courts a Russian embassy was sent in 1819, 20; it met, however, but an indifferent reception. But not only must the power of the Tatars be broken, before an expedition could penetrate to Caubul; the difficulties of the enterprise would then have only commenced.

Through all the political revolutions of twenty centuries, the internal condition of Persia has remained essentially unaltered. It is this circumstance, as has been already remarked, which gives so much interest to descriptions of the country. "The power of the sovereigns," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "and of the satraps of ancient times, the gorgeous magnificence of the court; the habits of the people; their division into citizens, martial tribes, and savage mountaineers; the internal administration and the mode of warfare, have continued essentially the same; and the Persians, as far as we have the means of judging, are, at the present period, not a very different people from what they were in the time of Darius and of Nousheerwan."

CHARACTER OF THE PERSIANS.

Nothing is more unsatisfactory, for the most part, than the attempts made by passing travellers, to seize and define the national character. The Persians have often been vaguely described as the Frenchmen of Asia. Their politeness and volubility, their propensity to gasconade, and their minute attention to modes of dress and etiquette, are the grounds of the supposed resemblance. But this character attaches chiefly to the inhabitants of Shiraz and other capitals. In Persia, the various classes of society are so distinct, and among the inhabitants of the several provinces are found tribes of such different origin, that the common features impressed upon society by the religion and government, must undergo very essential

This is, however, Mr. M. Kinneir says, "the only manner in which India can ever be invaded with any prospect of success;" and Capt. Fraser considers it as not altogether impracticable, although its difficulties and dangers may lead it to be denounced as chimerical,

modifications. Sir John Malcolm thus discriminates the general character of the different classes of the community.

" The ministers and chief officers of the Court of Persia are almost always men of polished manners, well skilled in the business of their respective departments, of pleasant conversation, subdued temper, and very acute observation; but these agreeable and useful qualities are, in general, all that they possess. Nor is virtue or liberal knowledge to be expected in men whose lives are wasted in attention to forms; whose means of subsistence are derived from the most corrupt sources; whose occupation is intrigues that have always the same objects,—that of preserving themselves or of ruining others; who cannot, without danger, speak any language but that of flattery and deceit; and who are, in short, condemned by their condition, to be venal, artful, and false. There have, no doubt, been many ministers of Persia, whom it would be injustice to class in this general description; but even those most distinguished for [redacted] and their talents, have been forced, in some degree, to accommodate their principles to their station; and unless where the confidence of their sovereign has placed them beyond the fear of rivals, necessity has compelled them to practise habits of subserviency and dissimulation.

" The characters of the governors of provinces and of cities, may be said to be, in a considerable degree, formed on that of the reigning sovereign. But the system of the government must always dispose this class to abuse the brief authority with which they are invested. They are, however, from the situation in which they are placed, in general more manly and open, both in their manner and conduct, than the

ministers and courtiers; and are, therefore, as a body, entitled to more respect.

"The religious orders in Persia are divided into several classes. The character of the few who have attained very high rank, has been before noticed. They are usually men of learning, of mild temper, and retired habits. They are very careful to preserve the respect they enjoy, by cherishing the impressions that are entertained of their piety and humility. It is rare to see them intolerant, except in cases where they deem the interest of that religion of which they are the head, to be in danger. The lower classes of the priesthood in Persia are commonly of a very opposite character to their superiors. With little knowledge and great pretensions, they demand a respect which they seldom receive, and are, consequently, among the most discontented of the community. The general disposition of the Persians to treat strangers of a different religion with kindness and hospitality, is a subject of constant irritation to them. They rail at all communication with infidels, and endeavour to obtain an importance with the lower orders of the people by a display of their bigotry and intolerance. This class of men are often accused, by their countrymen, of indulging the worst passions of the mind. To say, a man hates like a *moollah*, is to assert that he cherishes towards another, sentiments of the most inveterate hostility.

"There is a considerable difference of character among the inhabitants of the various cities and towns of Persia, which originates in the opposite feelings and habits derived from their ancestors. The natives of Kazveen, Tabreez, Hamadan, Shiraz, and Yezd, are as remarkable for their courage, as those of Koom,

Kashan, and Isfahan are for their cowardice. The former are chiefly descended from martial tribes; while the forefathers of the latter have, for many centuries, pursued civil occupations. But, though some of the citizens of Persia are less warlike than others, the different shades of character which this occasions, are not of so much consequence as to prevent their being included in a general description. The whole of this community may be deemed, as far as regards their personal appearance, a fine race of men. They are not tall; but it is rare to see any of them diminutive or deformed, and they are, in general, strong and active. Their complexions vary from a dark olive to a fairness which approaches that of a northern European; and if they have not all the bloom of the latter, their florid, healthy look often gives them no inconsiderable share of beauty. As a people, they may be praised for their quickness of apprehension, their vivacity, and the natural politeness of their manners. They are sociable and cheerful; and, with some remarkable exceptions, as prodigal in disbursement as they are eager of gain. The higher classes of the citizens of Persia are kind and indulgent masters; and the lower ranks are, as far as respects the active performance of their duty, and the prompt execution of the orders they receive, the best of servants. In countries where the law grants equal protection to all ranks of society, and where servitude does not imply dependence, the master and servant are much more separated than in despotic states. In the latter, where there are no middle classes, the servant is often the humble friend, and lives in habits of intimacy that could exist only where the actual distinction is so great, as to remove all danger of either forgetting the inequality of their condition.

"The falsehood of the Persians is proverbial; nor are the inhabitants of that country forward to deny this national reproach. But they argue, that this vice appertains to the government, and is the natural consequence of the condition of the society in which they live; and there can be no doubt, that, when rulers practise violence and oppression, those who are oppressed will shield themselves by every means within their power; and when they are destitute of combination and strength, they can only have recourse to art and duplicity. Nor is the moral character always debased by the use of this species of defence. Instances continually occur in Persia, as in other countries subject to an arbitrary government, where the head of a village, or the magistrate of a city, entitles himself to the gratitude and admiration of those under him, by a virtuous and undaunted perseverance in falsehood, by which he endangers his own life and property, to save others who consider him as their guardian and protector. The frame of policy in Persia, perhaps, still more calculated to render men artful and false, than the constitution of their government. The wives and slaves of a despotic husband and master must have all the vices of their debased condition. The first lessons which their children learn from the example of those they love, is to practise deceit; and this early impression is confirmed by all their future habits. They may hear and admire moral sentences upon the beauty and excellence of truth; but prudence warns them against a rigid adherence to so dangerous a virtue. The oaths which they constantly use to attest their veracity, are only proofs of their want of it. They swear by the head of the king, by that of the person they address, by their own, by that of their son, that they are not asserting

what is false; and if a stranger should continue to evince suspicion, they sometimes exclaim: 'Believe me; for, though a Persian, I am speaking truth.' There are, no doubt, some of the natives of Persia, who do not deserve to be included in this general description, and who are distinguished by their regard for truth; but their numbers are too inconsiderable to save their countrymen from the reproach of falsehood, as a prevalent national vice.

"The citizens of Persia are not subdued by their situation into a submissive character. They are easily inflamed into passion, and act, when under its influence, like men careless of the result. A stranger who is unacquainted with the nature of the government, and the latitude of speech which it permits in those whom it oppresses, is surprised to hear the meanest inhabitant of a town venting imprecations against his superiors; nay, sometimes against the sacred person of the king himself. These extraordinary ebullitions of passion, which are very common among the lower orders in Persia, generally pass unheeded. Sometimes they may provoke a reproof, or a few blows; but they never receive consequence from any unwise interference of power to repress them.*

"The character of the military tribes differs essentially from that of the other inhabitants of Persia. The chiefs of these clans are often as much distinguished for their generosity as their courage. They are, from their condition, less artful than the ministers and principal civil officers of the kingdom; but they cannot be deemed exempt from that vice, though it is corrected by their pride and violence. Arrogant

* "The Persians vent their abuse, not only on the person who has offended them, but on his whole kindred, and more particularly his female relatives. Their abuse is generally very obscene."

from their birth, and surrounded from their infancy with devoted dependents, their minds are habituated to overrate their own pretensions, and to depreciate those of others. When inflamed with passion, they in an instant lose that courtly manner which they are accustomed to assume, and give way to the most ungovernable rage. They seldom suffer from the bold impudence of the language which they use on these occasions, as they can always plead in excuse the habits of the rude class to which they belong; and the consideration they demand upon this ground, is hardly ever refused, even by the monarch himself, if he has been the object of their intemperance. The character of these military nobles may be said to change with the state of their country. When that is settled for any long period, they lose a great deal of their native honesty and violence. Educated at the capital, where, in youth, they are generally kept as hostages for the good conduct of their fathers, and compelled to constant attendance on the king, after they have attained manhood, they become in time courtiers, and are not, except in being more haughty, materially different from the other nobles and principal officers of the country. We can neither praise them, nor any other of the higher ranks in Persia, for their strictness in moral or religious duties. To the former, they do not even pretend to give much attention; and though they are careful as to the observance of all the forms of the latter, they often appear indifferent as to the substance, and are in the habit of discussing the tenets and dogmas of their faith with a freedom that sometimes borders upon impiety.

"The character of the *Eelleats*, or men who continue to dwell in tents, is very opposite to that of the inhabitants of cities. They have the virtues and vices

of their condition; are sincere, hospitable, and brave; but rude, violent, and rapacious. They are not in need of falsehood and deceit, and therefore not much in the habit of practising them: but, if they have fewer vices than the citizens of Persia, it is evidently the absence of temptation, and the ignorance of luxury and refinement, which give them all the superiority they boast; for, it is remarked, that they never settle in towns, or enter them as victors, without exceeding the inhabitants in every species of profligacy.

"The females of Persia who dwell in towns, are usually in the situation of slaves; and have, therefore, many of the qualities which belong to that condition. The different shades of character of a race who can hardly be said to have any influence in the community, is of little importance; and if it were otherwise, we cannot have sufficient information to form any correct judgement upon it. The females of the wandering tribes enjoy a fair portion of liberty; and if they are inferior to the natives of cities, in beauty of person and softness of manners, they excel them in industry and many virtues. We meet, indeed, with frequent examples among this class, of an elevation of sentiment, and an heroic courage, which nothing but the freedom of their condition could inspire.

"In speaking generally of the Persians, we may describe them as a handsome, active, and robust race of men; of lively imagination, quick apprehension, and agreeable and prepossessing manners. As a nation, they may be termed brave; though the valour they have displayed, like that of every other people in a similar state of society, has, in a great degree, depended upon the character of their leaders, and the nature of those objects for which they have fought. Their vices are still more prominent than their vir-

tues. Compelled by the nature of their government to have recourse, on every occasion, to art or violence, they are alternately submissive and tyrannical. Many of their more serious defects of character may be attributed to the same cause; and there is, perhaps, no country in which so much of the immorality of its inhabitants can be referred to a bad system of internal administration, as Persia. This reflection, though it may mitigate the sense we entertain of the depravity of individuals, leaves little hope of their amendment. For it is evident, this can be effected only by the concurrence of many radical changes, with a complete alteration in their political condition; an event which neither their past history nor their present state can lead us to anticipate." *

Little remains to be added to this able and discriminating description of the Persians, proceeding, as it does, from the pen of a writer who not only enjoyed such extensive opportunities of personal observation, but, by his urbanity and address, rendered the English name popular among the people of the country. The testimony of Chardin deserves, however, to be cited, as serving to shew, how very similar an impression was produced upon the mind of that intelligent traveller, by their ancestors of the seventeenth century.

"As to their minds, the Persians excel not less than in the beauty of their forms. They are endowed with an imagination lively, prompt, and fertile; a memory ready and well stored. They have a natural aptness for the sciences, and for both the liberal and the mechanical arts; and they are of a very martial disposition. They are fond of glory, or of vanity, its false image. Their temper is pliant and supple; their genius ready and intriguing. They are gallant, mild,

* Malcolm, vol. ii. pp. 628—38.

polished, and well-bred. 'They are naturally extremely addicted to dissipation, luxury, extravagance, and prodigality; and this is the reason that they understand neither economy nor trade. In a word, they bring into the world, talents as good as those of any other nation, but there are few who make so bad a use of them.

"They are quite philosophers as to the enjoyments or evils of this life, the hopes and fears relating to futurity: little given to avarice, they desire to gain, only that they may spend. They like to enjoy the present, and they reject no gratification within their reach, having no solicitude about the future, which they leave to Providence and fate.

"What is most praiseworthy in their manners, is their humanity to strangers, the welcome and protection which they give them, their hospitality to all the world, and their toleration of religions which they deem false and even abominable. If you except the ecclesiastics of the country, who are, as elsewhere, and perhaps more than elsewhere, full of hatred and fury against those who do not hold their sentiments, you will find the Persians very humane and just on the point of religion.....They believe that the prayers of all men are good and efficacious; and in time of sickness or exigency, they accept, and even seek for, the devotions of persons of a different religion; of which I have witnessed a thousand instances. I do not attribute this to the principle of their religion, (although that tolerates every kind of religious worship,) but to the mild manners of this people, who are naturally opposed to controversy and cruelty.

"The Persians being thus luxurious and prodigal, it will readily be believed, that they are also very indolent; for these things generally go together.

They hate labour, and this is one of the commonest causes of their poverty.....They never fight. All their anger evaporates in abuse*.....Two very contrary habits are commonly found united in the Persians; that of incessantly praising God and speaking of his perfections, and that of uttering imprecations and obscene language. Persons of all ranks are infected with this low vice. Their women also indulge in the same filthy terms of abuse; and when these are exhausted, they will call each other atheists, idolaters, Jews, Christians. These are but the minor vices of the Persians. They are, moreover, deceitful, thievish, and the basest and most impudent flatterers in the world. They understand the art perfectly, and while they make use of it with little shame, it is, nevertheless with much art and insinuating address..... They are liars to excess. They will speak, swear, bear witness falsely, on the slightest inducement. They borrow and pay not again; and seldom let slip an opportunity of defrauding; being without sincerity in their services and all kinds of engagements, as well as without honesty in mercantile dealings.....Destitute of real virtue, they endeavour to put on the appearance of it, whether to impose upon themselves, or better to attain the ends of their vain glory, ambition, or voluptuousness. Hypocrisy is their ordinary disguise. Although they may naturally be inclined to humanity, hospitality, mercy, abstraction from the world, and contempt of worldly things, they nevertheless do not fail to affect these virtues for the sake of appearing to have more than they possess. Who-

* Major Scott Waring, on the contrary, says: "The lower orders frequently engage in quarrels, which are often attended with bloodshed. It is surprising how apt the military men are to quarrel; and upon the least provocation, they resort to the sword."

ever has had only a passing view of them, or seen them during a short visit, will be led to form a very favourable opinion of them; but every one who has had any dealings with them, or who enters into their affairs, will find that there is very little solid virtue among them; that they are for the most part "whited sepulchres," according to the expression of Jesus Christ,—of which I avail myself the more readily, because it is particularly an exact observance of the law that the Persians affect. Such is the character of the mass of the Persian world. There are, however, doubtless, exceptions to this rule of the general depravity; for there are to be found among the Persians, justice, sincerity, virtue, and piety, as well as among the professors of what we regard as better religions. But the more intercourse one has with this people, the more one finds the exceptions to be extremely limited, and that there are few Persians entitled to the praise of real, intrinsic justice and humanity." *

Jonas Hanway, who travelled in Persia in the years 1743—50, thus sums up his observations on the Persians.

"The modern Persians are robust, warlike, and hardy, and are now all become soldiers. Were their government once established, no nation could sooner recover itself from such miserable circumstances. They have money enough; † their houses are easily rebuilt; and their land is fertile. These advantages would bring in foreigners, at least Tatars and Indians,

* *Voyages de M. le Chev. Chardin*, tom. ii. ch. xi. This description of the Persians hardly entitles Chardin to be styled, as he is by M. Malte Brun, "their best apologist."

† Speaking of the time subsequent to the death of Nadir Shah.

and, with them, the conveniences of life, and at length restore their arts and manufactures. They are naturally inclined to temperance, and, with regard to diet, seem to be more in a state of nature than the Europeans. By way of amusement, they use opiates, but not near so much as the Turks; they drink coffee in small quantities with the lees; also sherbets, and an infusion of cinnamon with sugar. Their simplicity of life generally renders their domestic expenses easy;—though, in this last particular, travellers do not agree. I grant, however, that the Persians understand very little of what we call prudence and economical government.

"The Persians are polite, but extravagantly hyperbolical in their compliments; this is, indeed, peculiar to the eastern nations. The Persians were celebrated for a particular genius for poetry; but *war*, which *has destroyed their morals and learning*, seems also to have damped their poetic fire; though they have still many traces of that fertility and strength of imagination for which, in past times, they were deservedly famous. The ancient Persians are recorded to have taught their children a most exact reverence for truth; but the present generation are as notorious for falsehood; they poison with a sweet-meat, in always saying what is pleasing, without regarding the truth. In their disposition, they are cheerful, but rather inclined to seriousness than to loud mirth: in this, they are not so much the French of Asia, as in their politeness and civility to strangers. Hospitality is a part of their religion: on occasions of the least intercourse, men of any distinction invite strangers, as well as their friends, to their table. I did not observe that they are vindictive; yet, if their kindness to their best friend

happens to be turned by any fortune of war into enmity, they often become insensible: this seems to be more owing to a custom of cruelty, than a revengeful temper. On the other hand, there are not many instances of the placable disposition which the Christian religion so strongly recommends. In theory, however, they are friends to this virtue, and they apparently exceed the Christians in the duty of resignation." *

"It must be confessed," says Major Scott Waring, "that the Persians are pleasing and entertaining companions; but not the least reliance is to be placed on their words or most solemn protestations. You should always, therefore, be on your guard against their insidious offers; and to be so, it is necessary to distrust all their declarations. The manners of the Persians are formed, in a great degree, on the principles of Lord Chesterfield: they conceive it their duty to please; and, to effect this, they forget all sentiments of honour and good faith. They are excellent companions, but detestable characters!.... The generality of Persians are sunk in the lowest state of profligacy and infamy; and they seldom hesitate alluding to crimes which are abhorred and detested in every civilized country. Custom has doubtless made many of their vices appear to them in the light of foibles; but the sanction of custom will not soften the darker shades of the Persian character. The same argument

* Hanway's Hist. Acc. vol. i. ch. 50. In his second volume, (p. 443.) he remarks, in extenuation of the suspicious turn which Nadir Shah took, that "the Persians are as gentle, soft, and persuasive in their manners, as they are full of cunning and deceit. They are polite, and affect condescension to strangers or guests; but, where they have any power or authority, their deportment is haughty and insolent. To this we may add a strong propensity to rebellion."

cannot be advanced for them, which has been urged in favour of the Greeks, for they have laws which stigmatise the crimes they commit." *

Equally unfavourable is the picture of the national character drawn by Mr. Fraser. "Its prominent features," he says, "are, certainly, falsehood and treachery in all their shapes, cunning and versatility, selfishness, avarice, and cowardice.† There is no deceit, degradation, or crime to which they will not stoop for gain; and their habits of falsehood are so inveterate, that untruths flow, as it were, spontaneously from their tongue, even where no apparent motive exists. To those who have never had the means of inquiring into this subject, or of viewing man under circumstances so pernicious to his moral and intellectual nature, the character here given may appear overcharged, dictated, perhaps, by disgust or spleen; but let the facts and anecdotes recorded by Herbert, Chardin, Hanway, and others, be examined, and then let it be judged whether the picture be just or otherwise. Exceptions are doubtless to be met with; and, for the honour of human nature, let us hope they are numerous. Under a more auspicious system, the Persians, without question, would be a very different and far more estimable people; but the traveller must relate things

* Waring's Tour to Sheeraz, pp. 103, 4.

† These assertions assuredly require to be greatly qualified. Avarice is not characteristically a Persian vice. Major Scott Waring says: "The name of *Sheerazee* stamps some degree of credit on the possessor, while that of *Isfuhanee* is expressive of deceit, cunning, and fraud; and this seems to be the common and established opinion." This coincides with Sir John Malcolm's statement respecting the remarkable difference of character ascribed to the inhabitants of the principal cities. The citizens of Aleppo and Damascus are in like manner proverbially distinguished, the former by their foppishness, the latter by their falsehood.—See *Syria*, &c., vol. ii. p. 43.

as he sees them; and under the present regime, a different result could hardly be contemplated.

"With the national character, the condition of society has been equally deteriorated and disturbed. The best relations of life are quite dissolved. There exist none of those venerable customs and sympathies of attachment which bind men together, and keep each rank in its proper sphere. All order seems on the point of suspension, and a disposition to anarchy obtains, which certainly would end in some revolution, were it not for certain counterpoises connected with the religion and peculiar political situation of the country, that tend to preserve things as they are, and to resist every natural effort at improvement. The insecurity of life, limb, or property, even for a single day, produces corresponding mistrust among individuals. Each lives but for himself and for the hour; man fears man; the servant distrusts his master; the master, his servant: mutual necessity may keep them together while there is no inducement to separate, but the slightest prospect of increased advantage, would dissolve the strongest ties. This jealousy penetrates and destroys, what to man should be his most sacred blessing, the circle of his family. The sweet domestic charities are scared away by suspicion and terror. The father and son dread, and often hate each other. Even the wife, uncertain of her husband's life, and of her children's affection, feels a separate and selfish interest, and grasps what she can secure and secrete of his property, to provide for the evil day. The worst is, that there is no national prospect of amelioration, no point from which to look forward to a happier state of society; for there is no hope of any change in the system of government.

"It has often been said, that the Persians are the

politest people in the East. I should be loath to question their pretensions to this distinction; but I never have been able to discover good grounds for them. If, by politeness, be merely understood a courteous manner to superiors and equals, a ready application of complimentary terms in conversation, and a strict adherence to forms and ceremonies, the Persians may lay some claim to that accomplishment. But, if by this term be implied, that urbanity and easy affability not only towards each other, but towards strangers of all conditions, which puts them at ease at once, which flows from goodness of heart, and smooths the rougher paths of life, which prompts a continued exercise of kind attentions towards friends, of good-natured and disinterested offices towards indifferent persons, of forbearance from needless offence towards inferiors and even enemies; in short, a want of selfishnesss, and a considerate feeling towards all men;—if, by politeness, any thing like this be understood, the Persians, of whatever rank in life, possess it in a small degree. A certain measure of urbanity will doubtless be found among the higher ranks of every civilised nation; but I believe that the greatest proportion of Asiatic gentlemen, of whatever country, will be found equally polite with those of Persia. Those of Hindostan, who yet remain, are so, I am sure; and such Arab chiefs as I have seen, are not less so, although their manners are somewhat different; and the Turks are not destitute of an austere civility. I believe that, in truth, the Persian owes his character for politeness more to the nature and phraseology of his language, than to any other source: it is even more replete with hyperbole and metaphor than other Eastern tongues; and the common forms of conversation, if taken literally, would be little better than

senseless bombast. The least a Persian says when he receives you, is, that he is your slave; that his house and all it contains, nay, the town and country, are all yours, to dispose of at your pleasure. Every thing you accidentally notice, his *calleeoons*, his horse, equipage, clothes, are all *Peshcush-e-Sahib*, a present for your acceptance; but no one considers this, or any thing of the sort, as one bit more sincere than 'your most obedient servant,' at the bottom of an English letter.* Nor is this flood of language used indiscriminately to all; it is like their holiday dress, put on only to appear before those whom they respect and fear. Let the relative situations be changed, and the truth will appear. Then, the slight salutation, the loud authoritative voice, and the little-measured or even gross observations, will convince the stranger how little the former consideration which he enjoyed was sincere or genuine in its nature. I speak from experience; for I have been in both situations.

"If it be meant, that the lower, as well as the higher classes of the Persians are polite, I do not think the observation at all more just. Something of the charm of his language will tinge the conversation of the lowest groom; and you will see him as punctilious in the observance of ceremonies with his friend, as the khan, his master. But, follow him one step further into the common course of life, and you will find him not at all superior to the peasant of other countries: in fact, some of the lower orders, as camel-drivers, muleteers, grooms, &c., exceed, if possible, in brutality of action and language, the corresponding orders of all other countries, with which I am ac-

* Not very dissimilar are the forms of Castilian breeding; and these remarks must be considered as criticisms upon conventional idioms, rather than upon character.

quainted. The Persians are certainly lighter hearted, better humoured, and less grave or austere than most other Asiatics. They are more easily moved to gayety, and have more lively imaginations than the Arabs, Turks, or Indians, the Affghauns, and Tatars; and from this lively and careless disposition, they have not inaptly been termed the *French* of Asia. But, if the comparison is meant to imply a similitude in politeness and manners to that refined nation of Europe, I cannot acquiesce in its justice.

"Of a like empty and unreal description may be considered the claim which the Persians assert to the character of a hospitable people: it seems to rest chiefly on the boast they make of considering every stranger as a guest of the State, while he remains within its boundaries. This is confined to strangers of rank and distinction; and in many instances, the duties of a host are very poorly discharged. The same is generally found to be the case, when a private person receives a guest. What it may be among one another, I cannot so well declare, although I have reason to believe that no great disposition to reciprocity of such offices exists among them; but certainly, when their guest is not of a rank from which they can hope for either much credit or profit, their hospitality is sufficiently cold and narrow. Of this I can speak from experience; and although exceptions will appear, I have little reason to eulogize Persian hospitality.

"It is a common remark, that the Persians are less bigoted and more liberal in matters that regard religion, than their neighbours; the Turks and the Arabians for instance; but I cannot say that this accords with my own observation. The Persians, being a lighter, more lively people than their neigh-

bours, afford more numerous and more public instances of neglect in their religious observances. Many of them will converse with greater ease and less austerity on such subjects; and perhaps, from the nature of their character, they do not so uniformly or so systematically affix a bloody seal to their abhorrence of real or supposed pollutions of their sacred places....In all other matters, they are as deeply prejudiced as either Arabs or Turks; in some, they are even more so. If an Arab or a Turk admits a Christian as his guest, he will eat with him from the same dish, and makes no distinction between him and a Mahomedan. A Persian will admit the Christian to his house, but takes care to separate his establishment from the rest of the house: if his guest should eat with him, a separate tray is provided, and all contact avoided as much as possible. Jews and Christians are not generally admitted, in Persia, into the public baths. Even when European gentlemen go to these, it is usual to give notice, in order that they may be made private; and this is tolerated, more because Government find it their interest to be civil to them, than as a right. Were a European to travel without a *mehmandar*, and in humble guise, out of the common tract, he would find strong objections made to his frequenting the Mahomedan baths. It is death to a Christian or a Jew, to enter any of the principal mosques or places of holy pilgrimage in Persia, as it is in Turkey. None, of these religions, except Europeans, ever dream of attempting such a thing; and even when the high respect in which European gentlemen are held, joined to the liberal reward they are ever too ready to offer, induces them to waive this prejudice in their favour, they are only admitted in disguise, or, at all events, in secret. A poor Arme-

nian, or Jew, would as certainly be put to death, were he found within the sepulchre of Imaum Reza, or Fatima, or the great mosque at Sheeraz, as in the mosques of Constantinople or Damascus."*

Mr. Fraser travelled in Khorasan and other parts of Persia rarely visited by Europeans, where the national character would naturally appear to a foreigner under the greatest disadvantages. Disgust at the inhospitable treatment which he received, may have given, unconsciously, a darker tinge to the general complexion of his observations. Indeed, he bears honourable testimony to the simplicity of character and disinterested kindness of certain individuals with whom he had intercourse,† and who, whether regarded as mere exceptions, or as average specimens of the native character of the Persians, ought to protect their countrymen from indiscriminate reprobation. Ignorance, bigotry, meanness, and dishonesty are qualities by no means peculiar to Asiatic society; and they must, therefore, be left out of our account in fixing upon the national characteristics. In these respects, Turk differs from Turk, and Persian from Persian, quite as widely as either nation from those of Europe.

Independently, however, of these individual differences, and the varieties of character distinguishing the several castes and classes of society, the military, the moollahs, the citizens, the peasantry, and the *eelliauts*, —there would seem to exist a very remarkable distinction of character among the natives of the several provinces, which must be referred to a physical origin. This has been greatly overlooked; and yet, it is evi-

* Fraser's Khorasan, pp. 174—183.
† Fraser's Caspian Provinces, p. 279.

dent, that no estimate of the national character can be correct, which confounds the dark olive race of Southern Persia with those whose fair and florid complexion and sanguine temperament bespeak them to be of Median or Scythian descent. In the natives of Fars, Laristan, and Kerman, notwithstanding, perhaps, a mixture of Arab blood, there appears to be still observable a considerable affinity to the Hindoos.* In fact, under the name of Parsees, this same race still maintains its distinctive character, as well as its genuine name and ancient creed, in British India. This is the nation to which Persia has been chiefly indebted for her literature and civilization, but which seems to have been at all times, with few exceptions, the subject race. It has produced, at rare intervals, its worthies and heroes, and may, perhaps, boast of its Jemsheed, its Roostum, and its Cyrus, as well as, in later times, its Kurreem Khan and Lootf Ali; but no dynasty of this race has ever lasted through many generations. From the earliest times, Persia has received her monarchs from either Assyria, Touran, or Arabia; and since the Mohammedan conquest, there has never been a king of the native race. The present reigning family are of Turkish or Anatolian origin;†

* "To the philologist, it may be a matter of some interest to be informed, that it was in Koordistan I found my Hindoostance of the greatest use; one half or three fourths of the proper names of things, in particular, being very similar in both dialects. That they are derived from the same root, is beyond a doubt, and that the ear of the traveller is often assisted by the presence of the object that is named, may equally be allowed; the fact, however, still remains the same; and without any direct intercourse, or immediate connexion of origin or history that we are positively acquainted with, the Koordish is to the full as similar to the Hindoostanee as the Persian has generally been esteemed."—HEUDE'S *Voyage up the Persian Gulf*, &c., *Pref.*, p. vii.

† The Kujurs are one of the seven Turkish tribes, called *Kuzel-*

and the Turkish, Turcoman, or Tatar tribes, who have at different periods accompanied conquerors from beyond the Oxus, from the banks of the Volga, and from the plains of Syria, must have given their character to a large portion of the population. A very large mixture of Circassian blood flows also in the veins of the modern Persians. The level country between the mountains and the Persian Gulf, is entirely occupied by Arab tribes, who have from the earliest ages possessed a superiority over the Persians at sea, and are still distinguished by their maritime habits from the horsemen of Elam and Fars. In Khorasan, Khoords, Turkomans, and Affghans, compose a motley population.

M. Malte Brun, on the authority of the manuscript journals of several French Travellers, gives the following Table of the various nations now inhabiting Persia.

I. LIVING IN FIXED DWELLINGS.

1. Modern Persians, "comprising a mixture of ancient Persians, Tatars, Arabians, and Georgians" ..... at most	10,000,000
2. Parsees or Guebres (at Yezd, in Kerman, and in Mekran)	100,000
3. Affghans of Caubul	500,000
4. Ghelaky, or ancient inhabitants of Ghilan..	50,000
5. Armenians (in Armenia and Adjerbijan)..	70,000
Carried forward.....	10,720,000

bash, whose swords were consecrated to the defence of the Sheah faith. Mr. Waring says: "Qajar is the way it is spelt, Qujur the way it is pronounced." "The Qajjars," he remarks in another place (p. 57), "preside over fashion; and every thing which is supposed to be neat or elegant, is called *Qujuree*, or à la Qajjar;" whereas, during the reign of Kurreem Khan, "the Qajjars" were in general disrepute. Malte Brun writes the word Katchar and Kadjar; others, Cadjar and Kajer. Such are the endless variations of Oriental orthography. The word is said to signify fugitive; the very meaning ascribed to the ancient appellation Parthian.

Brought over	10,720,000
6. Jews	35,000
7. Zabians (in Khoozistan)	10,000

II. NOMADE TRIBES.

1. Tribes speaking the Turkish language		
a The Affshars (chiefly in Adjerbijan)	88,000	
b The Kajars (in Mazanderan)	40,000	
c The Mukaddem (near Maragha)	5,000	
d The Dombeloo (in Armenia)	12,000	
e The Turkomans (in Adjerbijan, and near Hamadan and Kazeroon)	12,000	
f The Talish (in Mazanderan and Ghilan)	15,000	
g The Karagheusli (near Hamadan)	12,000	
h The Bejat (in Adjerbijan, Fars, and Khorasan)	20,000	
i The Shasevend (near Ardebil and Rhe)	14,000	
k The Djisvanshir (in Sherwan)	7,000	
l The Djelair (in Khorasan)		
m The Fars Modanloo (in Fars)	10,000	
n The Kodjavend (in Ghilan and Mazanderan)	4,500	
Twenty-eight less considerable tribes	say 81,000	
		320,500
2. Tribes of the Arabic language.		
(1) Arab shepherds introduced by Tamerlane: The Ahwaz in Khoozistan, and other tribes in Kerman and Khorasan, about		95,000
(2) Arab fishermen on the coast of Khoozistan and Fars	say	10,000
3. Tribes of the Loorish language.		
a The Zend (near Isfahan and in the north of Fars)	12,000	
b The Lekes (in Farsistan)	20,000	
c The Khogiloo (the same)	15,000	
d The Zingueneh (near Kermanshah)	6,000	
e The Feili (in Looristan)	40,000	
f The Bactyari (in Looristan)	30,000	
g The Kerroos (near Khamsé)	9,000	
h The Kara Zeujiri (near Kermanshah)	7,000	
		139,000
Carried forward		11,329,500

	Brought over.....		11,329,500
	4. Tribes of the Koordish language.		
	(1) In Koordistan.....		
Independent.	*a* The Mekris (said to be able to muster 3000 horse).....		
Independent.	*b* The Bilbas (able to raise 15,000 men).....	115,000	
Independent.	*c* The Giafs (4 or 5000 families).....		
Subject to the Waly or Persian Governor.	*d* The Goorars (near Senneh).....		
Subject to the Waly or Persian Governor.	*e* The Baras (1000 familes).....		
Subject to the Waly or Persian Governor.	*f* The Sunsur (1200 families).....	32,500	
Subject to the Waly or Persian Governor.	*g* The Leks (1000 families).....		
Subject to the Waly or Persian Governor.	*h* The Kotchanloos (10,000 persons)		
	i The Shagaghis (in Adjerbijan, a peaceful, agricultural tribe).....	15,000	
	(2) Out of Koordistan.		
	a The Reshevend (in Taroon).....	10,000	
	b The Pazequi (between Rey and Tehraun).....	3,000	
	c The Zafferanloo (in Khorasan).....	10,000	
	d The Boinoord (in Khorasan).....	8,000	
	e The Modenloo (in Mazanderan).....	4,000	
	f The Erdelani (in Khoozistan).....	10,000	
	g The Embarloo, &c.....		
			207,000
	5 Tribes of the Patan language.		
	Affghan tribes ....say.....		3,500
			11,540,000

This table we give as we find it, except that we have ventured to fill up, conjecturally, a few of the blanks in the supposed numbers of the various tribes, for the purpose of exhibiting the total estimate. There is reason to believe, however, that the fixed population is greatly overrated, even if we make allowance for those districts which have since been alienated from the Persian empire. Some other tribes are also referred to as existing within the limits of Persia, of whom little or nothing is known.* All these wan-

* "The Paddars, the Hassarais, and other tribes little known, wander along the banks of the Araxes." M. Malte Brun mentions also the Kishlaks in Koordistan and the Seïdes in Adjerbijan. By

dering hordes receive the common appellation of Eeleauts or Eeliâts, (tribes); and they form the strength of the Persian armies. The dialect spoken by the Loorish tribes is said sufficiently to resemble the Koordish language, to be sometimes confounded with it; and Sir John Malcolm states, that, although there is a considerable difference in the dialects spoken by the various tribes who inhabit Kourdistan, Irak, Fars, and Kerman, it is not so great as to prevent the inhabitants of one province from understanding that of another. All these tribes also have similar customs; their system of internal government is nearly the same; and they alike profess the Mohammedan religion.* Further details will be given, upon the testimony of recent writers, in our topographical description. It is evident, however, that our knowledge of the pastoral tribes is at present extremely imperfect;

the latter, the *Syuds* are probably meant; an appellation not peculiar to any tribe, but marking a claim to descent from the family of Mohammed. Among the most remarkable of the independent tribes of Kourdistan, Sir John Malcolm says, is "a branch of the tribe of Hâkâry, who dwell in that lofty ridge of hills which lies west of the Lake of Oormia, and approaches the town of Sâlmâs in Adjerbijan."

* Malcolm, vol. ii. pp. 119, 457. "There cannot," says this Writer, "be a stronger proof of their coming from one stock, than that the languages which they speak, are all rude dialects of the Pehlivi." Malte Brun remarks, that, "as Hadji Khalfah maintains that three languages are spoken in Farsistan, the Parsee, the Arabic, and the Pehlevi, we may with considerable probability infer, that the Loorish language, the only dialect now known in Fars, besides the Arabic and the Parsee, is the Pehlevi, or at least a dialect of that ancient language." "The Pehlevi, or Pehloowan dialect, that is to say, the idiom of the warriors or heroes, seems to have prevailed in Irak Adjem....It is mixed with many Chaldee and Syriac words, but is not a mere dialect of the Chaldee, as Sir William Jones seems to think.....The Koord is, like the Pehlevi, a mixture of Persian and Chaldee."—Malte Brun, vol. ii. b. 33. Its affinity to the Hindostanee has already been noticed.

and the preceding table will be found valuable, chiefly as directing the inquiries of future travellers.

Upon the whole, we may conclude, that the true Persian is sufficiently distinguishable from the Arab, the Gentoo, or the Turk, although, as an Asiatic, the subject of a despotic government, and a Moslem, he must have much in common with all. From the Turk, he is distinguished by his versatility and pliancy, his vivacious temperament and lively imagination, his love of hyperbole and display, and his consequent proneness to exaggeration and falsehood. Instead of terming him an Asiatic Frenchman, we might, perhaps, call him with more propriety an Asiatic Greek. The "pliability" which the Persians discover "in adopting the manners of thought and action of other people, justifies an opinion," Mr. Morier remarks, "that, if they had enjoyed all those advantages of situation and converse with Europeans which the Turks possess, they would have been far more than their equals in all the arts of peace and war, and would have had, in consequence, a much larger influence on the politics of Europe."* From the Arab, the Persian is distinguished by his superior civilization and looser morals, his effeminacy and his licentiousness; and not less from the Hindoo, in his complexion and physical temperament, and his inferior docility. We believe that most travellers who are conversant with the different nations, would prefer to

* Morier's Second Journey, p. 23. In a subsequent page, after adducing some instances in point, the Author observes, that "if it were ever the policy of any of the European nations to give a further impulse to the eagerness with which they have already begun to acquire some of our arts, it is not to be doubted that the whole of Persia would soon exhibit a very different aspect from what it does at present, and that from this commencement, their darkness in religion would perhaps be gradually dispelled."—p. 227.

trust an Arab, to deal with a Turk, to converse with a Persian, and to be served by a Hindoo.

Our limits will not allow us to enter much at large into the state of religion in Persia. Every where in the East, the religion of Mohammed is on the decline. The attachment to it partakes more of political, than of religious feeling; and in Persia more especially, a free-thinking and irreligious spirit reigns to a great extent. Sooffeeism, under various modifications, has long been gaining ground; and the interested zeal of the moollahs alone maintains the falling religion of the Arabian impostor. This has always, in Persia, been more or less mixed with mystical or idolatrous corruptions. The radical difference between the Sheah and the Soonee creeds has already been adverted to: it consists mainly and ostensibly in this; that, whereas the latter recognise the first three khalifs, Aboubeker, Omar, and Osman, as the legitimate successors of their prophet, the former consider them as illegal and impious usurpers of the divine and indefeasible right of Ali, who, they contend, ought immediately to have succeeded his father-in-law as the Head of Islam. Moreover, the true ecclesiastical succession, they conceive to have been inherent in the family of Mohammed; they consequently reject and contemn the *Souna* or oral traditions which rest upon the authority of the four great imaums, or high priests, Haneefa, Malik, Shaffei, and Hanbal, "the four pillars of the Soonee faith," restricting the sacred title of imaum to the twelve immediate descendants of Mohammed. The last of these, the Imaum Mehdee, is supposed by them to be not dead, but only concealed; and he is expected to appear near the last day, when Jesus is to descend from heaven, and all the world is to receive the faith of Mohammed. Among the

Soonees, on the contrary, it is a dogma, that there must always be a visible imaum, or "father of the Church." It was for a long time held indispensable, that he should be of the Arabian tribe of Koreish, to which the family of Mohammed belonged; till, the right of succession, yielding to the law of conquest, was formally renounced by Mohammed XII., the last khalif of the house of Abbas, in favour of Selim I., the Emperor of Constantinople.

"The difference which exists on these points between the Soonee and the Sheah sects," says Sir John Malcolm, "is at once rancorous and irreconcileable. It is one in which the passions are easily arrayed; for it relates to no speculative or abstruse points of faith that are difficult to be comprehended, but is interwoven with the history of their general religion. Names which are never mentioned but with blessings by one sect, are hourly cursed by the other. The hypocrisy, ingratitude, and disobedience of the first three khalifs, are the essential dogmas of the Sheah doctrine; while the leading principle of the Soonees, is, that, next to the prophet, these rulers were, beyond all others, the most entitled to the regard and veneration of posterity. The differences in their mode of worship and customs are slight, and have wholly arisen out of the hate they bear each other, and their dislike to have any usage in common. These consist in the mode of holding the hands, of the mode of prostration, and other forms equally immaterial." The Soonees are accused, moreover, of making the tops of graves convex, instead of flat, (the shape ordered by tradition,) for no reason but opposition to the Sheahs. The Persian writers endeavour to give further importance, however, to these differences, by defaming the imaums of the Soonees, ascribing to them every

doctrine which has been propagated by the most absurd or visionary of their followers.* Both sects have their respective traditions, written and unwritten, to which they appeal, as the Jews to the Talmud, and the Papists to the Church, for the authorized interpretation of the Koran. But the Sheahs ascribe to their Imaums, not merely infallibility, but impeccability.† "Our belief," they say, "in the prophets, apostles, imaums, and angels, is, that they are pure and holy; that they commit no sin, either great or small." Abraham is said to have been "nothing more than a prophet, till God made him an imaum!" In many respects, it has been remarked, there is a striking correspondence between the Sheah system and that of the Romanists. "Both," remarks Professor Lee, "have their *pontifex maximus*; both, their traditions. Both have their queen

* "As to the interpretations of Mocátib, Zamakhshari, and the like," says the learned Sheah opponent of Henry Martyn, Mohammed Ruza of Hamadan, "we say, that they are not in conformity with the true religion, as professed by the Sheahs, the followers of the Twelve Imaums, who have received the true interpretation of the Koran by tradition from the descendants of Mohammed himself, all of whom had the power of working miracles....But the true interpretations of the Koran are those which are conformable with the explications of the Sheah, who have received their comments by *regular, well-attested, and uninterrupted traditions*, either from the Prophet himself or his immediate successors,—by the intervention of just and faithful narrators."—LEE'S *Persian Controversies*, p. 355.

† "Now the belief of the Sheah is this, that every one of the prophets was, from the day of his birth to that of his death, wholly free from sin; that they were never implicated in either infidelity or error; and that both their fathers and grandfathers were likewise free from those sins. Of this kind, there are many passages revealed in the Koran, all tending to establish the truth, as consistent with the nature of things and the deductions of sound reason ....Purity (in a prophet) is nothing more than that grace and favour which we have shewn it is incumbent on the Deity to afford."—LEE'S *Persian Controversies*, p. 358.

of heaven;" for Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, occupies much the same rank in the Sheah creed, that the Virgin does in the Romish Church. "The saints of both communions can work miracles. Both have their pilgrimages, their purgatory, their relics, their hermits. The principal thing in which they differ, is, that the Sheah reject the use of images." Further, both deny that their respective sacred books can be understood by the common people. A learned champion of the Sheah faith contends, indeed, in his reply to the lamented Henry Martyn, that "the number of the expressions of the Koran which may be fully understood by human investigation, is very small." "The far greater part," it is added, "can be fully comprehended by none except the Prophet himself or the descendants of his house." Once more: both the Romish Church and the Persian Church have their mystics and their schoolmen; for the Sooffees unite in themselves both characters. Of these, there are various sects, ranging from pure metaphysical deism, or pantheism, to the wildest fanaticism; and although they are said to agree in their principal tenets, their mode of stating and illustrating their favourite doctrine varies considerably. "It would be vain," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "to attempt to give a full history of the Sooffee doctrine; traces of which exist, in some shape or other, in every region of the world. It is to be found in the most splendid theories of the ancient schools of Greece, and in those of the modern philosophers of Europe. It is the dream of the most ignorant and of the most learned; and is seen at one time indulging in the shades of ease, and, at another, traversing the pathless desert." Authors, he proceeds to state, are divided as to whether there are two, or seven, of what can be deemed original sects among the

Souffees; but a very learned moollah, the late *moosh-tâhed* (high-priest) of Kermanshah, "whose hostile bigotry made him direct all his ability to explain and confute their doctrines," gives it as his opinion, that the only two original sects are, the *Hulooleâh*, or the inspired, and the *Itâhedeâh*, or the unionists. The other five sects which have been supposed to be original, are, he says, mere derivatives from these two: they style themselves the *Wâsâleâh*, or the joined; the *Ashakeâh*, or the lovers; the *Tulkeeneâh*, or the penetrating; and the *Wâhdatteâh*, or the solitudinarians. As Sir John Malcolm's history may not be accessible to the majority of our readers, we shall transcribe from his pages the account which he gives, on the above-mentioned authority, of the distinguishing tenets of these various sects.

"The principle maintained by the *Hulooleâh*, or the inspired, is, that God has entered or descended into them; and that the Divine Spirit enters into all who are devout, and have an intelligent mind. The *Itâhedeâh*, or unionists, believe that God is one with every enlightened being. They compare the Almighty to a flame, and their souls to charcoal; and they say, that, in the same manner that charcoal, when it meets flame, becomes flame, their immortal part, from its union with God, becomes God. It has, the learned Author states, been affirmed, that these two sects, which are now deemed original, are derived from a sect called *Hermâneâh*, who borrowed their tenets from the *Sâbbetteâh*, or ancient Sabians. 'Impious men,' he observes, 'desiring to conceal from themselves the great error into which they had fallen, have tried to connect the doctrines of these sects with that of the twelve holy Imaums, to which they have not the slightest affinity; but,' he adds, 'the principal

tenets of the Hulooleâh certainly approach the creed of the Nazarenes, who believe that the Spirit of God entered into the womb of the Virgin Mary, and thence the doctrine of the divine nature of their prophet, Jesus.'

"The *Wahdatteâh*, or the solitudinarians, whom this Author terms a branch of the Itâhedeâh, are considered by many other writers as one of the original sects of Sooffees. They believe, that God is in every thing, and that every thing is God. This class of Sooffees are deemed followers of the ancient philosophers of Greece, particularly of Plato, who, they assert, has said, 'That the God of the world has created all things with his own breath; and every thing, therefore, is both the Creator and the created.' The tenets of the Wâhdatteâh are very prevalent among modern Sooffees; and many sects deem themselves branches of this stock. The Author hitherto followed, enumerates twenty sects that follow the Wâhdatteâh, each of whom has some difference in the subordinate parts of their belief and their usages. Among the most remarkable of these are the Dheri, or 'eternals,' who believe the world is uncreated and indissoluble; and conceive that man is taught his duty by a mysterious order of priesthood, whose numbers and ranks are fixed, and who rise in gradation from the lowest paths to the sublimest height of divine knowledge.....The twentieth and last branch of Wâhdatteâh is denominated Jumkhooreâh, which means, 'the collected;' a name that has been given them from their belief in the collected creeds of all the other sects of Sooffees. Their leading doctrine is, that nothing which exists should be rejected, for all things contain a portion of the Divinity. They are accused of being complete optimists: every thing is good with them; religion

and infidelity, the lawful and the unlawful. 'Like the Nazarenes,' the author who gives this account observes, 'they deem hogs and dogs clean animals; and, like them, admit that females may go about unveiled. The greater part of the modern Sooffees,' he affirms, 'belong to this sect; and they dignify their indiscriminate principle of belief and of conduct with the exalted name of divine love.' "*

"The Persian Sooffees, though they have borrowed much of their belief and many of their usages from India, have not adopted, as a means of attaining beatitude, those dreadful austerities which are common among the visionary devotees of the Hindoos. The most celebrated of the teachers of the Sooffee tenets in Persia, have been men as famed for their knowledge as their devotion. In the list of these, modern Sooffees desire to include every name which has obtained a pre-eminence in the history of their country or in the world.† They claim, in fact, all who, by their writings or sayings, have shewn a spirit of philosophy, or a knowledge of the Divine nature which elevated them above the prejudices of the vulgar. But, though this claim cannot be maintained, (as many of the wisest and ablest men of Persia have been remarkable for their attachment to the forms and dogmas of the established worship,) the Sooffees can boast that great numbers, as eminent for their learning as their genius, have adopted their opinions. Among these, the most

* Most of the sub-sects of the *Wâttahdeeh* would seem, from their assumed titles and general description, to be either of a fanatical or a licentious character; and to some of them are ascribed the same abominable tenets and usages that have been attributed to the Ismaelies and Druses of Syria.—See MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, vol. i. pp. 263—273.

† They claim the patriarch Abraham as one of their principal teachers.

distinguished are poets....The *Musnavi* (of Jellal-u-deen), which teaches in the sweetest strains, that all nature abounds with a divine love, that causes even the lowest plant to seek the sublime object of its desire; the works of the celebrated Jâmi, which breathe in every line the most ecstatic rapture; the book of moral lessons of the eloquent Sadi; and the lyric and mystic odes of Hafiz; may be termed the Scriptures of the Sooffees of Persia. It is to them that they continually refer; and the gravest writers who have defended their doctrine, take their proofs from the page of these and other poets, whom they deem to have been inspired by their holy theme.

"It has been truly observed, that the greatest objection to Sooffeism is, that it is in itself no religion: wherever it prevails, it unsettles the existing belief, but it substitutes no other of a defined and intelligible nature. Though it professes to leave the mass of the people in the state in which it found them, it never can. Their minds are taught to consider an attention to all the forms of the religion they follow, as a mere worldly duty, from which they are to be emancipated by an increase of knowledge or of devotion. The Sooffee teacher does not deny the mission of Mohammed; but, while he instructs his disciples to consider that prophet and his successors as persons who have been used as instruments for preserving the order and good government of the world, he boasts a direct and familiar intercourse with the Deity, and claims, on that ground, their entire confidence and obedience in all that regards their spiritual interests.

"The progress of Sooffeism has been of late very rapid in Persia. Its tenets were mixed with those of the Sheah sect, when that was established as the national faith by the first of the Suffavean kings; and

some of the monarchs of that race glorled in professing tenets which they inherited from their pious ancestor Shaikh Hyder, who is deemed one of the most celebrated of the Sooffee teachers in Persia. The orthodox hierarchy have, from the first, made an open and violent war upon this sect; and, though they have often failed in rousing the bigotry of the sovereign in their defence, they have always succeeded in convincing his judgement that the established religion was necessary to the support of the state....The Sooffees were never actively persecuted before the reign of the last monarch of the Suffavean race, Shah Sultan Hussein, who gave himself into the hands of priests of the orthodox religion, and allowed them to exercise every severity towards all who departed from the forms of established worship. The attempt of Nadir Shah to alter the Sheah faith, and to adopt that of the Soonee as the national religion of Persia, had, no doubt, a serious effect in diminishing the influence of the Mohammedan religion. Kurreem Khan, though reputed a true believer and an observer of the forms of worship, was neither rigid himself nor intolerant of others. During his reign, a celebrated Sooffee teacher, named Meer Maassoom Aly Shah, came from India to Shiraz, where his followers soon amounted to more than thirty thousand persons. The orthodox priests took alarm, and prevailed upon the mild Kurreem to banish the saint from his capital; but his reputation was increased by the act of power that proclaimed him dangerous."*

After Kurreem Khan's death, a persecution of the Sooffees took place at the instigation of the priests of Isfahan. The late chief priest of Kermanshah distin-

* "Malcolm, vol. ii. pp. 388—418.

guished himself also by his endeavours to excite the popular indignation, as well as the jealousy of the government, against this sect; and he had obtained full powers from the reigning monarch, Futteh Aly Shah, to put to death or otherwise punish the offenders.* These violent measures are thought to have increased their numbers, as every Sooffee who has suffered death, is deemed a martyr. They are now estimated at between two and three hundred thousand persons; but this calculation, Sir John Malcolm remarks, must rest upon mere conjecture. The greater proportion of the Sooffees of Persia are not to be distinguished from the other part of the Mohammedan population. They are, in fact, directed, when in the first ranks of this mystic faith, † to conform to the established religion; and, owing to the persecution they have suffered, it has become a tenet among some sects of Sooffees, not to confess their religion.

It is evident, that Sooffeism is a very intangible and Proteus-like system, which can assume the most various and fantastic shapes. Its very essence, Sir John Malcolm tells us, is poetry. Mr. Scott Waring says, that the religion of the Sooffees, as far as he has been able to comprehend it, appears to be a compound

* A copy of the letter is given by Sir John Malcolm. "We have," says the Shah, "in short, ordered that the sect be extirpated and put an end to, in order that the true faith may flourish."

† The first stage of Sooffee perfection is that of humanity, *ndsoot*; the second, that of power or force, *jubroot*, when the candidate enters the pale of Sooffeism, and exchanges practical for spiritual worship. It is in this stage that it ceases to be his duty to observe the outward rites of the established religion. The third stage is that of knowledge, *aruf*, when the disciple is supposed to have attained inspiration or supernatural knowledge. The fourth and last denotes his arrival at truth, *hukeekat*, which implies his union with Deity.

of the philosophy of Plato and that of Berkeley The principal Sooffee writers are said to be familiar with the writings of Aristotle and Plato, and their most celebrated works abound in quotations from the latter.† "The life and opinions of Pythagoras," says the former writer, "if translated into Persian, would be read at this moment as those of a Sooffee saint. The tale of his initiation into the mysteries

* "Some of them," says Sir John Malcolm, "term the world *alam kheal*, i. e. a world of delusion; by which it is implied, that we are constantly, with regard to all *maddah* (matter), under an illusion of our senses, and that it exists only from the light of God, or the animating principle, which enables us to see it, and makes it visible; otherwise it is in itself nothing." "Some of them," he tells us, "deny the existence of evil, because, they say, every thing proceeds from God, and therefore must be good;" and almost all the Sooffees are predestinarians. According to the doctrine of the celebrated Jami, as cited in the Dabistan, "Existence, considered as such, is independent of any appendages external or rational," but exists pure in the Divine Unity, and pervades all matter. Another famous Sooffee doctor states, "that the first and necessary Existence is that which remains unchangeable under all circumstances; and that dependent Existence is nothing more than the forms and modes of being which are subject to change. The production of the world," it is added, "is nothing more than the manifestation of that light which is peculiar to the Divine nature, exhibited under numerous and various forms. In the books of the Sooffees it is said, that, as beauty receives pleasure from the contemplation of itself, whenever it views itself in a glass; so does the Divine Essence contemplate its own beauty in the appearances and discoveries of things which have been brought about by his own appointments; and beholds in every mirror, that form which it has been calculated to present; and thus, by means of the multiplicity of lights in which he is viewed, presents himself in that various and multiform relation which is visible around us."—See LEE'S *Persian Controversies*, pp. 425—7.

† Sir John Malcolm supposes, that even the appellation Sooffee may have been originally adopted from the Greek Σοφοι. Others derive it from the Arabic term *Saaf*, pure, clean; or *Suffa*, purity; or, again, from *Soof*, wool, in allusion to the coarse woollen garments usually worn by its teachers.

of the Divine nature, his deep contemplation and abstraction of mind, his miracles, his passionate love of music, his mode of teaching his disciples, the persecution that he suffered, and the manner of his death, present us nearly an exact parallel to what is related of many of the most eminent of the Sooffee teachers." Under the general name of Sooffeism, however, there can be no doubt that sentiments are often held, far more nearly allied to the Epicurean school, than to that of the Academy. There is a refined mysticism which may be termed the poetry of Sooffeism; and there is, distinct from this, the scholastic or metaphysical theology of the Sooffee schools; but besides this, we recognise a grosser sort of creed, in which, all that is poetical having evaporated, the dregs of a heartless *selfism*, a moslem antinomianism, alone remain. Thus, in the more intellectual and refined, Sooffeism would seem to preserve the negative character of a cold and barren speculation, an opium-dream of the fancy; in the enthusiast, it becomes a wild fanaticism; as professed and taught by the artful fakeer, it is a mere imposing jargon; while, in alliance with vulgarity and grossness, it is the cloak and license of an abandoned libertinism.

The Christians of Persia consist of the Georgians, the Armenians, the Nestorians, the Jacobites, and the Romanists.* With the exception of those of Georgia

* "The Georgians have the Bible in the Georgian language, which was printed at Moscow in 1743; but the language is not so generally cultivated among the higher ranks as the Persian. It probably bears the same relation to the Persian which the Welsh does to the English. The Armenians have a version of the Bible in their own proper tongue, but the copies are few in number. The Nestorian and Jacobite Christians use the Syriac Bible; but it is yet more rare than the Armenian."—BUCHANAN'S *Christian Researches*, p. 276. The Polyglot Persian version of the Gospels appears to have been made from the Syriac.

and Armenia, they are now few in number.* The mountains of Kourdistan have afforded shelter to a small colony of Nestorians, who are supposed to have resided there more than thirteen centuries; and a Roman Catholic mission has long been established at Isfahan, where a remnant of the Armenian colony also still exists; but, with these exceptions, Christianity is almost unknown in Persia, having disappeared, for the most part, with the Greek language, save in the doubtful form in which it was professed by some of the Moghul princes. It was reserved for an English missionary, the lamented Henry Martyn, to proclaim, for the first time, before the *mòollahs* of Shiraz, the doctrine of faith in Christ as the Lamb of God, and the Saviour of the world;† and to make the Gospels known in their own tongue to the modern natives of the country.

In the preceding view of the national character, the more prominent physical and moral features have been chiefly dwelt upon: the costume and manners of the people will more properly fall under our notice in the description of the capital and chief cities. In pro-

* Dr. Buchanan represents it to be a low computation, that two hundred thousand Christians speaking the Persian language are ready to receive the Scriptures in their own tongue; but he includes those who speak this language in Hindostan.

† "On reading the passage" (in Mr. Martyn's Persian Version) "where our Saviour is called the 'Lamb of God,' the moollahs scorned and ridiculed the simile, as if exulting in the superior designation of Ali, who is called *Sheer Khoda*, the Lion of God. Mirza Baba observed to them: 'The lion is an unclean beast; he preys upon carcases, and you are not allowed to wear his skin, because it is impure; he is destructive, fierce, and man's enemy. The lamb, on the contrary, is in every way *halal* (lawful). You eat its flesh, you wear its skin on your head, it does no harm, and is an animal beloved. Whether is it best, then, to say, the Lamb of God, or, the Lion of God?"—MORIER'S *Second Journey*, p. 225.

ceeding to execute this part of our task, we shall first conduct our readers, by the usual route from Busheer, to Shiraz, and thence, after visiting Persepolis, by way of Isfahan, to the present seat of royalty, Tehraun. Our chief guides in the first part of this route will be, Sir William Ouseley, Mr. Morier, Mr. Waring, and Lieut. Alexander.

PERSIAN GULF.

THE proper entrance of the Persian Gulf may be placed between Cape Bombareek (properly *Mobarek*, happy, fortunate) and Cape Musseldom (a corruption of *Mama Selemeh*, the name of a female saint);* on rounding which, we come to the five small islands called the Quoins, from their resemblance to the quoin of a gun.† On passing this point, it is usual for the native traders (from India), to throw cocoa-nuts and other fruit or flowers into the sea, to secure a propitious voyage. "Sometimes," says Lieut. Alexander, "they equip a small vessel, and put in it samples of the different articles of which their cargo is composed: this vessel they set adrift, and if it makes toward the land, they infer a favourable termination of their voyage. Some of these miniature barks are occasionally met with many leagues out at sea." Behind the Quoins, piratical boats used to lie in wait. The rock of which both the cape and the islands are composed, is limestone,‡ bare and arid, the only vegetation being wild sorrel, which is found growing in the clefts of the rocks. Innumerable shoals of fish frequent these

* Cape Musseldom is eighteen leagues westward of Cape Mobarek.

† They are also called *Bunat*, or the Sisters.

‡ "The dip is westerly; the angle of inclination varies exceedingly. In some places, I observed a columnar stratification indicating basalt."—ALEXANDER, p. 87.

islands. Beyond them is the once famous island of Ormuz, the high peaks of which have the appearance of being covered with snow; they are, in fact, composed of rock salt, with which the surface of the island is for the most part covered, and vast quantities are collected, salt being the only article now exported from the island.* Opposite to Ormuz, is the high land of Gomberoon, where, according to tradition, the Guebres made their final stand against the Moslems. Gomberoon affords a great quantity of brimstone, which is a source of revenue to the Imâm. Fish is found here also in great plenty, and the sea abounds with sea-snakes and *medusæ*.†

The next island is Kishmis, the largest in the Gulf, being sixty miles in length and fifteen in breadth. It is said to be susceptible of cultivation, but is at present almost totally deserted.‡ From the sea, not a blade of vegetation is to be seen on the flat-topped sandy

* "The island is covered with ruins, among which the reservoirs are found, most of them in a state of decay. The only habitable place in Ormus at present is the fort, which is said to have been built by Albuquerque in 1507: it is now in tolerable repair, and still possesses some very large Portuguese cannon. The Imaum of Muscat keeps a garrison here of 120 Nubian slaves and 80 Arabs, to prevent the Joassimi pirates from taking possession of it. One of the inhabitants said, that silver crucifixes are frequently found among the ruins."—MORIER, vol. ii. p. 405.

† Those seen by Lieutenant Alexander, were all checkered black and yellow, with the dorsal and ventral fins of the common eel. He saw also several sharks, and a large *echineis neucrates*.—See ALEXANDER'S *Travels*, p. 88.

‡ This island, the *Qneixome* of the Portuguese, bears also the name of *Djazeeru Duraz*, the Long Island, converted by Niebuhr into *Djez Draz*. "This island," says Mr. Scott Waring, "is very productive; its grapes are famous, and it is said to contain near 300 villages." Lieutenant Alexander, on the contrary, states, that no grapes have been produced there within the memory of man. Kishmish is the Persian term for raisin, however, and this favours the supposition that this island was once famed for its vines.

hills; but in the valleys, a stunted grass affords pasture to hares and antelopes. Beyond this are two small low islands, called the Great and the Little Tomb* (in Persian, *Gumbuz*); and on the Persian side is seen Cape Sertes, an arid point, projecting from a still more arid coast. To the N.W. of Kishmis is Bassadore, a station for cruizers, and the coolest place in the Gulf. Here are found two or three European houses, and a small bazar inhabited by Arabs, amid the remains of an extensive Portuguese city. The tanks, or reservoirs, which supplied the inhabitants with water, are still entire. The ruins of Portuguese forts and factories are every where to be met with to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, along the coasts of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India; and excite our astonishment how Portugal could send forth from her limited population, the number of settlers required for her extensive eastern possessions, in addition to those who colonised the Brazils. Opposite to Bassadore are Romps and Ras-el-Kaimar, two notorious piratical stations, which were razed to the ground by the force under Sir William Grant Keir, in 1820. Near them are the celebrated pearl-banks, which run parallel with the Arabian shore from 56° to 48° E. longitude. Opposite to Cape Sertes is the island of Kenn, called by the natives Kais, a low slip of land, about twelve miles from the main, partially covered with trees; chiefly the date-tree, besides which are found the banian, the tamarind, and the cotton-plant. This island was once in possession of a tribe of independent Arabs, called the *Beni Kaiser*, who carried

* "The Persian words of *Nabjoo* and *Toomb* unfortunately destroy Dr. Vincent's hypothesis relative to these two islands."—WARING, p. 138.

on a lucrative trade.* It is still inhabited, though much exposed to the attacks of the pirates. At six feet beneath the surface, water is found, and the habitations of the people are supplied with wells. The whole surface of the island appears to have been inundated, large beds of shells being found at a considerable distance from shore. The people say, that gold dust is found in the channels of the torrents. The coast is lined with coral rocks.

In sailing between Kenn and the main, a large town may be seen, situated close to the water's edge, and scarcely distinguishable from the soil. Mr. Morier supposes it to be Siraf. "From the size and style of the buildings," he says, "it must have been a place of the consequence attached to it in the Persian annals. Until it was supplanted by Kais, it was a flourishing commercial town, and much resorted to by foreign merchants, although its territory was unproductive, and its climate extremely sultry. The most conspicuous object that met our eye, was an octagonal tower, surrounded with a high wall, which some took for a fortification, others for a mosque. On a hill commanding the town, we discovered walls and three round towers, and, at some distance beyond, a mausoleum. We saw no mark of vegetation, except the date-tree. Many boats were drawn up on the beach. Higher upon the coast, about fifteen miles, we distinguished the town of Gillem (Illa, Hilu), more

* The history of their fortunes, as related to Mr. Morier by the Persian Ambassador, bears a striking resemblance to that of Whittington and his cat, save that the owner of the mouser was an old woman of Shiraf, the mother of three graceless sons who had abandoned her, but whom she afterwards admitted to share in her wealth. Their descendants became kings of the island. The power of the Beni Kaiser was at length destroyed by one of the Attabeg kings of Fars.—MORIER, vol. ii. p. 31.

agreeable in its appearance than Siraf, though not so large. It is situated opposite to Inderabia (Hindurabee), a small, flat island, barren and uninhabited."*

At Kharrak (Kharug), situated between Cape Sertes and Cape Bustion, is a town which was once in possession of the Danes; and "it is singular," remarks Mr. Morier, "that the people who claim a Danish blood, are still very fair-complexioned, and have light red hair, which may confirm their traditional accounts of their origin. The same nation had also an establishment in a deep bay near Cape Musseldom, and the fort exists to this day. On Cape Bustion, there is a mine of copper, which was formerly worked by the Portuguese: they built also a fort there, which still exists, but the mine is no longer worked, and indeed is almost forgotten."†

Beyond this point, where the main land is very high, is a long, low, and narrow island, called Busheab (properly *Khoshaub*, good water), on the easternmost point of which is a neat-looking village, surrounded with date-trees. The channel between the island and the main is from eight to nine miles in breadth; but a coral reef extends four miles W. and N. of the island. To the westward of Busheab are seen several large villages and date groves. Beyond this, the coast of Fars runs out into a promontory called Cape Nabon. Some leagues further, is seen the Barn Hill, a remarkable piece of land, deriving its name from its supposed resemblance to an old thatched building. The whole coast is here very high.‡ Very near this, to the eastward, close under a peak, and in a wood of date-trees, is the town of Congoon, the residence of an Arab

* Morier, vol. ii. p. 34. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 51.

‡ The hills on the Persian side rise in four distinct series of ridges, to the elevation of about 1500 feet.

shiekh, which is resorted to for wood. Just below it is a port, called *Tauhree*, where are extensive ruins and sculptures, with inscriptions in the Persepolitan character: "among the ruins are two wells pierced to a great depth, and stabling for a hundred horses excavated in the solid rock." *

Cape Verdistan (Burdistan) is the next point, from which runs out a shoal, rendered dangerous by a reef of rocks, which extends about six or seven miles from the shore. The coast now presents a most rugged, barren, and inhospitable appearance, with a very bold shore. Two points of land, a little more conspicuous than the surrounding points, have received the appellation of the Asses' Ears. Nearly under these, a small river called Khoresser, falls into the sea, on the banks of which is situated the town of Tangistoun.† Some leagues further is seen Halila peak, a high and remarkable point, which forms a capital land-mark: the proper name of the hill is said to be *Khoormooj*, Halelu being the name of a village on the low ground to the S.E. Beyond this point is discovered the low land on which stands the town of Bushear.‡

Along this coast, sheep, dates, and wheat may be

* Morier, vol. i. p. 51.

† "At the mouth of this river is a small island, formed by the sands brought down, which adapts this situation to Arrian's account of *Hœratemis*. At the place marked by Dr. Vincent as *Podargus*, there is now no torrent; but I learn from Dr. Jukes and Mr. Bruce, that at Harem, situated thirty miles inland, on the declivity of the mountains to the eastward, there is a water which finds its way to the sea, and may perhaps accord with the position required."—Morier, vol. i. p. 52.

‡ We give the following positions from Mr. Morier. Great Tomb island, lat. 26° 14′ N.; long. 55° 19′ 45″ E. Cape Sertes, 26° 32′ 15″ N.; long. 54° 42′ 45″ E. Kenn or Kais (S.E. point), lat. 26° 30′ 18″ N.; long. 53° 59′ 30″ E. Distance between the west end of Kenn and the east end of Inderabia, 12 miles. Anchorage off Bushire, lat. 28° 58′ 15″ N.; long. 50° 54′ 15″ E.

procured. The produce is "lodged in recesses in the rocks, to escape the hands of the Utoobees, who often land, and destroy or seize whatever they can discover." Small quantities of wheat, rice, barley, dates, and almonds are exported to Muskat, and other ports in the Gulf; but the trade is now inconsiderable.*

BUSHEER.

BUSHEER, properly Abû Shehr, now the principal port of Persia, is situated on the extremity of a low peninsula, formed on one side by the Persian Gulf, and on the other by an inlet terminating in extensive swamps. The whole peninsula, on the point of which it stands, has evidently been gained from the sea; and in the equinoctial spring tides, it resumes its original character as an island. Its first appearance, rising conspicuously from the surrounding flat, is extremely singular, but far from inviting. At a distance, it resembles a city half-built. The houses are either of clay, or of a soft white stone,† with flat roofs; above which are seen, in different parts, rising to the height of from 60 to 100 feet, about nine square turrets or "wind-chimneys," each the mark of a great man's dwelling.‡ On the land side, the town is for-

* Waring, pp. 136, 76.

† The materials of the town, "a soft sandy stone, incrustated with shells," are drawn from the ruins of Reshire, a town four miles to the southward, which, in the time of the Portuguese, was a place of considerable consequence. Many of the adjacent villages, Mr. Morier says, are built of the same stone, the only species found in the peninsula, the soil of which is alluvial,—sand and mud impregnated with saline matter. The appearance of the houses is not much improved by this material.

‡ "This is a square turret, on the sides of which are perpendicular apertures, and, in the interior of which are crossed divisions, which form different currents of air, and communicate some com-

tified: towers occur at unequal distances, two of which form the town gate. Little cultivation is seen in its immediate vicinity; and the only object which breaks upon the uniformity of the white soil, is "the lank and perpendicular date-tree, tufted at its summit with a little dusty verdure."* At the distance of forty miles rises to the eastward a lofty range of dark blue mountains.

"Dreariness, solitude, and heat," says Mr. Morier, "are, indeed, the chief characteristics, not only of this town, but of all the shores of the Persian Gulf. Although Bushire is the principal Persian sea-port, yet, there is none of that bustle and movement which indicate the activity of commerce. Instead of crowds of vessels at anchor, with hundreds of boats passing to and fro, the masts of a solitary vessel may here and there be perceived, and perhaps a single boat creeping along with a flapping sail. The whole of its trade is closely connected with that of Bussora, as almost every ship which navigates the Gulf, touches at both places, either to discharge or to receive merchandise; but it

fort to the heated apartments of the house. But the comfort is not wholly without danger; as, in an earthquake some years ago, the turrets were thrown down, to the great damage of the surrounding buildings."—MORIER, vol. i. p. 57.

* "Whatever may have been the former state of the immediate neighbourhood, it is certain, that there are now no longer to be found the gardens and plantations which Nearchus described, or even those which Captain Simmons delineated. Had Nearchus again described Bushire and its territory in his day, he would have said, that a few cotton-bushes, here and there date-trees, now, and then a *konar*-tree, with water-melons, *berinjauts*, and cucumbers, are the only verdant objects which in any measure alleviate the glare of its sandy plain."—MORIER, vol. i. p. 58. From the cotton-bushes near Bushire, they fabricate a kind of cloth nearly equal to the China nankeen. Mr. Waring noticed also some castor-oil shrubs, but was informed that, although its medicinal qualities are known, the oil is used only for lamps.

does not employ annually more than eight ships under English colours, and about six under (those of) Muskat, making, on an average, about 4500 tons of shipping. The Persians have no navy either for war or commerce." *

There are supposed to be about 400 houses in the town, besides several alleys of date-tree huts on entering the gates, which may amount to the same number. The inhabitants, however, are calculated at 10,000, which would give more than ten for each house. There are seven mosques, (four belonging to the Sheahs, and three to the Soonies,) two hummums, and two caravanserais. The bazars resemble those of a provincial town in Turkey. The old English factory is a large straggling building in a dilapidated state, near the sea side. The new Residency is nearly two miles from the pier. The streets, as in other Arabian or Persian towns, are narrow, intricate lanes, from six to eight feet wide, displaying on each side, nothing but inhospitable walls, half choked up with filth or sand, and infested by crowds of "mangy dogs." The materials of which the houses are built, are constantly decomposing, adding their dust to the sandy ground-work of the streets, which, when set in motion by the wind or a passing caravan, creates an impenetrable cloud. At times, when "a furious northwester" sets in, the whole air becomes charged with minute particles of sand, which, entering the houses, cover the dishes, powder the hair, and get into the eyes. But even this plague, Lieut. Alexander says,

* Morier's Second Journey, p. 38. The only man of war ever constructed in Persia was built by Nadir Shah with the timber of Mazanderan, which was transported on the backs of men over the mountains. The wreck of this ship is still to be seen in the harbour of Busheer.

he found less annoying than the innumerable flies and mosquitoes which swarm immediately after sun-rise.

In this climate, a life passed in tents is in general more agreeable than that passed in towns; but even a tented life has here its discomforts. While the British mission was encamped here in 1810, a gale of wind from the south-east levelled three of the largest tents with the ground. This wind continued to blow violently for some days, accompanied by a suffocating heat, * and bringing with it innumerable flights of locusts; while the clouds of dust which it raised, destroyed all comfort or rest. It then suddenly veered round to the N.W., blowing with equal violence. As soon as it subsided, the plain was covered with men, women, and children, who came out to gather the locusts. †

The climate of Busheer is not deemed unhealthy. In the winter, however, storms from the N.W. are very frequent and tremendous, and coughs and colds are pre-

* "We thought it might be the precursor of the *samoun* described by Chardin; but, upon inquiry, we found that the autumn was generally the season for that wind, and that its consequences, in the memory of the present inhabitants, had never been so fatal as those mentioned by that traveller. The *sam* commits great ravages in this district, and is hurtful to vegetation. It blows from about midnight to sunrise, comes in hot blasts, and is afterwards succeeded by a cold one." About six years before, a *sam*, which had occurred during the summer months, so totally burned up the corn, then near its maturity, that no animal would eat a blade of it, or touch any of the grain. Mr. Morier suggests, that this may illustrate 2 Kings xix. 26.

† "Those which fell on this occasion, were not of the predatory sort, which are large and of a deep red: these were three inches long, from the head to the extremity of the wing, and the body and head of a deep yellow. When boiled, the yellow ones turn red, and eat like stale shrimps. Dried and salted, they are sold in the bazars as the food of the lowest people."—MORIER, ii. 44.

valent. Disorders of the eyes also are very general.* The better sort of women here are scarcely ever seen, and when they are, their faces are completely covered. The poorer women are less reserved: they go in troops to draw water, and the elder ones may be seen sitting and chatting at the well, and spinning the coarse cotton of the country, while the young girls are filling the water-skins, which they carry on their backs. Their dress consists of an ample shirt, loose trowsers, with bare feet, and a veil which goes over all. "Their appearance," says Mr. Morier, "is most doleful, though I have noticed a pretty face through all the filth of their attire. The colour of their clothes is originally brown; but, when they become too dirty to be worn under that hue, they are sent to the dyer, who is supposed to clean them by superinducing a dark blue or black tint. In almost every situation, they might be considered as the attendants on a burial; but in a case of death, there are professional mourners."

The open country round Busheer abounds with wild animals, among which are the fox (a large white species), the wolf, the hyena, the porcupine, the *mangousti*, the antelope, the wild boar, the *jerboa*,† and

* "It is surprising," Mr. Waring says, "to observe the number of blind people and persons with sore eyes in the different parts of the Dushtistan," or low country. "At least one third of the inhabitants have something the matter with the eyes." He attributes it to the excessive heat and dryness of the air, together with the irritation produced by the fine particles of sand blown into the eyes.

† The jerboa of the Dashtistan does not live in troops, as, according to Sonnini, this animal does in Egypt; and it differs from his description, Mr. Morier says, in some other particulars, so as to render it probable that they are of various species. The jerboa of Hasselquist, of Bruce, and of Sonnini, all seem to differ. The

sometimes the wild goat. The lion has occasionally been known to descend from the mountains into the plain. There is a very large and ferocious species of dog, called the *kofla* dog, from his being the faithful and watchful companion of the *kofla* (*cafila*) or caravan. Partridges abound in the plain, and hawking is a favourite amusement. A beautiful species of Indian grouse is found further inland.

Busheer is indebted for the little consequence which it possesses, to Sheikh Nusir, who supported the dignity and independence of his station against the power of Kurreem Khan. Although perpetually engaged in war, the profits of the extensive trade which he carried on with Muskat and India enabled him to keep up a large standing force; and at his death, he is said to have left his son two millions in money, three thousand camels, and six hundred brood mares. The son, however, gave himself little trouble to preserve the acquisitions of his father, and was deprived, by Lootf Ali Khan, of the wealth and power which he wanted the spirit to defend.* A considerable sum

Persian jerboa shuns the light. "One of the most common methods of catching them is by the glare of a lantern, which seems to deprive them of the power of moving, and subjects them quietly to the hand of the man who bears the light. There is another and an easy way of catching them, by pouring water down one of the apertures of their retreat; they immediately jump out." Mr. Morier hunted several with spaniels; "but, although surrounded on all sides, they escaped with the greatest facility. When very closely pressed, they have a most dexterous method of springing to an amazing height over the heads of their pursuers; and, making two or three somersets in the air, they come down again in safety on their hinder legs, many yards from the spot of their ascent. In this leap, they probably use their diminutive paws. Even a greyhound stands no chance with them: as soon as he comes near, they take to the somersets, and the dog is completely thrown out. Their flesh is reckoned very fine."—MORIER, vol. i. pp. 65—7.

* Waring, p. 7.

in specie is still annually exported to Bombay, Masulipatam, and Bengal; whence are obtained in exchange, chintzes, long cloths, muslins, Guzerat *kincobs*, &c. The pearl trade is now almost entirely centered at Muskat, whence the greater part are exported to Surat. The island of Bahrein on the Arabian shore was formerly deemed the most productive bank of the pearl oysters; but the island of Kharrak, Mr. Morier says, now shares the reputation. The fishery extends indeed along the whole of the Arabian coast, and a great part of the Persian side; and "it is a general rule, that, wherever in the Gulf there is a shoal, there is also the pearl oyster. There are two kinds; the yellow pearl, which is sent to the Mahratta market, and the white pearl, which is chiefly sent to Bussorah and Bagdad, and thence to Constantinople and Europe, a large proportion being arrested by the Porte to deck the sultanas of the seraglio. Although, since the transfer of the English market to the banks of the coast of Ceylon, the fishery has declined in activity, it is said to be still as prolific as ever."*

* Morier, vol. i. pp. 52—6. "The pearl of Ceylon peels off: that of the Gulf is as firm as the rock upon which it grows, and, though it loses in colour and water 1 *per cent.* annually for fifty years, yet, it still loses less than that of Ceylon. It ceases after fifty years to lose any thing."—*Ib.* It is therefore much more highly esteemed in Persia. The divers, who are Arabs, seldom live to a great age: their bodies break out in sores, and their eyes become very weak and bloodshot. The mode in which they collect the oysters, is as follows. The diver, having stripped, compresses his nostrils with wooden pincers, or puts a horn over his nose; he then slings round his neck a small basket capable of containing two dozen shells; and jumping overboard, places his feet on two crossed double-headed shot attached to a rope which he holds. His companions in the boat lower him rapidly, and, as soon as he touches the bottom, he quits the rope, which is hauled up. After having filled his basket, he ascends without assistance to the surface. They can remain under water five minutes, and their dives

Not far from Busheer, at about two feet below the surface of the ground, Mr. Morier found two oblong vases rudely made, of baked clay, three feet and a half in length, and the orifice eight inches in diameter. This was closed with a small cover, and within were found human bones, supposed to be those of a woman and child: the enamel of the teeth was undecayed. The vases were placed side by side. Many of a similar kind have been turned up near Busheer; and at Resheer also, they have been found in rows close to an ancient wall. Some pieces of coin are said to have been sometimes contained in the urns, which are doubtless of considerable antiquity. None of the natives could give any satisfactory account of them. In a place of burial near the ruins of Resheer, there are tomb-stones apparently ancient; but Mr. Morier considers it as doubtful, whether they date before or after the Mohammedan era.* Of the fortress of Resheer, built by the Portuguese, (the natives ascribe it to Shah Abbas,) obscure remains are all that are now left. The reservoirs may still be seen, and the line of the fort is traced by the ditch, which is excavated in the rock. The gateways are also discoverable. But who would care to inspect Portuguese remains in

succeed each other rapidly throughout the day. They dive from ten to fifteen fathoms, the largest pearls being found in the deepest water. Sometimes they meet with springs of fresh water at the bottom. At Bahrein in particular, the only water used for drinking on board the cruisers, is procured by sending a man down three or four fathoms with a musket barrel, which he fills and brings up."—ALEXANDER, p. 89.

* Morier, vol. ii. p. 45. Outside of the fort are some flat, oblong stones, which the Author supposed to have been placed over Portuguese tombs. "There are, however, some curious characters upon them, which Sir Harford Jones, who recollects them when they were more legible, conceives to be between the old Cufick and the Nekshi."—*Ib.* i. 59.

Persia? At Halila, a small village nine miles S. of Busheer, there is a square fort, but without any guns. Here and there, over the plain, are some little spots sacred to the dead, and defended by small works of stones. The whole of this district has once been populous, but not with Persians.* The Dashtistan, or *Gurm-seer* (hot region), is connected, in its physical character, with Oman, rather than with Iran; and its burning shores can be inhabited only by Arabs, the sailors, carriers, and pirates of the Indian seas from the earliest times.

FROM BUSHEER TO SHIRAZ.

In proceeding from Busheer towards Shiraz, the first day's journey is usually to the village of Alichangee, a distance of five *fursungs* (about 15 miles).† The

* "There are the ruins of many small forts all over the Dashtistan, which were built by some unsuccessful rebel, and which were left to decay as soon as he was quelled. The population of this district has been decreasing ever since the happy days of Sheikh Nasir. Almost the whole of its geography presents places which have names, but no inhabitants; or, if there are any, they are the refuse only of former flourishing families."—MORIER, i. 77.

† The Rev. Henry Martyn, in travelling to Shiraz in June 1811, left Busheer at ten o'clock P.M., and at sun-rise came to a place called Ahmedee, where the only shelter was a tree; distant six *parasangs* or fursungs. "At first," he says, "the heat was not greater than we had felt in India, but it soon became so great as to be quite alarming. When the thermometer was above 112°, fever heat, I began to lose my strength fast. At last it became quite intolerable. I wrapped myself in a blanket and all the warm covering I could get, to defend myself from the external air, by which means the moisture was kept a little longer upon the body, and not so speedily evaporated as when the skin was exposed. One of my companions followed my example, and found the benefit of it. But the thermometer still rising, and the moisture of the body quite exhausted, I grew restless, and thought I should have lost my senses. The thermometer at last stood at 126°.... Capt. ***

route crosses for three hours an extensive tract of salt-marshes, which have the appearance of being covered with snow, from the crystallized sulphate of lime which lies on the surface of the sandy soil. Second day, from Alichangee to Borazjoon, nine *fursungs* (about 24 miles). The approach to this thriving village is through plantations of date and tamarisk trees, and the ground in its neighbourhood is well cultivated. Third day, to Daulakee, four *fursungs* (12 miles). The road is much broken by the beds of numerous torrents, and is very stony. Near Daulakee are several streams of mineral water of a most sulphurous smell; one of them is of very high temperature at its source. They all fall into the river of Daulakee. To the left of the road are two springs of black naphtha.* The soil at the roots of the mountains is in some places saturated with a nitrous acid, which is used in acidulating sherbet. It is termed *gil-i-toorsh*, or sour clay, and is deposited by the rivers on their margin. Lieut. Alexander supposes it to be a mixture of alum and sal-ammoniac. Daulakee, or Dalkee, is an inconsiderable place; but near it are some interesting remains of a fire temple and fort. Fourth day, to

who sat it out, continued to tell the hour and height of the thermometer: with what pleasure did we hear of its sinking to 120°, 118°, &c. At last the fierce sun retired." A large wet towel wrapped round the head and body, and a *tattie* of date-branches kept watered, were subsequently found an effectual defence against the violent heat.—*Memoirs*, p. 357, 8.

* "We arrived at the foot of the mountains, at a place where we seemed to have discovered one of nature's ulcers. A strong, suffocating smell of naphtha announced something more than ordinarily foul in the neighbourhood. We saw a river: what flowed in it, it seemed difficult to say, whether it were water or green oil. It scarcely moved, and the stones which it laved, it left of a greyish colour, as if its foul touch had given them the leprosy."—MARTYN'S *Journal*, *Memoirs*, p. 359.

Konartukht (Konar-a-Takhta), in the plain of Khisht, four *fursungs* (16 miles). We shall here avail ourselves of Lieut. Alexander's spirited narrative, as containing both the latest and the most minute description of this part of the route.*

"Immediately after leaving Dalkee, we entered a narrow gorge in the hills, composed of sandstone and clay slate. The hills increased in height as we advanced, from 200 feet to 800; their upper parts presented the appearance of perpendicular scarps; the dip of the strata towards the north; the angle of inclination, 40°. On rounding a corner, we came suddenly upon a rapid river, called the Shoora, from its brackish waters. The road continued for some distance parallel to this impetuous and noisy torrent, which was divided into several deep streams. On the other side of the valley, and over the principal stream, a bridge was observed, one or two of the arches of which had been carried away; we were consequently obliged to cross at a deep ford higher up. When we attained the middle, the water was over the saddle-flaps. We got over luckily without accident, with the exception of two of our dogs, which went howling down the stream.

"In the first part of the pass, several rock-partridges were shot; they differed from others in plumage, which was of a greyish pink colour, and also in

* Lieut. Alexander's first day's stage from Busheer, was to Chakota, distant six fursungs, or 24 miles. This place is surrounded with a good wall of sun-dried brick, 15 feet high, with four round bastions twice that height. The sheikh has the character of being particularly attentive to Europeans. From Chakota, he proceeded to Borazgoon, the walls of which could hardly be seen for the numerous stacks of grain which surrounded them. This stage was 16 miles, the distance from Busheer to Borazgoon agreeing with Morier.

being smaller. The *capra ibex*, or wild goat, abounds here, but it is of an inferior size to that of the Alps. Wild sheep are occasionally found: they have long legs, and hair instead of wool. On the road-side, in many places, small recesses were cut in the rock: these are for the shelter of the *tabunchees*, or match-lock-men, who accompany *cafilas* through the pass, to protect them from Bactiari robbers.

"After crossing the river, we commenced ascending the pass of the Kootul Moolah. The narrow path wound amongst huge stones and rocks, and it required constant attention to prevent ourselves from being knocked off our horses and hurled down precipices 200 and 300 feet deep. It was interesting to observe the sagacity of the mules, where there was any thing of a descent: they drew their hind legs under them, and slid down the smooth ledges of rock, and occasionally leaped from one ridge to another. After we had proceeded for some time along the side of the mountain, which was calcareous, with precipices on our left, and a stream gurgling far below us on our right, we began to ascend, in an almost straight line, the face of the mountain. We were obliged to hold firmly by the manes of our horses, to prevent our slipping over the kantle; and in the middle of the ascent, we were obliged suddenly to dismount, as our steeds began to slip backwards with us. On coming to a most dangerous part of the ascent, one of our companions, who had been here before, said, that he had seen a mule dashed from this spot to the bottom of the mountain, by striking against one of the mules of another *cafila* which was descending. After attaining an elevation of 1200 feet, we arrived at the *rhadar*, a solid piece of masonry, with a wide Saracen arch in the centre. At the sides were recesses for the

accommodation of the *rhadarees*, or protectors of the road. It was with no small satisfaction that we passed through the arch, and found ourselves on a table-land on the other side, being the fertile vale of Kist. The air was here delightfully cool, and our olfactories were regaled by the delicious odour of a *convolvulus*, but which I was unable to discover. Lions with short manes are frequently seen in this plain and on the surrounding mountains.

"Journeying merrily along for about a fursung, we arrived at the capital caravanserai of Konartukht on the 12th. This village is noted for its excellent caravanserai: it is the best we had yet seen, and it may not be out of place shortly to describe it. It is surrounded with a wall twenty feet in height, with four round towers at the angles. Over the gateway are three rooms, which, being open on all sides, catch every breath of wind. Around the walls, in the inside, are arched recesses for the accommodation of wayfarers: these extend half way to the outer walls, and the vacant space consists of long rows of stabling, which are entered by the four angles. In the centre of the square is a platform, raised three or four feet from the ground, which is used for sleeping on in hot weather. Below this, and under ground, is a lofty vaulted room, in one corner of which is a well of good water. This caravanserai, and others of this country, possess several advantages over those which I had seen in India. There is no stabling in the latter, and no platform in the centre of the square. In Persia, stabling for the mules and horses is indispensable in the winter months.

"We here found an extensive establishment of horses belonging to Noor Mahomed, a very *honest* horse-dealer belonging to Kazeroon. He keeps half

of his stud here, it being cheaper than in his native place. In the fertile plain of Kist, there is most excellent hare and partridge shooting: several brace were killed by our party. The hares were smaller, but have much longer ears than those of Europe. The partridges were of the species called painted. The male species was a beautiful bird: the feet and bills were red, the breast black spotted with white, with a black ring round the neck; the sides were ferruginous, marked with black. The females and young were brown with black spots. Thermometer 90°.

"Left for Kumeredge, distant fourteen miles. On quitting Konartukht, after a mile's ride, I observed, on the hill to the right, an upright stone or small tower; and across and along the road extended the foundations of buildings. In a field, I saw several holes made by porcupines, who had been digging for bulbous roots. After traversing three miles of plain, we entered the hills, between which we crept along by a tortuous and narrow path, with a rapid river on our left. This, we were told by Noor Mahomed, who intended accompanying us to Kazeroon, was the Shapoor, which name it acquires after passing the far-famed ruins of the city so called. Shortly after this, passing through hills impregnated with salt, it is termed the Shoora, which we had already crossed. The stones in the bed and sides of the river seem to be indurated sandstone. After winding amongst the hills for some time longer, and crossing several small mountain torrents, we suddenly found ourselves in a deep and narrow glen. The *tout-ensemble* was here of the grandest and most sublime description; steep mountains of 1600 feet in height, seemingly tumbling on our heads: the strata were within a few degrees of being vertical. The moon, appearing from behind

one of the loftiest peaks, threw half the scene into deep shade, and mildly illuminated the other half. A complete stop seemed now to be put to our further progress; but our guides, suddenly turning to the left, commenced ascending one of the loftiest mountains, called the Kootul Kumeredge, by a steep zig-zag road. After scrambling up the ascent on horseback for some time, I looked over the side of the path, and found my right leg hanging over an awful abyss of 600 feet in depth: on my left, was a lofty and bluff rock of amygdaloidal limestone. This occurred three or four times during the ascent. Down one of these precipices, a mule of the envoy's, laden with liquor, was dashed. We were separated from the lofty mountain on our right, consisting of pointed and vertical strata of limestone, by this tremendous gulley. At one or two of the most dangerous turnings, there were ridiculous little parapets, of a foot in height: they might be of some small service to descending *cafilas*. After scrambling and slipping for an hour, we reached the *rhadar*, which was a cave on the right side of the road, across which was built a wall with a narrow opening in the centre. Out of the cave issued a savage-looking man with a skin of water in his hand, which we quickly emptied.

"Shortly after passing the *rhadar*, we entered the plain of Kumeredge, bounded by an amphitheatre of mountains: it is three miles in length, by one and a half or two in breadth. On the right, a small encampment of the Illyauts, or wandering peasantry of the country, was observed, consisting of five or six black tents. In the seasons for sowing and reaping the grain, these tribes (some of which are very strong, and have one of their head men at court as a hostage for the good behaviour of the rest) descend from their pas-

tures, of which each tribe has a limited district, and cultivate the valleys. The dress of the men differs from that of other Persians, by the more frequent adoption of a high and white cap of felt, instead of the conical black sheep-skin. The dress of the women is generally blue; consisting of a loose pair of trowsers, a chemise open half way down in front, and descending above the drawers to the middle of the thigh; on the head is a three-cornered veil of checkered blue and white cloth.

"The caravanserai at Kumeredge having been deserted for some time, and in ruins from having been frequently attacked by robbers, we bivouacked in a field near the village.*

"In the evening we left for Devisht, distance twelve miles. In proceeding along the vale, the hills nearest were stratified after the manner of trap, and were 200 or 300 feet in height. These were backed on the right by mountains apparently 2000 feet high, with square summits. The colour is that of red sandstone, but I am inclined to think the basis is limestone. Further on, the range is decidedly calcareous and very cavernous. In passing through the narrow and rugged defile which leads into the extensive plain of Kazeroon,† the road in one place was nearly blocked up by a huge mass of rock which had been thrown down by the earthquake two years before. On the side of the path I observed the *amygdalus Persica*, which, being wild, is of course a bitter almond. Some distance further on, we came to a *rhadar*."

* The passes of the *Koutul Kumeredge* (Mr. Morier writes it *Khaumauridge*) are infested by a daring tribe of Bactiari robbers.

† *Tengui Turkoon* is the name of one pass between two high branches of the mountains; besides which, Mr. Morier says, there is a road to the left, which leads over the mountain.

Our Traveller and his companion halted at Devisht, for the purpose of visiting the celebrated ruins and sculptures at Shapoor, distant two fursungs. The rest of the party proceeded the regular stage to Kazeroon, distant from Kumeredge twenty-four miles.

"On applying to the *kutkhoda* * of Devisht for guides to Shapoor, he declared, that fewer than fifteen or twenty armed men would not accompany us, as the hills about Shapoor swarmed with Muhumud Soonee † robbers, who, the day before, had killed on the plain the head-man of a neighbouring village. We retired to rest on the top of the *kutkhoda*'s house, which was half under ground, almost the whole of the village having been destroyed by the earthquake of 1824. The thermometer, till two in the morning, was under 40°. At two o'clock (June 14), we rose, mounted, and proceeded towards the east, along the foot of the limestone hills which bound on each side the long valley of Kazeroon. We were accompanied by eight matchlock-men and two Illyauts armed with spears; four horsemen also strengthened the party. Having marched four miles, the guides requested us to dismount, as they could not proceed for the cold. We had crossed several streams, on the banks of which were juniper-bushes, and our legs had got wet; we, therefore, complied with their request, and halted on a threshing-floor, circular, and the bottom of hard beaten clay. Our conductors lighted a large fire; when

* When the chief or head-man of a village or district is an Arab, he is styled *shiekh*; when a Persian, *kutkhoda*.

† This is the word which Mr. Morier, in his first journey, writes *Memmeh Sunni*, and, in his second volume, softens into *Mamacenni*, supposing them to be descendants of the Tatar-tribe described under that name by Quintus Curtius. If Lieut. Alexander's orthography be correct, this ingenious hypothesis falls to the ground.

they had warmed themselves for half an hour, we remounted, and after an hour's ride, found ourselves amongst the ruins of Shapoor. We first crossed a broad ditch, through which a stream of water flowed, and scrambling up the face of a decayed curtain, found ourselves on the top of the ancient rampart, and saw the extensive remains of stone-built houses below us. At this moment I experienced the shock of an earthquake; it seemed to pass from south to north, accompanied by a long rumbling noise among the hills, and a sudden oppressive heat in the atmosphere.

"We now proceeded along the wall, with the remains of round stone bastions at intervals, in a southerly direction. I observed that very few of the walls of the houses were standing; and from the few that were erect, the cement had been washed out from between the stones. Upon reaching the south-west angle of the city wall, the matchlock-men fired several times, and loading with ball, preceded us through a narrow gorge between two hills. On our left ran a clear and rapid river, called the Sasoon, which, after passing the ruins, acquires the name of Shapoor, and after crossing the saline bed, as before mentioned, is termed Shoora.* On the left bank of the river, behind some high reeds, appeared several sculptures on the rock. Proceeding further, on our right, we passed a sculpture very much effaced: it represents a bull and one or two men seemingly in procession. Beyond this is the large groupe of *bas-reliefs*, of which a plate is given by Sir John Malcolm. The hill above

* See p. 315. This river is said to have its rise near Kazeroon, and running through the country of the Roodhillus, falls into the sea near Bundureek.—(WARING, p. 20.) Mr. Morier says, it falls into the sea at Rohilla. Its source is fresh, but it becomes brackish on reaching the salt soil.

these sculptures on our right, seemed to have been the citadel of Shapoor, as the remains of enormously thick walls are visible over it.

"Having advanced about half a mile into the valley of the cave, which resembles an isosceles triangle, (the upper part of the valley on the right, or the apex, being a mile from the cave in the centre of the base of the triangle,) we crossed the river, which seemed completely alive with fish (grayling). Proceeding along the right bank, we found ourselves under the cave, and began to ascend, still keeping on horseback. The hills which surround this triangular valley are, as usual, calcareous. The hill in which the cave is situated, is, apparently, one thousand feet in height: four hundred feet is a naked and perpendicular scarp. One hundred feet from the bottom of the scarp is the cave: from the bottom of the scarp to the river, the angle of descent is not far off 45°. The strata of the hills dip backwards from the valley in three different directions: the dip of the strata in the hill of the cave is apparently towards the N.W.; the angle of inclination, 8° or 10°. We ascended about a third of the way to the bottom of the scarp on horseback, when, wishing to save our steeds, we dismounted. Noor Mahomed, however, scrambled up on his unfortunate horse the whole way, sending down showers of stones at every step.*

"After scrambling up the steep ascent for about

* Lieut. Alexander charges the Persians with being very merciless towards their animals, and he speaks slightingly of their horsemanship. "It is almost impossible to fall from a Persian saddle: the pummel terminates in a wooden handle, surmounted with a carved ornament resembling a *fleur-de-lis*; of this they make use when in danger of falling. Place a Persian on a hunting-saddle, and desire him to gallop over a plain, he would be sprawling on the ground in five minutes."

twenty minutes, we attained the bottom of the scarp. I here found abundance of wild oats, bitter almonds, white holyhock, abundance of the true Scotch thistle, and several varieties of moss, with a few lichens. Proceeding along the foot of the scarp for some distance, we came to a rock twelve feet in height; up this we mounted, with the assistance of our guides. Thinking that we were now close to the great cave, and wishing to be the first to enter it, I turned to the left, and found an arch under a rock. I called out to the rest to follow, but the guides said that the great cave was much further up. Accordingly, after ascending some distance, we came to the mouth, which is upwards of one hundred and thirty feet in length (across), and fifty in height. Standing at the entrance, the appearance is very striking; for the cave seems to diminish from the entrance to a small black spot, but it does not diminish in height. There is a great descent, and in the centre lies the mutilated statue of a king, supposed to be the only statue in the country. We did not stand long to contemplate the interior from the entrance, but ran down the slope in search of water. Passing the prostrate king, we found a square tank on the left, but no water. Immediately opposite to us was a large stalactite, called the Lamp of Shapoor; this overlooked a deep pit, forming the floor of a lofty hall, one hundred feet in height. The sides of this circular hall, as well as of the long gallery of entrance, (where we were obliged to light torches, though directly opposite the entrance,) were entirely covered with a thick coating of stalactite: no part of the rock was visible. In some places, the stalactites stood out from the sides, like trunks of trees, and forming many fantastic figures; from the roof

several hung in a threatening position. The floor was covered with a rich mould, arising from the dung of birds, for several pigeons were disturbed by us. We also found traces of Muhumud Soonee robbers.

"Having got down to the bottom of the circular hall, we observed galleries running in different directions. We, of course, inquired particularly for the passage that would lead to the water, and were told it was straight forward: we accordingly entered another lofty chamber, and found a large elliptical tank, but not a drop of water in it. What rendered our case worse was, that we heard water dropping on every side of us. Though the place was delightfully cool, our thirst was intense, and we had expended the small skin we had brought with us from the river in the ascent. We now proceeded directly forward, and entered another large hall, and then a chamber resembling a Hindoo temple. The stalactites bore the appearance of stout square pillars, on which were laid architraves. After this, we penetrated to the end of a chamber, but had to crawl on our hands and knees. We now returned to the elliptical tank, and turning into a hall opposite to it, with our cheeks adhering to our jaws, we found on the floor, to our great joy, beautifully cool and transparent water, sufficient for a herd of elephants. After allaying our thirst, we went into several other galleries and chambers, the sides, roofs, and floors of which were entirely covered by greyish-white stalactites and stalagmites: we then returned to the entrance.

"The tradition regarding the statue of the king, in the centre of the gallery of entrance, is as follows. It was evidently hewn from an immense block of limestone in the place where it now lies, with the head in

the dust, and the stumps of the legs resting on the pedestal; before it was thrown from which, it must have been fifteen or twenty feet in height, consequently presenting a formidable object in the cave. Two brothers hunting on the mountains, one of them entered the cave, and seeing this tremendous object staring at him, was so overpowered by fear, that he fell down and died on the spot. The other brother coming to the cave shortly after, and seeing his brother lying dead at the entrance, guessed the cause, and threw down the statue.

"It was now eight A. M.: we descended to our horses, and mounting them, proceeded to the large sculpture, which is quite entire, crossed the river, and sat down under the ledge of a rock which protects it from the weather. We saw snow from hence on a distant hill. In proceeding to the ledge, it was disgusting to observe the cruelty and insolence of our guides. We met two or three poor travellers proceeding through the valley, and our rascals rushed at them in a body, with drawn swords, threatening to kill them if they did not give their shoes and other little articles they had about them. We had some difficulty in putting a stop to their infamous attempts.

"The bas-reliefs represent a king on horseback, with a globe or balloon-shaped crown: beneath him is the prostrate figure of a man. These two are supposed to represent King Shapoor, who subdued the Roman Emperor Valerian, and used him as a step by which to mount his horse. Behind the king is a short figure, probably the son of King Shapoor. Three figures (apparently Roman) are approaching them in a supplicating attitude. Between the head of the nearest one and that of the horse, is an inscription in the Pehlevi. Behind the king, in several compartments, are

many mounted figures of Persians, and opposite, those of Roman foot soldiers, all the figures as large as life.

"We crossed the river to view the sculptures on the other side: on attaining the foot of the mountain, we found that we had to proceed along the bottom of an aqueduct to reach them. This was in some places breast high, and overhung with brambles and reeds: where it was carried under the rock, we had to crawl on our hands and knees. The first sculptures we came to were exceedingly beautiful, being cut in a semicircle: they consisted of many rows of small figures, seemingly in procession, with offerings. The next were busts of men and a camel. The third and last displayed a very spirited representation of King Ardashir resigning the circlet of royalty into the hands of his son Shapoor. They appear to be approaching each other on horseback; the father is much larger than the son, and wears the globe-like crown.

"We recrossed the river, the banks of which were clothed with myrtles, willows, and splendid rhododendrons, and wandered amongst the ruins of the city, which was attended with great danger, from the numerous wells communicating with the subterraneous aqueducts, or kanauts. We came to the remains of a Guebre burial-ground. It was a large square pit, the sides lined with stone, and the highest part of the wall rising ten or twelve feet above the surface of the ground; on this there were three cows' heads, between which the ends of beams probably rested, supporting a roof which covered the whole. On this the bodies were exposed; and when the bones had been picked clean by birds, they were thrown down a hole in the centre of the roof into a well below. We now bent our steps towards Devisht, with the thermo-

meter in the shade 103°, being a rise of 63° from the time we set out." *

Mr. Morier, having only ignorant guides, gave up the attempt to reach the cavern: to make amends for this, he has given a minute account (with drawings) of the sculptures. He visited Shapoor from Kazeroon, from which it is about twelve miles distant. The commencement of the ruins, coming from the south, is marked by the beautiful stream that issues from a spring over which the road is built, being sustained by fragments of an entablature which has apparently belonged to a very considerable edifice. "Immediately after passing this spring," says Mr. Morier, "we came upon the ruins. We computed the whole to be comprised within a circumference of six miles, inclosing a tract of plain and a hill, on which the remains of the ancient citadel formed a conspicuous object. Whether by a caprice of nature or by the labour of man, this acropolis is distinctly separated from the great range of mountains forming the eastern boundary of the plain of Kauzeroon. Between this and another imposing mass of rock, runs the beautiful river of Shapoor. The opening betwixt the two grand masses presented a landscape the most varied, the most tranquil, the most picturesque, and at the same time the most sublime that imagination can form. A distant range of mountains filled up the interstice, forming a fine aërial perspective, while the river and its rich shrubbery completed a most enlivening foreground. The hill on which the remains of the citadel stand, is covered with the ruins of walls and turrets. On its eastern aspect, the nature of the fortifications can be traced easily; for walls fill the

* Alexander's Travels, p. 114—118.

chasms from rock to rock, forming altogether a place of defence admirably strong."

The sculptures on this hill are carved on a very hard rock, bearing the finest polish, which this Traveller took to be a coarse species of jasper. The height of the figures on foot, is 5 feet 9 inches; that of the equestrian figures, 6 feet 5 inches. The two colossal equestrian figures, on the opposite rock, which Lieut. Alexander supposes to be meant for Ardasheer and his illustrious son, are described as most exquisite pieces of sculpture. "The proportions and anatomy of both horses and men are accurately preserved, and the very veins and arteries in the horse's legs are delicately delineated." The larger sculpture is fourteen yards in length, and consists of ten unequal compartments. It is in a very perfect state. "In the first row, at the top on the right, are a number of slight figures with their arms folded. The second is filled with a crowd, some of which carry baskets. The third is equally covered; and in the right corner, a man is conducting a lion by a chain. In the fourth, just opposite to the king, is a very remarkable groupe, whose loose and folded dresses denote Indians: one leads a horse, behind which is an elephant. Under this, close to the ground, are men in a Roman costume; among them is a chariot, to which two horses are harnessed. In five corresponding compartments on the left, are thick squadrons of Persian cavalry.

"The path that conducted us round to these beautiful monuments, is the course of an aqueduct, which appeared to be of more modern workmanship. Bordering on the road which winds behind the hill of the citadel, are numerous canals, formed most artificially, and closely cemented with *darna*. Besides these, there are very deep wells, in parts of which the channels of

the aqueduct are seen to pass. After having repassed the river, we walked over the numerous mounds of stone and earth which cover the ruined buildings of Shapoor. We were conducted by the peasants to the remains of a very fine wall, which, in the symmetry of its masonry, equalled any Grecian work that I have ever seen. Each stone was 4 feet long, 27 inches thick, and cut to the finest angles. This wall formed the front to a square building, the area of which was 55 feet. At the top were placed sphinxes couchant; a circumstance which we ascertained from discovering accidentally two eyes and a mutilated foot at the extremity of one of the upper stones. In this wall there is a window, which is arched by the formation of its upper stone. Behind this square building, we traced, most correctly, the configuration of a theatre, 30 paces in length and 14 in breadth. It resembled at least those places called theatres which I have seen in Greece. There are distinct mounds scattered over the whole site of the city, to each of which there are one or more wells: these are supposed to be ruins of separate houses. The people of Kauzeroon relate, that there are immense subterraneous passages at Shapoor, and connect the most extraordinary stories with them. As a measure of the extent of these labyrinths, they say, that it would require 20 *mauns* of oil (a *maun*=7¼ lbs.) to light any one through all their intricacies. The plants that we noticed near the river, on the site of the city, and about the surrounding plain, were, the *palma Christi*, the rhododendron, the willow, the wild fig (called by the Persians *shauk-a-booz*), reeds, and the *benak* or spice-plant." *

Kazeroon is a straggling, populous town, covering a

* Morier, i. pp. 90—2.

long extent of country, but is half in ruins from frequent earthquakes. Lieut. Alexander "did not find a single upper story standing; and the lower ones were so hidden by the ruins of the upper, that the houses appeared buried under ground." It is one of the hottest towns in Persia. There is a beautiful garden (the only one) belonging to the governor, planted with the cypress, the orange-tree, the apricot, and other fruit trees. Here may be heard the blackbird and the thrush; and from the orange-groves, the bees cull a honey which is much celebrated. Wheat and tobacco are cultivated in the neighbouring fields, the soil of which appears uncommonly rich, and is well watered.

From Kazeroon, the road lies for two *fursungs* over the plain, and then enters upon a long and dangerous causey (called the *Pûl-aub-guinee*), which leads over a marsh forming the termination of a lake to the southward, where is "excellent duck-shooting." Turning to the left at the end of the causey, the road passes under a bluff, cavernous rock, and then ascends, by a zig-zag path, the face of a precipitous mountain 800 feet in height, called the *Dokhtur* (daughter). Formerly, this road was singularly dangerous, and accidents still occur, owing to the abrupt turns and the steepness and narrowness of the path. At the top is an extensive salt-lake. A better road leads down into the beautiful little valley of Dustaburd (*or* Abdoui). "This valley," says Lieut. Alexander, "was the most pleasant we had yet seen: it is one *fursung* in length, and a mile in breadth. Generally, it was covered with the *baloot* or Persian oak, which is not above twenty or thirty feet high. At the end of the valley, we commenced ascending the mountain of *Perizun* (*Peera zun*, Old Woman), which is 7000

feet above the level of the sea: it has commonly a white head, being covered with snow for many months in the year.* After ascending for four miles, during which several hogs and deer crossed our path, we came to a good caravanserai, where we stopped. Saw at a distance goldfinches and green fly-catchers. In front of us was a long serrated ridge of hills. Left in the evening" (the author travelled by night) "for *Dustiajun* (or *Desht-e-arjun*), distant fifteen miles.

"In ascending to the top of the Perizun, it is very difficult to keep in the right road, as it winds so much among stones and trees, of which the common hawthorn and oak are the principal. The fruit of the hawthorn differs from that of the British in being rounder. I observed great quantities of laburnum in ascending. Holes had been burned in the stems of many of the oak-trees, for the purpose of getting at the wild honey. Not a sound was heard all over the mountain; the deepest silence reigned around, interrupted only by the melancholy and peculiar notes of the bird which constantly calls *huk! huk!* 'Oh, God! oh, God!' This, it is said, was a great sinner, who was changed into a bird, and is continually calling on the name of the Almighty. Having reached the top, we looked down upon the valley of Dustiajun, which was almost entirely covered with a lake. We now experienced a very great exhilaration of spirits, of which our horses and cattle partook: we went gayly forward, and in a very short time reached the lofty willows at Dustiajun. A very copious spring issues from a perpendicular and cavernous limestone rock behind the trees, which turns several flour-

* From an eminence at a little distance from the road, the five successive ranges of mountains which the traveller has crossed, may be distinctly discerned, and the Dashtistan beyond.

mills, and then rushes impetuously into the lake. We slept soundly on its banks."

In this swampy plain are wild fowl innumerable, ducks, snipes, and divers, to say nothing of clouds of musquitoes at night. The lake abounds with large grayling. Some of the eminences are covered with vines, and there is abundance of clover, canary-seed, water-cresses, rushes, &c.; but acorn-bread is occasionally the food of the villagers.* Near the village, there is a rock with a remarkable fissure, the being able to pass through which, is held to be a proof of legitimacy.† Several old Persian inscriptions are engraved on the rock; and in a small building below, are shewn four holes, said to be the marks of the hoofs of Mohammed's horse, *Dool-dool*, which he gave to Aly, who, in riding past this spot, was attacked by a lion. Before these marks, the spirit of the presumptuous beast is believed to prostrate itself every Friday evening in posthumous humiliation; and the spot is held in superstitious reverence.

A romantic series of ascents and descents for twelve miles, through a country abounding with low jungle, leads to the caravanserai of Khonah Zunnion (or Khoneh Zenioun). Many partridges of a large brown species, called *kupk*, magpies, and crows with white breasts, abound in this part of the country; and hares in great numbers seek the cover of the juniper-bushes in the hollows. Near the caravanserai, which is a very wretched one, a small stream runs to the eastward. Here, Lieut. Alexander was joined by a native who was only four days from Busheer, having travelled

* If the acorn be of the edible species, this is no proof of poverty or hardship.

† The epithet, *haram zadeh*, bastard, is nearly the most odious that can be applied to a Persian, and is a favourite term of abuse.

in the Persian mode, night and day. Halts included, it had occupied the British Traveller ten days.

The next day's journey, to *Bagh Shah Cheragh*, a distance of twenty miles, lay between two hills, very bleak and bare, and over an undulating country, in the general direction of the river. A capital *rhadar* and excellent bridge are found at the entrance of the fertile valley of Shiraz, at eight miles from that once flourishing capital.*

SHIRAZ.†

THE valley of Shiraz is twenty-four miles in length, and twelve in breadth, bounded, on each side, by hills of no great height, which are entirely bare of vegeta-

* On his return from Shiraz to Busheer, Mr. Scott Waring took a different route, which, being more circuitous, is not frequented by caravans. The first night, proceeding from Dowlatabad, he halted near a small village surrounded with excellent gardens, five *fursukhs* west of Shiraz: on the second, he reached a *serai* half a mile from Kuwur, having travelled five *fursukhs* in a direction nearly south. Third, to Khajue, five *fursukhs;* the road, stony, rugged, and dangerous. Fourth, to Dihbur, a small village one *fursukh* from Ferozabad; a city equal in circumference to Shiraz. The route is "infamous" in this part, and scarcely practicable. Fifth, to a spring amidst the hills, five *fursukhs* from Dihbur. Sixth, to a village of hovels, called Burmih, distance four *fursukhs*. With the exception of this place, *there is not a single habitation on the road for the distance of ninety miles;* although the soil in many parts would abundantly repay for cultivating. Seventh, to a spring of brackish water, five *fursukhs* further; "the road nothing better, and the heat almost insupportable; thermometer 105°." Eighth, to Bishgoon, five *fursukhs*, over a still worse road, much infested by banditti. Ninth, to Uhrum, six *fursukhs;* a journey of nine hours amidst the hills, the road extremely difficult and dangerous; thermometer, 114°. Tenth, to Ulee Chungee (Alichangee), three *fursukhs*. Eleventh, to Bahmunee, five *fursukhs:* this place is about one *fursukh* from Busheer, and one mile from Resheer. Total distance from Shiraz to Busheer, 54 *fursukhs*, probably between 170 and 200 miles.

† Lat. 29° 33′ 55″.—PORTER. Lat. 29° 36′ 37″.—NIEBUHR.

tion. Groves and avenues of plane (*chinar*), cypress, and poplar, once adorned the environs of the city; but these have for the most part disappeared; and Shiraz, though surrounded with gardens, no longer presents an imposing aspect. Lieutenant Alexander states, that there is not a single dome or minaret standing: they were all levelled by the earthquake in 1824. "The walls are of a good height, defended by round bastions at regular distances: the gates are distinguished by having a couple of towers to flank them. There is, as usual, a rampart and parapet. The ark (or citadel) of Kureem Khan is square, with four bastions, surrounded with a deep wet ditch. The population of Shiraz is at present computed at 30,000 souls. Since the last earthquake, the climate has very much changed from its former celebrity. The water in the wells has risen very near the surface; (where, formerly, there were ten and fifteen yards of line, there are now only three or four;) and the increased evaporation has, it is supposed, caused a deleterious atmosphere in the plain." Prior, indeed, to this last calamity, the salubrity of the situation is stated to have undergone a material change, in consequence of the neglect of the water-courses. Owing to this, the water of the numerous rills that once distributed verdure and fertility, had become scarcely drinkable, forming, in the heat of summer, a number of stagnant pools. "Every thing within the town," says Sir Robert Ker Porter, (who saw it in 1818,) "seems neglected; the bazars and maidans falling into ruins; the streets choked with dirt and mouldering heaps of unrepaired houses; and the lower orders who infest them, squalid and insolent. One of the most material instances of public neglect, and which presses immediately on the attention, is the state of the water,

which is so foul as to injure the health. No excuse can be offered on the part of the magistrates, the same sources remaining, which, in former years, provided wholesome and beautiful water. The spring at the tomb of Saadi is still ready to pour its stream through proper channels into the town; and the limpid rills of the Roknabad, once more collected, might again visit the walls of Shiraz. I inquired whether the water which at present supplies the town, is always in so bad a state, and was answered in the affirmative; cooler weather producing it more plentifully, but making no change in the quality." *

The decline of this city dates from the death of its munificent sovereign, Kureem Khan. "Sheeraz," says Mr. Scott Waring, who visited it in 1802, "I am apt to believe, will disappoint those who have imagined it a populous and noble city. It is worth seeing, but not worth going to see. The town is by no means so large as is reported. Many of the streets are so narrow, that an ass loaded with wood stops your way, if you are on horseback; and the houses are generally mean and dirty. But we now see Sheeraz to great disadvantage, Aga Moohummud, the late king, having destroyed an excellent stone wall with very strong bastions, which was deemed by the Persians almost impregnable, and several of the best houses in the place. In his time, it was surrounded with a broad and deep ditch, (according to Captain Franklin, 60 feet wide and 20 deep,) which he filled up on destroying the fort.

"Notwithstanding the concurring praises of every Persian author, I very much doubt, whether Sheeraz ever merited the extravagant commendations which

* Porter's Travels, vol. i. p. 693.

have been lavished on it. Although the most magnificent and substantial buildings are subject to decay, climates seldom undergo any great alteration; and though Hafiz tells us, it is superior to any in the world, I must add, that, during my residence there, the thermometer was often at 100°, and never under 90°.* I have not forgotten the caution of Hafiz, although I have not observed it: 'Do not find fault with Sheeraz, nor with the waters of Rooknee, nor its pleasant breezes, for this city is a mole upon the cheeks of the whole universe.' Travellers who visited Persia long before the ravages of time could have entirely defaced the marks of sumptuous edifices, speak

* "From the 28th to the 31st of May (1811), the heat was excessive, the thermometer, at about two o'clock, in our different tents, varying from 96° to 103°. The Persians allowed this heat to be uncommon, but still talked of it as trifling when compared with the great heats of summer. Although it was very oppressive, yet we did not find it so relaxing as the heat of India. All our furniture had suffered extremely. Mahogany boxes that had stood the climate of India, and which had crossed the equator several times unwarped, here cracked. Ivory split; our mathematical rulers curled up; and the mercury in the artificial horizons overran the boxes which contained it. We found the nights cool, and the mornings quite cold, the thermometer varying sometimes 30° between the greatest heat and the greatest cold.... Since the middle of June, at about two o'clock, Fahrenheit's thermometer was scarcely ever under 100°. On the 7th of July, it was 105° in my tent; on the 8th, at 108°; on the 9th, at 110°."—MORIER, vol. ii. pp. 97, 113. Sir R. K. Porter says: "Since my arrival (July 2, 1818), the thermometer, at any time of the day, has seldom fallen below 90° in the shade, or under 80° at night. But while Captain Francklin was here, he had the advantage of a milder atmosphere, the average being then at 78° during the day, and 62° at night."—PORTER, vol. i. p. 693. Mr. Waring calls in question, however, the Captain's accuracy. Sir William Ouseley confirms Mr. Morier's statement, remarking that the heat of Shiraz seems, indeed, proverbial, since Hassan Asfendyar, in extolling the excellence of Tabristan, his favourite province, boasts that "it has not heats like those of Omán, Shiraz, or Ahwaz."—OUSELEY, vol. ii. p. 214.

neither of the extensive ruins nor the splendid monuments of Sheeraz. Olearius, who was in Persia in the year 1615, says, that Sheeraz did not contain more than 10,000 houses, but that its ruins extended two miles. Herbert, who accompanied Sir Thomas Sherley into Persia in the year 1625, remarks, that the circumference was eight or nine miles, and that there were fifteen mosques, one of which had two pillars as high as St. Paul's. Dr. Fryer speaks of Sheeraz as containing some fine markets. Thevenot informs us, that its circumference is two hours' walk; and Tavernier calls it a mean, dirty place, which was once surrounded with a wall of mud, then fallen down. I should suppose the town to be about five miles in circumference: it took me little more than an hour to walk my horse round it.....At least a fourth part is entirely in ruins. The quarter where the Laks resided, to the number of 10,000, was destroyed by Aga Moohummud." *

Mr. Morier makes Shiraz "nearly four miles in circumference. One third of its buildings to the S.E. is in ruins. Those that are habitable, are also interspersed with ruins; and, of the remaining space, so much is taken up with bazars, *meydans* (squares), the Prince's palace, gardens, stables, and other public buildings, that to say that one half of the city is occupied by the inhabitants, is perhaps more than the truth." According to the information secretly obtained from the *kutkhodas* of the several wards or parishes, the number of houses which the city contained in 1811, was 7,780. This, at five souls to a family, would give a population of 38,900 souls. Mr. Morier, however, from the observations made in riding

* Waring's Tour to Sheeraz, pp. 29—33.

through the city, concludes that the number of inhabited houses did not amount to more than one-half of that estimate; and he gives therefore, as a reasonable calculation, sanctioned by other evidence, a total of 19,000 souls.*

The most minute account of the city and its environs is furnished by Sir William Ouseley, who accompanied the British ambassador, Sir Gore Ouseley, as private secretary, in 1810-12; and who explored the country with all the zeal of a learned and accomplished antiquary. We shall give in a compressed form the result of his observations.

"The city of Shiraz seems rapidly hastening to decay, and most of its public structures, once very numerous, are in a state of ruin or of neglect. The chief *masjed*, or mosque, founded by Atábeg Shah, is a grand edifice, about 150 yards square, and has for above six centuries borne the name of *Masjed-e-naw*, or the New Mosque. There are, as I heard, nearly sixty other places of religious worship.† Karim

* According to a calculation made a year or two before, Shiraz consumed *per diem* 8000 Tabriz *mauns* of wheat, made up into 10,000 *mauns* (equal to 72,500 lbs.) of bread. A Persian eats per day one *charek* or a quarter of a *maun*; and this will give, as the sum of the population, 18,125 souls. Sir W. Ouseley also doubts whether the population much exceeded 20,000 souls. It has probably diminished since 1811.

† Mr. Morier says: "Shiraz has six gates. It is divided into twelve *mahalehs* or parishes, in which there are fifteen considerable mosques, besides many others of inferior note; eleven *medresses* or colleges, fourteen *bazars*, thirteen caravanserais, and twenty-six *hummums* or baths. Of all the mosques, the *Mesjed Ali* (built in the khalifat of Abbas) is the most ancient, and the *Mesjed No* the largest. It was indeed originally the palace of Attabek Shah, who, in a dangerous illness of his son, consulted the mollahs as to the best means of his recovery, and was answered, that he must devote to the Almighty, that which of all his wordly goods he valued most. He accordingly converted his palace into a mosque; and the Mo-

Khan had, at the time of his death, almost completed a capacious mosque, embellished, according to report, with a tessellated pavement of beautiful marble, besides seventy columns of stone: this is the *Masjed-e-Vakil*. Of the *madrassehs*, or colleges, comprised within the city, (amounting, as some said, to forty,) several are totally abandoned, and the others are but thinly attended by students. One of the most celebrated is the *Madrasseh-i-Khan*, containing 103 cells or chambers.* The citadel, called the Ark or *Areg*, † comprising the palace, *Divan Khánah*, many fountains and reservoirs, and various baths, are all memorials of the illustrious Karim Khan, who exercised the fullest powers of a king under the inferior title of Vakil. The *Hammam-i-Vakil*, which he constructed near his mosque already mentioned, is the finest of sixty or seventy baths frequented by the citizens. But the bazar erected by him is the glory of Shiraz, and unequalled throughout the empire. It is a spacious and lofty street, covered by a handsome vaulted roof, and divided, as a Persian assured me, into 1500 shops. How much this account was exaggerated, I had not patience to ascertain by actual enumeration; but the *Bazar-i-Vakil* is a building of considerable extent,

hammedans add, that his son was in consequence restored to health. The *Mesjed Jumeh* is likewise an ancient structure, and there are six others of an older date than the time of Kerim Khan."

* "I went to see the college. It is almost in ruins, not having been repaired these two hundred years. It contains *sixty* or *seventy* sets of rooms, in many of which we observed teachers and scholars giving and hearing lectures. It was formerly richly endowed, but the rapacity of the kings has stripped it of every thing: only a small stipend was allowed to the principal teachers."—MARTYN'S *Memoirs*, p. 418.

† Answering to the Latin *arx*, a small castle within a larger fortress.

and would prove an ornament to the capital of any country.

"This city possesses within its precincts, the remains of a hundred *Imám Zadahs*, according to local information; but the number is reduced to sixty by the more accurate statement of Mirza Jan (or Joon, a learned native of Shiraz). Their tombs are mostly small edifices of brick or clay, of mean appearance, some of them surmounted with domes. Two or three seemed to be occupied by dervishes or other persons engaged in prayer and meditation. A little outside the walls are many cemeteries, distinguished respectively by the names of remarkable personages: most of them are shaded by a few trees, and over or near the principal grave, there is a brick building, which forms the *takkiah*, a lodging or resting-place for pilgrims. Such is that called *Shahzadah Mohammed*; another is the *Shah Dâï*, with a garden, about one mile southward from the city. Opposite to this is an ample burial-ground named *Derb-i-Salm*, one of the most ancient spots in the vicinity of Shiraz. The *Khatun-e-Kyámet* is a large building towards the south-eastern extremity of the city, in a place celebrated for good water and pure air: the dome is of coloured tile-work, and said to be 600 years old. Near the *Hafizeah* (Hafiz's tomb) is a considerable edifice, named, from the *Imam Zadah* who reposes in it, *Shah Mir Ali Hamzah*, conspicuous with its glazed cupola. Behind is another *Imam Zadah*, the *Mir Mohammed*. These are two of the cemeteries belonging to Shiraz. Not far from them is the *Takkiah* of Mohammed Rahim Khan, handsomely built of brick. It derives its name from the person whose body it contains, the son of Karim Khan: to this building are annexed a bath

and a caravanserai.* Other *takkiahs* and graves of pious and learned men may be seen in the neighbourhood. Kæmpfer, no very modern traveller, mentions a work describing them, entitled, '*Hazar ve yek mezar*,' The Thousand and One Tombs.†

"But Shiraz will not reward those who seek for vestiges of remote antiquity. The boast of an early origin is not supported by any monuments; and sober inquiry assigns its foundation to the seventh century of our era. One tradition relates, that it was originally erected by Tahmuras Diveband, and fell to ruin. But, according to accounts the most authentic, the brother (or cousin) of the tyrant Hejâje Ben Yusuf either founded or repaired it, in the seventy-fourth year of the Hejirah (A.D. 639). By some of the native writers, the name of Shiraz is derived from a son of Tahmuras, one of those early sovereigns whose history is clouded with fable. But a rare manuscript informs us, that the city was so called from a word in the old Persic language, signifying lion's paunch, because all the wealth of every town in the same region was

* "Leaving the city by the Isfahan gate, we came to the *Mesjid Shah Mirza Hamza*, a mosque erected by Kerim Khan, in a separate chamber of which are laid the remains of his son, Abdul Rakeem Khan. In the front court is an old and majestic cypress. Although some parts of the fabric are in decay, it is still beautiful. Its walls are built of the fine brick employed in all the public works of its founder, and, indeed, in the best houses of Shiraz. Its cupola is covered with green-lakered tiles of a semicircular form, which, fitted in close lines, give a symmetrical appearance of ribs to its shining surface."—MORIER, vol. ii. p. 103.

† A thousand and one is a favourite number in the East, or rather a favourite term for an indefinite number; as, the "thousand and one churches,"—the name given to ruins at Larenda near Iconium (MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, vol. ii. p. 302); the cistern of "a thousand and one pillars" at Constantinople; and the "thousand and one nights" of the Arabian Tales.

transported to Shiraz, and none returned thence to any other place.* We learn from Hafiz Abrú, that, in the beginning of Islam, while the Arabian troops were fighting at Istakr, their camp covered the spot where Shiraz now stands. 'Having taken Istakr,' says another writer, 'they came to this place of encampment, and built the city, which is in extent about one farsang, and without walls.' This account was composed in the tenth century of our era; but it appears that fortifications were soon after erected. According to Hamdallah, Shiraz became so populous during the reign of Azzed ad Douleh, (who died A.D. 982,) that he could not find there sufficient room for the accommodation of his army; he built, therefore, in front, a village, generally called *Suk al Emir*, the Prince's Market; but it is now destroyed. Shiraz, until the time of Samsam-ad-Douleh (son of Azzed), had been without ramparts. He, to defend the city, constructed a wall 12,500 paces in circumference. This was repaired by Sharf-ad-din Mahmúd; and some old walls were standing in the year 1627, when Sir Thomas Herbert visited Shiraz. These had nearly disappeared in 1665, as Tavernier informs us; and we learn from Chardin, that, at the time of his residence there (1669), the city was no longer surrounded with walls, although the gates remained. The present fortifications are modern. Karim Khan encompassed Shiraz with towers and walls: most of these were pulled down, and others built by Aga Mohammed Khan. The space inclosed is probably from four to five miles in circumference; but many parts of the city are very scantily inhabited. In the fourteenth

* A lexicographer cited by Waring, derives it from *Sheer*, milk. Sheer, however, signifies lion. In Turkish, Shehr means city,

century, Shiraz had nine gates: there were in the sixteenth century, twelve. One hundred years after, four only remained, which Chardin has enumerated; and in 1811, I counted six....The prospect of Shiraz from a rising ground on the Isfahan road,* is the most favourable; although the intermediate space exhibits but faint vestiges of those gardens and buildings that once rendered it so rich and beautiful a scene, according to the reports of travellers; and we can trace the multiplicity of cypresses that excited their admiration, only in the few still preserved near the tombs of certain holy men." †

The tombs of Hafiz and Saadi are among the first objects which a stranger naturally inquires after. That of Hafiz is placed within a quadrangular inclosure, called the *Hafizeah*, not far from the Isfahan gate. A range of chambers forming a pleasure-house, divides the quadrangle into two parts: one, facing the city, is a garden; in the back court is placed the poet's tomb, at the foot of one of the cypresses planted with his own hands. The monument, which, in its present state at least, is the work of Kureem Khan, is a parallelogram of Tabriz marble, beautifully variegated, with a projecting base. On the tablet, two of his odes are very beautifully cut. A number of tombs and graves are adjacent, but none of them deserve notice, and they serve only to lessen the impression. In one of the adjoining chambers, the poet's collected works are preserved as a *vakf* or endowment. This is a place of great resort for the citizens, who repair thither to

* The *Tang* (pass) *i Allah-akbar*, which is supposed to derive its name from the involuntary exclamation, "God is great," awakened by the first sight of Shiraz after toiling through sandy deserts.

† Ouseley's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 17—27.

smoke *kaleoons*, drink coffee, and chaunt the anacreontics of their favourite poet; it is also generally infested by a crowd of lazy and unclean dervishes. A few stately cypresses still adorn the cemetery; but two of the most magnificent were cut down, not many years ago, by a chief of the queen's eunuchs, who happened to require timber for a building! Of the trees so thickly planted outside the Hafizeah, (according to Kæmpfer's view, taken above a century ago,) one only remained in 1811.

To persons inquiring for the Moosellay, the pleasure-gardens so warmly celebrated in the odes of Hafiz,* some walls are shewn, forming one end of an inclosure, a parallelogram about 180 feet by 42, not many hundred yards from the tomb of Hafiz. "Of the walls yet standing, the lower part is faced with stone: above, they are brick, and some of the fine cement, covered with a dark blue varnish, yet remains. A block of marble, well carved in the Arabesque manner, and once, perhaps, the ornament of an arch, has fallen neglected among heaps of rubbish, on the outside of this edifice, which was, we have reason to believe, spacious and handsome." The Moosellay itself is said to have been an edifice of a religious character, and its cemetery contained the bodies of many distinguished personages long before Hafiz was born. The denomination was probably extended to a spacious tract of garden ground, including what is now the Hafizeah.

* "Whate'er the frowning zealots say,
Tell them, their Eden cannot shew,
A stream so clear as Rocnabad,
A bower so sweet as Mosellay."

Sir W. Jones's Translation of a song of Hafiz. So, in an ode translated by Mr. Waring: "The morning breeze of Mooselay and the waters of Roknabad will not permit me to travel."—WARING, p. 214.

Through this tract run two streams, the *Ab-i-Miri* and the *Ab-i-Rukni*, or *Ruknabad*. These are occasionally diverted into various channels for the purpose of irrigation. "Across the Ruknabad (or Rukni, as it is generally called)," says Sir W. Ouseley, "I often stepped; but, however small,* it is more famed than many mighty rivers; having contributed, with shrubs, flowers, and trees, (of which not one vestige can now be found,) and the querulous *bulbul* (or nightingale), to render this a delightful spot, and to justify Hafiz in his praise of the *Musella* and its rosy bowers. The air is said to be peculiarly pure and salubrious at this place, which, even in its deteriorated condition, is frequented by the meaner citizens of Shiraz, who, on summer evenings, come here in parties, to chat, to smoke, and to eat lettuces dipped in the bubbling stream. But they rarely permit their wives and daughters to participate in these recreations."

Not far from the Hafizeah are the *Chehel-tan* (Forty Bodies) and the *Haft-tan* (Seven Bodies); two buildings erected by Kureem Khan to the memory of as many holy men or dervishes. The *Haft-tan* is a pleasure-house, with a garden planted with cypresses

* "The Abi-Roknabad," says Mr. Waring, "is a contemptible little stream, and is not, after it has been joined by many other streams which flow from the hills, at any place six feet broad."—WARING, p. 40. "Shiraz," says a native writer cited by Sir William Ouseley, "is supplied with water by means of *kanats* and *karizes* (subterraneous conduits and trenches or artificial water-courses above ground). And the best of these is the *kariz* which Rukn ad Doulet Hassan Ebn Baiah, a prince of the Dilemite race, first caused to be made; and this *kariz* is denominated the water or stream of Rukn abad."—Mirkhond. The prince from whom the stream derives its name, died A.D. 976.—OUSELEY, vol. ii. p. 8. According to this statement, the Roknabad would seem to be an artificial water-course fed by the streams from the mountains.

and *chinar*-trees (a species of plane or sycamore), and interspersed with marble fountains. In the principal room, which is lined with Tabriz marble, are some paintings, representing the offering of Isaac, Moses keeping the flocks of Jethro, dervishes performing penance, and portraits of Hafiz and Saadi. These last, which, if authentic originals, would be of some value, are modern pictures, and possibly from fancy merely. "Yet," remarks Sir W. Ouseley, "in Shiraz, of which these poets are the pride and glory, and where they were born and died, some traces of their form might be preserved." Saadi is drawn as an old man, with a silver beard; Hafiz, in the bloom of youth, with a fine ruddy complexion, and dressed more like a woodman than a poet. "He was originally drawn without mustachios; but some painter, taking offence at this appearance of want of manhood, supplied the defect, and has entirely disfigured the countenance." *

Quitting this pretty place, and taking the road to the right, we come to a magnificent garden, "another evidence of the splendour of the reign of Kureem Khan." It was called from its founder, *Bagh-a-Vakeel*, but has since acquired the name of *Bagh-a-Jehan-Nemah*. "An immense wall, of the neatest construction, incloses a square tract of land, laid out into walks shaded by cypress and *chinar*-trees, and watered by a variety of marble canals and small artificial cascades. Over the entrance, which is a lofty and arched passage, is built a pleasure-house. It consists of a centrical room, with a small closet at each corner. The ornaments and paintings with which it is embellished, are extremely rich and elegant. The

* Waring, p. 38. Saadi lived above a hundred years, and died in 1292. Hafiz died in 1388, or, according to one biographer, 1391.

wainscot is of Tabriz marble, inlaid with gold and ornamental flowers, birds, and domestic animals. The pannels of the doors are beautiful paintings, with the richest and most brilliant varnish; and the ceiling and walls are all parcelled out into compartments, which display equal execution. In the centre of the garden is another of the principal pleasure-houses, which they call *Koolah-Frangee* (the Frank's Hat), because it is built something in the shape of one. There is a basin in the middle of the principal room, where a fountain refreshes the air. The paintings and ornaments are not less beautiful, and are more varied than those of the last described building.* If the painter's art had been equal to his fancy, these compositions would have excited as much admiration as they now afford amusement. The whole soil of this garden is artificial, having been excavated from the area below, and raised into a high terrace. The garden is now falling into decay; but those who saw it in the reign of Kerim Khan, delight to describe its splendour, and do not cease to give the most ravishing pictures of the beauty of all the environs of his capital."†

* Among the subjects are lion-hunts, combats of elephants and dragons, and the romantic adventures of Khosrau, Sheirein, and Ferhaud; also, a bridal procession minutely represented, and next to it, the ceremonies of circumcision. Though gaudily coloured, these pictures are, however, very defective in drawing, both as to proportions and perspective. In the garden walls are figures of kings and queens, badly depicted in coloured tiles or glazed bricks; but several have fallen out; and before long, all are likely to disappear. The *Kulah Frangee* is not singular either in name or structure; there are many others in Persia bearing the same appellation.—OUSELEY, vol. ii. p. 2.

† Morier, vol. ii. pp. 105, 6. Lieutenant Alexander, describing this garden in 1824, says: "There is nothing remarkable about it, except its being the place where the late lamented Resident of

The tomb of the poet Saadi is situated in a recess in the mountains, near a small village about two miles to the N.E. of Shiraz. Kureem Khan is said to have spent 10,000 piastres in repairing and embellishing the quadrangular building erected over the tomb. "Nothing can be more unpicturesque," says Mr. Morier, "than the approaches to it. Not a speck of verdure is to be seen near it; and the hills that form an amphitheatre around, are of a sterility that inspires horror. The tomb, a square oblong stone, carved with inscriptions and ornaments, has been so abused and shattered, that one retires from it disgusted with its state and with the people who have suffered it. A poor, solitary dervish now occupies the building, who, besides the tomb, exhibits a copy of the poet's works, for which exhibition he gets whatever his visiters may choose to give him. The taste for poetry, so common to the Persians, may be remarked in the many lines scribbled on the white-washed walls of the room that incloses the tomb; a propensity which they exhibit on all places which are the resort of the idle and the curious." Outside the walls, a descent of seventy steps conducts the visiter to a small building erected over a remarkable fountain or well, abounding with fish, which are regarded as consecrated to Sheikh Saadi. The water is always cool, and delicious if tasted at an early hour, before the villagers have contaminated it by their ablutions. This spot was formerly called *Gazer-gah*, the Washer's Place, and *Kelat-i-Gazerân*, Bleacher's Buckets; but is now

Bagdad, Mr. Rich, was interred, and also Dr. Taylor. They were not allowed to rest in peace by the Shirazees; their grave-stones were broken, and it was thought advisable to take up their bones, and transport them to Isfahan for re-interment in the Armenian burial-ground."—p. 133.

often dignified with the name of *Saadiah*. "Among the fishes," says Sir W. Ouseley, "I did not remark any of those which, as it was said, some enthusiastic admirers of Saadi had decorated with small gold rings: this, if ever, must have been done when to kill such creatures here, was reckoned an act of sacrilege which the deceased poet would himself punish with sudden death." * In this curious subterranean pleasure-house, which the Sheikh is said to have frequented, there are recesses where the visiter may smoke his *kaleoon*, and enjoy a very different climate from that of Sheeraz.

Koh Saadi (Saadi's Hill) is a triangular rock, presenting towards the plain a uniform white surface. On its summit are remains of a very ancient fortress, consisting of a tower and part of a wall, called the *Kaleh Bender;* more properly, the Castle of Fahender.† On the declivity towards Shiraz, is a famous well of great depth, into which, it is said, that women convicted of infidelity to their husbands were formerly thrown. "We at first imagined," says Mr. Morier, "that it was a natural cavity; but the regularity of its orifice, which is a parallelogram, induced us to conclude that it was a work of art, and to suppose that it might have been the *Aub-Ambar*, or reservoir

* Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 9. Chardin says: "The common people deem the fish sacred to Sheikh Saadi, and believe, that if a person should take any of them, the saint would punish him with instant death." Yet, by means of a trifling bribe, Chardin contrived that he and his friends, the Carmelite fathers, should carry off, on different occasions, *un grand plat* of these consecrated fishes. An unfortunate Armenian, on being detected in a similar sacrilege, was bastinadoed and fined a hundred crowns. Mr. Scott Waring describes this fountain as a *chushmu* or canal, flowing from the hill, apparently through an excavated channel.

† Chardin writes it *Fendar;* Le Brun, *Fandus;* others, *Bander*, and *Vander*.

of water, belonging to the castle whose ruined walls surround it. Its depth is considerable; but we omitted to try the experiment which Chardin made, who says, he rehearsed a pater-noster before a stone which he threw had reached the bottom! It is cut into the solid rock, the layer of which descends to a great depth; and as its grain is hard, the labour of cutting through it must have been great. The whole work excites surprise and admiration." This well has long been an object of curiosity to the inhabitants of Shiraz, several thousands visiting it every year, when they come for recreation to the garden of Dilgusha below it, or to perform their devotions at the tomb of Saadi. Few leave it without having thrown in a stone or two; and, as this practice has been continued for ages, it has given rise to the popular notion, that the well is without bottom. Several Persians assured Sir W. Ouseley, that subterraneous currents prevented these stones from settling at the bottom.* He found it to be the haunt of pigeons. "Of the well and its mysteries," continued the learned Traveller, "very extraordinary and incredible stories are related; according to more authentic reports, however, it is said to have been ascertained, on actual examination, (though not without much personal danger, and even the loss of lives,) that lateral ramifications extend through the excavated rock to a considerable distance, terminating in chambers, or sinking abruptly into profound abysses, which, at least within the memory of man, no person has ventured to explore.

* Le Brun "found it to be 420 feet in depth." Mirza Joon stated, that water was reached at the depth of about 150 *zeraas* (270 feet). "Mr. Morier's English servant ascertained the well to be 350 *yards* deep." Such are the conflicting statements given by the learned Traveller.

There are certain spots of the mountain, two or three hundred yards from this well, where the foot treading produced sounds which seem to indicate vaults or hollows immediately beneath; yet, here the surface appears to be of the original, unbroken stone. These sounds I particularly remarked among the foundations of some walls which could not have occasioned them: it was in that quarter of the castle where King Jemsheed, as one tradition relates, constructed a palace, and where, according to the loose chronology of my guide, that monarch's treasures were concealed, three, four, or, perhaps, five thousand years ago."

The real history of the fortress is given by Sir W. Ouseley from the "*Shiraz Namah*," which refers to ancient chronicles as the authority for the tradition, that, in former times, Fahender was one of the most considerable castles of Fars, having been occupied by the sovereigns of the country before the foundation of Shiraz. "There is a tradition, that Fahender was one of the brothers of Shapour Dhulectaf, the son of Hormuz; and that, having fled from the presence of his brother, he came with a numerous army into the region of Shiraz, where he was joined by several of the Sassanian family, who were in a state of rebellion, and the inhabitants of Fars submitted to him. By Fahender's arrangements, the castle was supplied with water; and he constructed there some edifices with fortifications. Tradition also informs us, that when Sheruiah had murdered in one day his own father, Purviz, and his seventeen brothers and nephews (A.D. 627),* Yezdejerd, then an infant in his fourth year, was saved by his nurse, who fled and brought him to Fars. It is said, that he continued in the castle of

* See page 123, of this volume.

Fahender two years and a half; and having afterwards assumed the royal authority, he sent to this place, that they might be safely preserved, the crown of Nushirvan, various jewels, and rich treasures; and he caused a deep excavation, a pit or well, to be made, and therein he buried those treasures, which, as many persons say, were discovered in the time of Azzed ad Douleh, into whose hands they fell: * others are of opinion, that they still remain there with a talisman constructed over them, so that it is not possible to find the means of drawing forth those treasures." Other chronicles state, that they were removed by order of Yezdejerd, the son of Purviz, on the approach of the Mussulman forces in the khalifate of Othman, and deposited in trust with the khakan of Chin or Tatary. The castle, on being taken by the Arabians, was reduced to ruin; and it remained in this state till the time of Emad ad Douleh, who ordered his people to seek the fountain-head whence Yezdejerd had derived water for the castle. "Yezdejerd had formed over the well in this castle, a dome or cupola with 360 windows,† and he constructed an edifice resem-

* "An intelligent Persian," with whom the Author conversed, thought it most probable, that some treasures had really been found at this place in the tenth century, as related in the *Rauzet al Saffa*. A damsel belonging to the royal harem had formed a clandestine intimacy with one of the prince's soldiers. This man, having pursued a fox to his hiding place, discovered a fissure, from which, by several steps, he descended into a chamber, wherein he beheld a hundred urns full of gold and jewels. For some time he kept his secret, but, in a fit of intoxication, he disclosed the whole to the damsel, who revealed it most loyally to the prince, having received his ring as a pledge of forgiveness for her violation of the harem. The prince obtained the treasures, bestowed part on the soldier, and gave him the damsel as a wife.

† Sir W. Ouseley supposes this edifice to have been erected for the purposes of astronomy. Makrizi describes the temple of Denderah as "a wonderful edifice with one hundred and eighty win-

bling a place of religious retirement or of worship, which was held in great esteem by the devout. But, on the promulgation of Islam, Emad ad Douleh rebuilt the castle after another manner. Again it sank into decay, until Abu Ghanem, the son of Azzed ad Douleh, being desirous of improving the castle, caused a villa which his father had constructed outside the *Salm* gate of Shiraz, to be pulled down, and the wood, iron, and other materials to be transferred from that spot to the castle, where he rebuilt with them the villa or summer-house called the *kiushk* of Emad ad Douleh, and rendered it a very pleasant place. There, within the fortress, Abu Ghanem for some time resided; and it was highly ornamented, and flourished exceedingly. And many historians declare, that the treasures and arms of the ancient Persian kings, with money and jewels, accumulated during the government of the Buiah family, had been hoarded up and guarded there; that some fell into the hands of the Seljoukian princes, and that others remain in the castle of Fahender unto this day."* Such is the historical foundation for the opinion still prevalent, that the subterranean recesses of this deserted castle contain treasures magically concealed, of which a dragon is the guardian.

At the foot of the hill is the *Bagh dil Gushâ* (the heart-expanding garden), "the best garden," Mr. Waring says, "without the city. It is ornamented with some handsome buildings; a stream runs through

dows, through one of which the sun enters each day successively until he arrives at the last; then, retracing his course, he finishes at that window at which he began." A similar edifice is mentioned by a Persian writer of the seventeenth century, as having been erected by the Emir Abbas of the Ghoor dynasty in Zabulistan.—OUSELEY, ii. 40, *notes*.

* Ouseley, ii. pp. 33—40.

it, which descends in falls; and the prospect here is more extensive than at any other garden." This, too, is the work of Kureem Khan, and it has shared in the ill fate of all the buildings and improvements erected by that munificent sovereign, being now hastening to ruin. Like all the other gardens belonging to the government, it is farmed out by the prince to the Shiraz gardeners, who rear fruits, flowers, and vegetables for the city, but pay no attention to their appearance.

Proceeding from the castle of Fahender about three miles eastward, the traveller discovers, on a rising ground, some ruins of an edifice from thirty to forty feet square, generally called *Mesjed-i-Mader-i-Suleiman*, the temple of Solomon's Mother. They are situated on a hill that branches from the mountains which form the N.E. boundary of the plain of Shiraz, and, when first seen, have, according to Mr. Morier, the appearance of gibbets. The principal objects are three portals: the upright pilasters or lintels, are about eleven or twelve feet high, supporting a block of marble seven or eight feet long. The building appears to have been originally a square of 158 feet. "I look upon these ruins," says this Traveller, "as a theft from Persepolis, being all of the self-same architecture, materials, and sculpture: besides which, their parts do not fit each other, and cannot have been originally put together in their present state. On the interior of the lintels are sculptured figures, similar, both in costume and character, to those seen at Persepolis. Close to the lintel which is nearest to the salt lake, we discovered a stone covered with figures, sculptured in relief on three of its sides; one of which sides being placed close to another stone forming a continuation of the front of the masonry, proves that

its original position was not where we found it, and that it must have stood on some other building where all the figures met the eye." * "To whomsoever we may ascribe this building," remarks Sir W. Ouseley, "it affords an interesting subject of investigation, which should not be restricted to the square itself; for, in the adjacent grounds, now uncultivated, sufficient proofs of former habitation may be found. Vestiges of ancient walls extend above a mile; and on the left, not far from the three door-ways, are ruins of a castle. Among the sculptured fragments I could not discover inscriptions of any kind; but it is probable, that future researches may bring some to light. A subterraneous chamber also may perhaps be found: although my inquiries after it were unsuccessful, subsequent information induces me to believe that it is very near the square edifice." †

"The next object of antiquarian curiosity," continues the learned Traveller, "is about one mile and a half from this, but, in age and character, it is altogether different. It consists of three compartments or tablets cut in the face of a solid rock, below which runs a delightful stream of the most pure and excellent water abounding with fish. In each compartment is represented a man; the largest contains also the

* Niebuhr also supposed that these sculptured stones were brought from *Chehel Minar* or Persepolis; and he remarks, that "they are here as ill-placed as the ancient columns found in modern Egyptian buildings." The *Mader-i-Suleiman* is delineated by Kœmpfer and Le Brun; two of the figures are given by Sir W. Ouseley, and one more distinctly by Mr. Morier.—See OUSELEY, ii. 41—46. MORIER, ii. 65.

† Close to a village that stands near the hill of the *Mader-i-Suleiman*, Mr. Morier was shewn "the scarcely to be distinguished scratches of an inscription," which he supposed to be Pehlavi, and "just above it, on the mountain, an *excavated tomb*."—MORIER, ii. 66.

figure of a woman. To an eye conversant with their gems and medals, it is evident, that the men at least are of the Sassanian family.....The figures are all equal in height and proportions to full-grown persons, very tall and large, but not absolutely gigantic; and in execution, they scarcely yield to the monuments at Shapoor." The middle compartment represents a stately and handsome personage with the globular crown and winged tiara, as seen on the medals of the Sassanian dynasty. Near his knee, occur the letters V R H R, forming part of an imperfect inscription; and Sir W. Ouseley confidently pronounces the monarch in question to be Varahran V. or Baharam Gour, who perished in the year 441. In the largest compartment, the queen (as the royal tiara indicates her to be) is receiving from the monarch's right hand a flower, or some ornament: her flowing drapery is light and well managed, but the face is completely mutilated. Between the figures are four lines of a defaced and illegible inscription in Pehlavi. This spot is known under the name of the *Chashmeh* (or *Chushmu*) *i Sulatein*, the fountain of the kings; but a traveller will be directed to it with the greatest certainty, if he inquire for the *Nakhsh-i-Rustam*; a name given to all similar monuments.*

* Ouseley, ii. pp. 46—50. It was so called by Mr. Morier's guide. "The sculptures are difficult," he says, "to be discovered, because they are situated in the corner of a nook of the mountain, and being in very low relief, are not easily seen, unless the sun strikes full upon them. The best guide to them is the source of a rivulet of pure water, that rises about a hundred yards from them on this side Shiraz. By keeping close to the mountain, they are discovered immediately behind the first projection of rocks at the foot of which this stream flows." He describes them as of very rude workmanship, and makes them *three miles* from the *Mader-i-Sulei-mun*; twice the distance mentioned by Sir W. Ouseley. Chardin mentions these sculptures as known by the appellation of the

While the British embassy was detained at Shiraz, during the months of May and June 1811, waiting the arrival of a *mehmandar* from his Persian majesty, the ambassador occupied a summer-palace, called the *Takht-i-Kujur* (the throne or seat of the Kujur), erected by Aga Mohammed Khan. "It is situated about a mile and a quarter north of the city, and one mile west of the *Jehan Nemah*, on a terrace cut from a rock at the foot of a mountain. Behind it, is a court inclosed with lofty walls, containing a *hawz* * or reservoir of water, with a few trees and flowers. In front, below the terrace, is another *hawz*, so large as to claim the title of *deriácheh* (a little lake), with a well planted garden covering several acres. The hall of audience is a spacious apartment, twenty feet high, open on one side, and on the other filled up with a large window of stained-glass. At each side of this principal room are some smaller chambers, richly gilt and painted in compartments, representing scenes from various popular romances, hunting-parties, and arabesques.† This palace is decidedly inferior, both in

But Khaneh, the house of idols; a name vulgarly applied to many monuments: his description is brief and incorrect, as he magnifies the figures to thirteen or fourteen feet in height. Kœmpfer says, the place was called *Bermeh delek*. Deslandes, Thevenot, and Le Brun describe them under the name of *Kademgah*, the footstep or vestige, which is often bestowed on spots held sacred. Their descriptions are inaccurate, if the same spot be meant. In Thevenot's time, the place was known to few, being surrounded by marshes and covered with trees.

* Sir W. Ouseley saw, in the court of a grandee of Shiraz, "a large reservoir, or *hawz*, containing water, of which the smooth surface was entirely covered with various flowers, so as to resemble a fine carpet in brilliancy of tints; but the pattern was formal, as several rods or switches separated the flowers according to their colours, in distinct and regular compartments."—vol. ii. p. 192.

† This palace was also occupied by Col. Macdonald Kinneir in 1824.

solidity and in ornament, to the works of Kureem Khan. The gardens, however, must be delightful. "If Shiraz produces tarantulas, scorpions, and snakes," remarks Sir W. Ouseley, "it abounds also with *bulbuls*, or nightingales, hundreds of them singing in the *Takht-i-Cajar* garden, not only at night, but during the day.....During our encampment near the gardens, I have passed many nocturnal hours in listening to the nightingale's soft melody, interrupted sometimes by the howlings of jackals, and not unfrequently by the tones of musical instruments or the voices of singing-boys, heard from the *Baba Kuhi*, that favourite haunt of the dissolute Shirazians." This is a pleasant spot, above the palace, commanding a beautiful view of the city and valley. It takes its name from the tomb of a Mohammedan saint of the eleventh century, and is reported to be the scene of the most disgusting orgies. The *Dilgusha*, the *Jehan Nema*, and all the neighbouring gardens, are vocal, at this season (July), with the "love-laboured song" of this sweet bird; and it is confidently asserted, that they will emulously contend with human musicians for the mastery in the loudness and variety of their notes.*

We reserve for another place, a description of the ceremonies of the Persian court, and the entertainments given in honour of the British envoys; but the visit which Lady Ouseley paid to the Queen, the mother of the prince-governor of Shiraz, Husein Ali Mirza, must not be passed over. This old lady resided chiefly at Shiraz, and was reported to have great influence over her son, interfering in the administra-

* Sir W. Ouseley is disposed, however, to treat as an exaggeration or a fable, the statements of the natives, that these contests sometimes prove fatal to the bird. See, for some curious remarks on the subject, Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 219—22; 481—5.

tion of affairs, and enriching herself greatly by commerce and monopolies. Lady Ouseley, with her daughter, went in a palankeen, which was carried to the gate of the harem by her own Indian bearers, two English maids following in a *cajávah*. At the foot of some stairs near a dark arched way, the palankeen was taken up by women, who set down her ladyship close to the room in which the Queen was seated. This was an apartment open in front, supported by two columns, and shaded by an extended curtain. It looked out upon a square court, laid out in flower-beds and straight avenues, with canals and basins of water. Along the side of the canal stood the Prince's wives and women in rows. None of them appeared beautiful, but their dresses were rich and covered with precious stones. The Queen's dress was rendered so cumbersome by the quantity of jewels embroidered upon it, that she could scarcely move under its weight. Her ample trowsers or drawers (*xirjamah*) in particular, were so "engrafted with pearl, that they looked more like a piece of mosaic than wearing apparel. Padded with cotton inside, stiffened by cloth of gold without, they were so fashioned as to exclude the possibility of discovering the shape of the leg, and kept it cased up, as it were in the shaft of a column." A chair had been provided for Lady Ouseley: the Queen sat in the usual manner on a *nummud* of soft felt, supported by cushions, her feet being just so far visible as to discover her slippers encrusted with pearls. Her daughter, then about sixteen, and celebrated for her beauty, was also sitting;* ten or twelve young women

* Lady Ouseley reported the princess to be naturally beautiful, but disfigured by the great quantity of red and white daubed over her face. Her arched eyebrows were connected over the nose by a stripe of black paint, and her eyelids and lashes were strongly tinged

stood by, during the interview, in respectful silence. Sweetmeats, fruit, and sherbet were served up in vessels of gold; but the *kaleoon* was not brought in, it being understood that Lady Ouseley could not endure smoking. The whole scene appears to have been conducted with the utmost propriety and magnificence. Meantime, the English maids were entertained in another chamber; but their delicacy, we are informed, was somewhat offended at the manner in which some of the Queen's ladies endeavoured to gratify their curiosity respecting different articles of European dress. The day after the visit, the Queen sent *khilauts* or dresses of honour to Lady Ouseley, her daughter, and the two female attendants, the most remarkable parts of which were the brocade trowsers, so stiff that they stood upright.*

Some further interesting particulars relating to the dress, manners, and character of the *Sheerazees*, are furnished by Mr. Scott Waring, who spent about six weeks in this city in 1802. The curiosity of the women who lived in the adjoining house, afforded him, he says, frequent opportunities, not only of seeing, but of conversing with them. "And what," he adds, "may appear strange, after the accounts we have of Eastern jealousy, this was usually in the presence of their husbands, who did not evince the least repugnance to my seeing their wives. My being a European probably entitled me to this indulgence."

"The dress of the Persians is admirably calculated either for a cold or a hot climate. Their limbs are under no restraint, and their clothes may be put on or thrown off in five minutes. The *zeer-jamus* are

with antimony. Mr. Morier was informed, that she was at the time betrothed to a Kujur, then a child of three years old!

* Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 51—53. Morier, vol. ii. p. 61.

very light trowsers made of silk: those worn in the hot weather are sometimes of flax. The *peerahun*, or shirt, comes over the trowsers; and then the *urkhalik*, which is made of a Masulipatam chintz, or fine shawls. The outside robe, or *kouba*, is made of various kinds of cloth, some of which are magnificent and expensive. The *kolah*, or cap, is made of the skin of the sheep of Tatary, which is very fine and beautifully black. The merchants are prohibited wearing either scarlet or crimson cloths, and using silver or gold buttons to their robes.* The wearing of silks is interdicted by the Moosulman law, but they evade this by mixing a very little cotton with them. A large quantity of this kind of cloth (*gurmasoot*) is imported into Persia from Guzerat. The Persians neither resemble those of old, nor their neighbours the Indians, in effeminacy of dress. The king, I believe, is the only person in the empire who wears any kind of jewels; † and he does so only on state occasions. They greatly ridicule the fondness the Indians have for female ornaments. The pompous and high-sounding titles of India are likewise a fund of amusement to them; for, excepting the dignity of *Ihtimad-ood-doulu*, which is given to their prime minister, and the hereditary honour of khan, there are no other marks of distinction among them.

"It is the custom of the military men to press down

* "Shah Abbas, who wished to make the merchants very frugal, issued an order, that they were always to wear shawl turbans and robes of broad cloth. This, he thought, would be the cheapest dress that they could wear, as the shawl would last their lives, and descend to their children, and the cloths would last some years." Sumptuary laws equally absurd have been enacted by European sovereigns.

† This statement is singularly incorrect. Prince Husein Ali was richly decorated with pearls and jewellery in the interviews with Sir Gore Ouseley and Col. Macdonald in 1811 and 1824.

their caps on one side; the *meerza* or civil officers twist a shawl about them; and the artificers, tradesmen, &c., wear their cap upright. A Persian soldier, armed cap-a-pie, is of all figures the most ridiculous. It is really laughable to see how they encumber themselves with weapons of defence: their horses groan under the weight of their arms. These consist of a pair of pistols in their holsters, a single one slung in their waist, a carbine or a long Turkish gun, a sword, a dagger, and an immense long spear. For all these fire-arms they have separate ramrods tied about their persons, powder-horns for loading, others for priming, and a variety of cartouch-boxes, filled with different-sized cartridges. If they are advancing towards you, they may be heard a long way off. I should suppose that their saddle and arms would weigh about 80 lb. Yet, they consider themselves as light-armed troops, ridiculing the Turkish cavalry, who, they say, can take care of little else than their big boots * and cap. The arms of the Persians are very good, particularly their swords, which are highly prized by the Turks.†

"The dress of the Persians is very expensive, frequently amounting to 60 or 100 guineas. The poor people wear no cap, and very little clothes: when the cold weather comes on, they make dresses out of sheep

* The Persian gentlemen ride in a sort of cloth boot or stocking, called *shakshour*, generally of crimson, with green, high-heeled *kafsh* or slippers. In common use, they wear socks not rising above the ancle, generally of worsted in various patterns, and sometimes of very gaudy colours; they are called *jurab* or *zurab*. An important part of the equipage of a man of consequence in travelling on horseback, is the smoking apparatus, which is carried by the pipe-trimmers in boxes fashioned for the purpose; and when used, the *kaleoon* is supported by a *chatter*, or running footman, who walks at the right stirrup of his master.

† "The Khorasan swords are more valuable than any others, the blade alone often costing 20 or 30 guineas."

A PERSIAN LADY.
A PERSIAN SMOKING.

skins, &c.,...Although the Persians bathe so often, (which is a luxurious enjoyment, rather than an act of cleanliness,) they are a very dirty people. They very rarely change their garments, and seldom before it is dangerous to come near them. It is thought nothing, to wear a shirt a month, or a pair of trowsers half a year.*

"The women of Persia, when at home, do not encumber themselves with many clothes, nor are they very attentive to the whiteness of their garments. A *peerahun* and a pair of *zeer-jamus* form the whole of their dress. The trowsers are made of thick velvet, and their shift either of muslin, silk, or gauze. Their legs appear literally to be tied up in two sacks, and the *peerahun* is but *concealment visible* to the rest of their persons. This is their summer apparel: in the winter, they wear garments made of shawls, silks stuffed with cotton, and, if they can afford it, cloaks made of sable. When they leave the house, they put on a cloak which descends from the head to the feet, and their faces are concealed with oriental scrupulosity. The veil which they wear, is sometimes worked like a net, or else two holes for the eyes are made in the cloak.† Many of the women of Sheeraz are as fair

* Charges of dirtiness may be retaliated by the Asiatics on Christian nations. The Persian cannot be regarded as dirty *par excellence*. "The Hindoo," says this Writer, "who bathes constantly, will allow his *white* robe to drop off nearly with filth, before he thinks of changing it." Some Europeans carry as much dirt about them, and never bathe.

† This is not peculiar to the Persian ladies; and many of the Author's observations apply to them, only in common with the Arabian, Egyptian, and even Spanish women. His assertion, that, "as long as they conceal their face, they care not how much they expose the rest of their person," is, assuredly, by far too unqualified and sweeping. But "the Persian women," adds this Writer, "like the Indian, are totally devoid of delicacy; their language is

as those of Europe; but confinement robs them of that lovely bloom so essential to female beauty.*

"Many of the great people keep sets of Georgian boys, who are instructed to sing, to play on various instruments, and to perform feats of activity. The Persian songs are very sweet and pathetic, and the music which accompanied their voices, I thought very good.† Their songs are in praise of wine and beauty, mixed with frequent complaints of the cruelty of their mistresses. The Arabic songs are sung in parts, and much quicker than the Persian time. Although the Persian music is so greatly superior to that of India, their dances are much inferior, being nothing more than an exhibition of the most indecent and disgusting

often gross and disgusting; nor do they feel less hesitation in expressing themselves before men, than they would before their female associates. Their terms of abuse or reproach are indelicate to the utmost degree. It is not possible for language to express more indecent or grosser images."

* The use of the bath and cosmetics have a greater share in producing this effect.

† Sir W. Ouseley, describing the performance of a set of four musicians, says: "Several Persian odes were sung to very pleasing tunes; and at the desire of a particular guest, a *Cabul* air was performed, which abounded in passages of exquisite sweetness." One of the performers played on the *kamounsheh*, a sort of viol, occasionally accompanying it with his voice; the second sang, "fanning his mouth with a bit of paper, to aid the undulations of his voice;" the third played on the *deff* or tambourine; and the fourth, an Abyssinian black, beat two small drums. Mr. Morier describes the performance as too noisy to be agreeable, although in the Persians it excited rapture; but, upon another occasion, "a player on the *kamounsheh* really drew forth notes which might have done credit to the better instruments of the west; and the elastic manner in which he passed his bow across the strings, shewed that he would have been an accomplished performer, if his ear had been tutored to the delicacies and harmonies of our science." Their guitar is much the same as ours.—MORIER, vol. i. p. 113; vol. ii. p. 92; OUSELEY, vol. ii. p. 203.

movements and gestures.*....After the dancers come another description of people, if possible of more infamous morals. They are called *lootees*, a kind of buffoon, and, as I learned, have free access to the prince and governor, whom they amuse by a variety of indecent stories, which they relate or invent. Both the prince and the governor keep a set of these wretches, who are allowed to take the greatest liberties with the characters of the most respectable inhabitants, who are obliged, in their own defence, to make them presents, to ensure their forbearance, and to get rid of their importunity. They perform feats of activity and sleights of hand; but their principal means of subsistence is the contributions they levy on strangers. They appear to be a privileged people. Another amusement, among those who can afford it, is listening to a *Shah-namu-khoon*, a person who repeats and acts various passages of Ferdousee's epic poem, called the Shah Namu. This is an amusement of a very superior kind, and one which a stranger is sure to delight in. They act the different descriptions of the poet with great spirit, particularly the account of the battle between Roostum, the hero of the poem, and Sohrab. Although I did not understand the meaning of several words, I was fully able to comprehend the purport of every verse; and, as they repeat the lines in an artificial voice, you are able to follow them with ease."†

This Traveller was witness to a curious custom in

* The Author vindicates the Indian dancers from the charge of indelicacy, remarking, with some justice, that "people often court, before they are shocked by the indecency of these dancers." The Persian dancers were, however, originally imported from India, and the dancing women of Persia cannot be more infamous.

† Waring, ch. xiii. xiv. xv. See also, for a description of some of these performances, Morier's First Journey, pp. 111—114; 119. Second Journey, pp. 104, 5,

celebration of the death of the Khalif Omar, who seems to occupy much the same place in the estimation of the Sheah rabble, as Judas the traitor does in that of the Spanish populace, or Guy Fawkes in England. A large platform being erected, they fixed an image to it, as much disfigured and deformed as possible, to which they began to address all sorts of reviling language, for having supplanted Ali, the lawful successor of the Prophet. At length, having exhausted all their vocabulary of abuse, they suddenly attacked the image with stones and sticks, until they had shattered it to pieces. The inside was filled with sweetmeats, which were greedily devoured by the mob. The Arabs, who are Soonees, cannot refrain from shewing their displeasure at this "absurd custom." With the lower classes of Persia, however, Ali is every thing. Their oaths are in the name of Ali. *Ulee mudud* (Ali help me) is the usual exclamation, and his name is believed to be a spell against almost every danger; especially against attack from a lion, which will not touch a good Sheah who makes himself known by this exclamation, but will presently devour a Soonee.

The people of Shiraz, Mr. Morier tells us, regard themselves as the prime of Persians, esteeming their language as the most pure, and their pronunciation as the most correct; and they are never so well pleased as when the dialect and manners of the Isfahanees are ridiculed by their drolls and mimics. They attribute to them a drawling manner of speaking, and a sort of affected nonchalance, which, when caricatured by the buffoons, excite ecstasies of laughter. The former boast of their superior learning, while the Sheerazee is, for the most part, devoted to pleasure. "*Isfuhan nisfi Juhoon*," Isfahan equal to half the world, say the Persians of that city. "*Shcerazi ma ux Isfuhoon*

lih," Our Sheeraz is superior to Isfahan, is the often cited line of Hafiz. The city is still styled on coins *Dar al Ylm*, the Gate of Science; but its learned men are no more.

Shiraz has no extensive manufactory. Excepting a few swords and a little wine,* they export nothing to the northern parts of Persia. "Many of the artisans," however, Mr. Scott Waring says, "are very ingenious, particularly in all kinds of enamel work. It is really surprising to see the lustre, and at the same time the mellowness of their colours, and the wonderful accuracy of the smallest figures. They work likewise very well in gold and silver, and in making ornaments for bridles; saddles, &c."....They have a glass-house and a foundery, both worth seeing. The glass bottoms to the *kaleoons* are ornamented inside with representations of trees, flowers, &c., and sometimes with small medallions incrusted in the glass. "Some of the artificers," it is added, "are ingenious, able men; but their qualifications are actually misfortunes, as they are compelled to work for the principal people in the city, without the smallest hope of being recompensed for their labour, or being repaid for the expenses they

* "Tavernier mentions, that 4125 tons of wine were annually made at Sheeraz; but this is by no means the case at present, for every man in Persia manufactures his own wine, and the exportation of it to foreign countries must be very trifling. The most advantageous trade for the merchant is probably in horses, of which numbers are sent by every vessel to the different ports in India. Persia produces large quantities of gums and drugs, particularly asafœtida, which is in great demand in India.... Pearls of every description are sent in quantities to that country, where they are esteemed superior to those of Ceylon. Chests of wine and of rose-water are likewise sent there, but the quantity is very inconsiderable."—WARING, ch. xix.

have incurred. This was really the situation of a very able gunsmith, who made pistols nearly equal to those in Europe."

"The merchants of Persia are a shrewd, sensible, and thrifty class of people, willing to undergo any hardship, if they have a prospect of making money. Many of them visit India. Others send agents to manage their concerns, particularly to Masulipatam, to superintend the manufacture of chintz. They often undertake long journeys; frequently to Cashmeer, where they supply themselves with shawls. Besides the danger of this journey, they can seldom hope to receive the returns for their money before the expiration of three years; from which it is easy to form some notion of their profits and of the present state of the trade in Persia. The trade of Persia is comparatively of very little advantage to the state: it adds but little to the revenue, and affords employment to a small number of muleteers....There are manufactories of silk at Kashan and Yezd; but they do not fabricate more than supplies the consumption of the country. The cloths, however, of Isfahan, Kashan, and Yezd, are exported from Persia into Russia, whence they bring in return, broad-cloths, velvets, satins, and cutlery. The situation of Yezd makes it the emporium for all the trade in Persia. Coarse purpets are sent there in large quantities, and are sold to the Uzbeg Tatars and to the people of Khorasan: the merchant makes his returns in silk, carpets, felts, and the shawls of Cashmeer. There are many cities in Persia, which supply the adjacent towns with the produce of their manufactories. At Kerman, they make shawls, which are worn by the poor people, and are sent all over Persia. But, speaking generally, they

rely almost entirely on foreigners for furnishing them with articles of dress and luxury." *

We cannot take leave of "the Persian Athens," without adverting to the interesting circumstances connected with the visit paid by the lamented Henry Martyn to this capital. His primary object was, to collect the opinions of learned natives with respect to the Persian version of the Four Gospels, which had been executed by Sabat, under his superintendence, in India. This had been objected to as abounding with Arabic idioms, and as written in a style, pleasing indeed to the learned, but not sufficiently level to the capacities of common readers. No sooner had Mr. Martyn personally ascertained the general correctness of this opinion, than he commenced a new version into Persian; having found an able and willing coadjutor in this arduous work, in the person of Mirza Seid Ali Khan, a learned Sooffee, and brother-in-law of Jaffier Ali Khan, a man of rank, to whom he had letters of recommendation. The work was commenced on the 17th of June, little more than a week after his reaching Shiraz; but, at first, he was continually interrupted by the numerous visiters, moollahs, Jews, Armenians, and others, to whom the English *Padre* became an object of attention and curiosity. About the middle of July, however, when the heat within the city became almost too intense for his enfeebled frame to bear, Jaffier Ali Khan pitched a tent for his guest in a garden beyond the walls, where he was enabled to prosecute his work with little intermission. "Living amidst clusters of grapes by the side of a clear stream," as he himself describes it, or, in the cool of the evening, sitting under the shade of

* Waring, pp. 47, 31, 76, 77.

an orange-tree, which his noble-minded host delighted to point out to visiters long after,—he passed many a tranquil hour in solitude, or in converse with the few natives who discovered an anxiety for information on the subject of Christianity.

After some hesitation and demur, upon the 15th of July, the *Moojtuhid*, or professor of Mohammedan law, consented to hold a discussion upon religious topics with the English Padre, and sent him an invitation to dine with him. Mr. Martyn, who neither sought nor shunned the society of the natives, accepted the invitation; but the professor waived at that time any close discussion.* So universal a spirit of inquiry had, however, been excited in the city by Mr. Martyn's frequent disputations, as well as by the notorious circumstance of his being engaged in a translation of the New Testament into Persian, that the "Preceptor of all the Moollahs," Mirza Ibraheem Ben al Hosyn, began to fear whereunto this would grow. On the 26th of July, therefore, an Arabic defence of Mohammedism made its appearance from his pen. This work, Mr. Martyn immediately set himself to refute; and his reply drew forth an encomium even from his candid and amiable opponent. It was circulated through different parts of Persia, and was sent from hand to hand to be answered. At length, it made its way to the court, and a *moollah* of high consideration, the chief priest of Hamadan, was ordered to answer it. More than a year elapsed before the mandate was complied with; and ere that time, the Man of God (*merdi Khodâi*), as the Persians styled Mr. Martyn,

* He had subsequently an interview with Mirza Abul Kasim, the head of the Sooffees, of whom a large proportion of the Shirazees are stated to have been at the time, either the avowed or the secret disciples.

had finished his course, and ceased from his labours.*

Towards the end of November, great progress having been made in the translation of the New Testament, Mr. Martyn ordered two splendid copies of it to be prepared, designing to present the one to the Shah, and the other to Abbas Mirza, the heir apparent. He now resolved to commence a version of the Psalms into Persian from the original Hebrew. His resolution to pass the winter at Shiraz was not formed without a considerable sacrifice of feeling, owing to the depravity and misery of which he was compelled to be the witness, and which, to a mind endued with so much sensibility and tenderness, was a source of constant anguish.† On the 24th of February, 1812, the last sheet of the New Testament was finished; and the version of the Psalms was completed by the middle of March. On the 23d of that month, he had an opportunity of intrepidly asserting the Christian faith respecting the deity of Christ, before a very numerous body of moollahs, in the court of one of the palaces. He remained at Shiraz till the 24th of May, when he left it to repair to Tabriz.

* Mr. Martyn's three Tracts in answer to Meerza Ibrahim, the Mirza's Tract, the rejoinder of Mahommed Ruza, and an able discussion by the Editor of the whole, with other important documents in Persian and English, will be found in Professor Lee's "Controversial Facts," already referred to. (8vo. Camb. 1824.) An analysis of its contents will be found in the Eclectic Review, vol. xxviii. (Sept. 1827.)

† "From what I suffer in this city, I can understand the feelings of Lot. The face of the poor Russian appears to me like the face of an angel, because he does not tell lies."—MARTYN'S *Journal*, Mem. p. 425. "Such a painful year I never passed, owing to the privations I have been called to on the one hand, and the spectacle before me of human depravity on the other. But I hope that I have not come to this seat of Satan in vain."—Ib, p. 431.

Towards the close of his residence in this city, Mr. Martyn appears to have been treated with increased deference and respect; and he passed some days very agreeably in Jaffier Ali Khan's garden, reading, at the request of his visiters, the Old Testament histories. On one occasion, Aga Baba, who had been reading the Gospel of St. Matthew, related very circumstantially to the company the particulars of the death of Christ. "The bed of roses on which we sat, and the notes of the nightingale warbling around us, were not so sweet to me," said Mr. Martyn, "as this discourse from the Persian." "Clever and intelligent," he elsewhere remarks of the people generally, "had they a good government and the Christian religion, they are more calculated to become great and powerful, than any of the nations of the East."

These details, it is hoped, will not be deemed out of place in the present work, since they tend to throw a new light upon the state of society in this city. The impression which Mr. Martyn made upon the inhabitants, by his humility, his patience and resignation, and his evident sincerity and disinterestedness, is stated by Mr. Morier to have been very powerful. And Sir Robert Ker Porter, who visited Shiraz several years after, bears a similar testimony. "On leaving its walls," he remarks, "the Apostle of Christianity found no cause for shaking off the dust of his feet against the Mohammedan city. The inhabitants had received, cherished, and listened to him; and he departed thence amidst the blessings and tears of many a Persian friend."*

It is with melancholy impressions that the stranger

* Morier, vol. ii. p. 222. Porter, vol. i. p. 687.

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